A HISTORY OF FINE ART IN INDIA AND CEYLON



Figure from Cave XVII, Ajantā
(Griffiths, *Ajantā*, Vol. I, Pl. 55)

A HISTORY OF FINE ART IN INDIA AND CEYLON

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

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PREFACE

The purpose of this book is to give for the first time a chronological, descriptive History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon from the third century B. C. to the present day, with criticism of the aesthetic merits of the works described. The art history is treated throughout in close connexion with political and religious revolutions. In criticism the judgements of experts have been utilized as far as possible. Necessary limitations of space forbid elaborate explanations of the mythological or historical significance of individual works.

Ceylon is included because the art of the island is almost wholly Indian, and some readers may find the sections dealing with the artistic productions of Ceylon among the most novel and interesting portions of the work. A summary notice of the remarkable mediaeval development of purely Indian art in remote Java appears to be essential to a right presentation of the story, and a similarly slight account of recent discoveries in Chinese Turkistan is equally indispensable. But neither of those two large subjects can be treated in detail. No attempt is made to pursue the ramifications of Indian art in Burma and the Far East, where it is profoundly modified by Chinese ideas. Materials have been collected for a supplementary chapter on European Art and Artists in India, but want of space compels me to omit that subject. The book, as it stands, is much more bulky than it was originally intended to be, and I confess that the amount of matter available has surprised me. The objects noticed have been carefully selected to the best of my taste and ability, but I cannot expect everybody to agree with my choice. The completion of a comprehensive review of the whole field of Indian Art has necessarily involved the revision of opinions expressed in earlier publications and based on more imperfect knowledge.

The rough distinction drawn between Fine Art and the Industrial Arts, and the question of the existence of Fine Art in India, which some critics deny, are discussed in the Introduction. The main topics dealt with in this volume are Sculpture and Painting. Architecture is a subject too big for full treatment in a general history of Fine Art. Students who wish to pursue the investigation of Indian Architecture must still read special treatises, especially Fergusson's classical work in the new edition. In Chapters II and XII merely outline sketches of the leading Hindu and Muhammadan styles respectively are offered. Chapters III–VII give a continuous and tolerably full history of Hindu sculpture—the term Hindu including Jain and

Buddhist. Muhammadan sculpture, chiefly decorative, is discussed in Chapter XIII. Chapters VIII, IX, and XIV, if read together, present a history of Indian Painting in considerable detail. A selection of specially artistic Hindu minor works, which cannot be ranged under the heads of Sculpture or Painting, is described in Chapter X. I have found it convenient to treat Foreign Influences on Hindu Art separately in Chapter XI.

The illustrations, mostly from photographs, include a large number never before published, many which have appeared only in publications of very limited circulation, and some which are necessarily hackneyed. Bibliographical Notes are inserted as required, and a comprehensive Index has been prepared. It has not appeared desirable to cumber the text with diacritical marks, but long vowels are marked where necessary as a guide to pronunciation. Consonants may be pronounced as in English. Short *a* with stress is pronounced like *u* in *but*, e. g. *Chandra* is pronounced *Chundră*; the short *a* without stress being an indistinct vowel like the *A* in *America*. Other vowels are to be pronounced as in Italian; e. g. *Mīr* is pronounced *Meer*, and *Yūsuf* is pronounced *Yoosuf*. *E* and *o* are long, whether marked or not. *Au* is pronounced *ow*, as in *Kanauj* = *Kănowj*.

My obligations for help of many kinds are numerous.

For liberty to reproduce official photographs, drawings, and illustrations I have to thank the Secretary of State for India, the Governments of Madras and Ceylon, and the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office. My special gratitude is due to the Government of Ceylon for the gift of a valuable set of archaeological publications and an abundant supply of photographs selected by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Archaeological Commissioner, who has taken much trouble in the matter. The Government of Madras has placed original drawings and photographs at my disposal through Mr. A. Rea, Superintendent of Archaeology. Dr. A. Willey, F.R.S., late Director of the Colombo Museum, and Mr. Joseph, Acting Director, have kindly supplied material under their control, and I am similarly indebted to the Superintendent of the Central Museum, Madras, and to the Principal of the Madras School of Art. The Councils of the Royal Asiatic Society, of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and of the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press, the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, Messrs. Griggs and Son, Sir Richard Temple, and Dr. Stein, C.I.E., have been good enough to permit the reproduction of copyright photographs or illustrations.

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If any acknowledgement due has been overlooked, I trust that the omission will be ascribed to inadvertence and not to ingratitude. It has not been possible always to use the permission granted to reproduce illustrations.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. S.	Archaeological Survey.
A. S. B.	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
B. E. F. E. O.	*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient.*
B. M.	British Museum.
Ep. Ind.	*Epigraphia Indica.*
I. M.	Indian Museum, Calcutta.
Ind. Ant.	*Indian Antiquary*, Bombay.
I. O.	India Office.
J. A. S. B.	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
J. I. A. I.	*Journal of Indian Art and Industry.*
J. R. A. S.	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
N. C. P.	North-Central Province.
S. P.	Southern Province.
W. I.	Western India.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE title of this book may reasonably suggest two criticisms—one, that the implied distinction between Fine Art and the Industrial or Applied Arts is unreal; the other, that, according to well-known authorities, Fine Art does not exist in India. Two probable criticisms.

The admission may be freely made that no absolute line of demarcation can be drawn between Fine Art and the Industrial Arts in any country, and further, that in India such distinction as really exists tends to be obscured more often than in other lands. Nevertheless, in the greater part of this book I have not experienced much practical difficulty in drawing the line. The guiding idea in my mind has been to discriminate between work showing creative power in a greater or lesser degree and that which is merely the outcome of skilled hereditary craftsmanship; or more briefly, to distinguish the productions of the artist from those of the artisan. Demarcation between Fine Art and Industrial Art.

In the Muhammadan decorative designs treated in Chapter XIII the distinction usually vanishes, and strict logic might demand the exclusion of such works. But most readers would feel that a book on Indian Art which refused to take notice of the beautiful decoration of the Mughal period was incomplete, and it is practically impossible to ignore the subject. It is, however, true that nearly all the Muhammadan decorative work can be reproduced perfectly by sufficiently skilled artisans to any extent desired, whereas a copy of a work of genuine Fine Art is never quite equal to the original. Perhaps the copying test might be accepted as the criterion to distinguish between Fine Art and Industrial Art; but, without insisting on the application of any precise formula, I am convinced that there is a real distinction between the two things, and that, even in India, it can be demarcated with sufficient precision in both Sculpture and Painting, the two arts which form my main subject. Muhammadan art mostly industrial.

Tradition is a factor of such commanding power in Indian art, as, indeed, in all Indian institutions, that it is peculiarly difficult to feel assured that a given sculpture or painting in India is rightly classed as an example of Fine Art and not merely as a product of the skilled craftsman's workshop. All that can be done is to select the works that on the face of them display creative power, more or less. The bronze images of the Dancing Siva (Natarāja) discussed in Chapter VII, Sections 6 B and 7 B, offer an excellent illustration of the way in which the distinction may be drawn. All of them are constructed to an authorized pattern prescribed by written rule and sketched in traditional outline drawings, but within the limits so laid down the artistic treatment may vary infinitely. The best examples are unquestionably works of art, while the worst are merely the trade products of coppersmiths executing the orders of customers. Distinction illustrated by images of Dancing Siva.

So much explanation may be enough to indicate the principles on which the discrimination between Fine Art and the Industrial Arts has been attempted. In carrying out those principles I have sought for the best examples, calling expert opinion to the aid of my personal preference so far as possible. It only remains to add that no book of reasonable dimensions could include along with Fine Art all those industries which Goethe called the 'half-arts'. Readers specially interested in the charming art industries of India will find ample information on the subject in the works of Sir George Birdwood, Sir George Watt, and many other authors. But the task of writing a history and criticism of Indian Fine Art is now undertaken for the first time.

The question of the propriety of discriminating between Fine Art and the Industrial Arts is of no interest if it be true, as affirmed by authors of repute, that India does not now possess, and never has possessed, anything deserving the name of Fine Art. Sir George Birdwood, the eminent authority on the Industrial Arts, emphatically declares that 'sculpture and painting are unknown as fine arts in India'. That opinion, expressed thirty years ago, has been reaffirmed recently by the declaration that during a life-long experience he has not found in India any examples of 'this "Fine Art", the unfettered and impassioned realization of the ideals kindled within us by the things without us'. A photograph of the Java Buddha (*post*, Chap. VII, Sec. 8), exhibited at the Royal Society of Arts as a favourable specimen of Indian religious fine art, drew from Sir George Birdwood the criticism that 'the senseless similitude, by its immemorial fixed pose, is nothing more than an uninspired brazen image, vacuously squinting down its nose to its thumbs, knees, and toes. A boiled suet pudding would serve equally well as a symbol of passionate purity and serenity of soul.'[1]

The vigour of Sir George Birdwood's language makes it almost superfluous to quote other more or less equivalent expressions of opinion by recognized authorities. But, desiring to face squarely the issue thus raised and to put the case against Indian art with absolute frankness, I cite two more authors. Dr. Anderson, who was for years in charge of the extensive Calcutta collections, came to the conclusion concerning sculpture that 'the artists of India have never risen in this section of art beyond the most feeble mediocrity'.[2] Professor Westmacott, author of the well-known *Handbook of Sculpture*, disposes of the subject by the observations that—

'There is no temptation to dwell at length on the sculpture of Hindustan. It affords no assistance in tracing the history of art, and its debased quality deprives it of all interest as a phase of Fine Art, the point of view from which it would have to be considered. It must be admitted, however, that the works existing have sufficient character to stamp their nationality, and although they possess no properties

[1] *Industrial Arts of India* (1880), p. 125: *J. Roy. Soc. of Arts*, Feb. 4, 1910. The 'brazen' image is really stone.

[2] *Catalogue of Archaeol. Coll., I. M., Calcutta* (1883), Part i, p. 175. But Dr. Anderson subsequently (ibid., ii. 221) expressed a much more favourable opinion of Orissan decorative sculptures as being 'extremely pleasing pieces of art'.

that can make them useful for the student, they offer very curious subjects of enquiry to the scholar and archaeologist. The sculptures found in various parts of India, at Ellora, Elephanta, and other places, are of a strictly symbolical or mythological character. They usually consist of monstrous combinations of human and brute forms, repulsive from their ugliness and outrageous defiance of rule and even possibility.' [1]

Like sentiments, which might be collected from many other writers of authority on the history of art, are still widely accepted throughout Europe, and even in India by natives of the country educated on European lines.

Recent change of opinion.

But a change of opinion is in progress. Indian art is only one manifestation of Asiatic art, and European critics are slowly learning to admit that in Asia genuine art, quite independent of the Hellenic tradition, has existed for ages and still lives.

'New worlds of art,' Mr. Fry writes, have been revealed, and 'a vast mass of new aesthetic experience lies open'.[2] 'It used to happen,' said Goethe, 'and still happens to me to take no pleasure in a work of art at the first sight of it, because it is too much for me; but if I suspect any merit in it, I try to get at it; and then I never fail to make the most gratifying discoveries—to find new qualities in the work itself and new faculties in myself.' [3]

Asiatic art.

Not many years have elapsed since Europe began to 'suspect any merit' in Japanese art. Now, the stage of 'gratifying discoveries' in that domain has been reached, while the equally strange arts of China and Persia have begun to receive their share of recognition. 'The European mind,' to quote Mr. Fry again, has been 'gradually prepared to accept the methods of Oriental design, and with that preparation has come an immense increase in its accessibility.' Numerous exhibitions and the discourses of many recent critics, English and foreign, have established firmly the claims of Japanese, Chinese, and Persian art to serious consideration on its aesthetic merits, and not merely as raw material for the lucubrations of the 'scholar and archaeologist'.

The turn of Indian art has been a little slower in coming, but the writings of Mr. Havell, Dr. Coomaraswamy, Mr. Marshall, and other students have already done something to compel public attention to the subject, and to discredit the attitude of mere contempt expressed in the extracts from the works of older authors quoted above.

Improvement of material for study.

Before proceeding to argue more fully the case on behalf of Indian Fine Art, I hasten to make the admission that the hostile critics were justified in large measure by the miserable quality of the material at their command. There can be no doubt that most of the everyday modern attempts at art to be seen on Indian buildings are contemptible, and that nearly all the reproductions to be found in the older and still current books on Hindu mythology are undeserving of attention as representations of works of art.

[1] *Handbook of Sculpture* (Edinburgh, 1864), p. 51.

[2] 'Oriental Art' (*Quart. Rev.*, Jan. 1910).

[3] *The Maxims and Reflections of Goethe*, transl. Bailey Saunders (1893), No. 116.

But recent research has opened up rich stores of material immensely superior in quality, while modern scientific facilities render possible and easy the presentation of fairly adequate reproductions. The claims of Indian art must be judged upon the new evidence thus called, and if the illustrations to this book at all fulfil their purpose they will establish directly and without argument the long-continued existence of Fine Art in India and Ceylon. Critics are invited to shift their point of view and to make an effort to appreciate whatever of good there may be in Indian art, as they have already done for that of other Asiatic schools.

The magnitude of the change of opinion now in progress may be estimated from the language of the protest signed by thirteen aesthetic experts and published in the *Times* on February 28, 1910, as a counterblast to Sir George Birdwood's outburst at the Royal Society of Arts[1]:—

'We the undersigned artists, critics, and students of art . . . find in the best art of India a lofty and adequate expression of the religious emotion of the people and of their deepest thoughts on the subject of the divine. We recognize in the Buddha type of sacred figure one of the great artistic inspirations of the world. We hold that the existence of a distinct, a potent, and a living tradition of art is a possession of priceless value to the Indian people, and one which they, and all who admire and respect their achievements in this field, ought to guard with the utmost reverence and love. While opposed to the mechanical stereotyping of particular traditional forms, we consider that it is only in organic development from the national art of the past that the path of true progress is to be found. Confident that we here speak for a very large body of qualified European opinion, we wish to assure our brother craftsmen and students in India that the school of national art in that country, which is still showing its vitality and its capacity for the interpretation of Indian life and thought, will never fail to command our admiration and sympathy so long as it remains true to itself. We trust that, while not disdaining to accept whatever can be wholesomely assimilated from foreign sources, it will jealously preserve the individual character which is an outgrowth of the history and physical conditions of the country, as well as of those ancient and profound religious conceptions which are the glory of India and of all the Eastern world.'

The sentiments thus expressed have my general concurrence and, while unable to accept extreme views as to the superiority of Hindu art, I am convinced that India has produced at various periods not a few works of Fine Art in both Sculpture and Painting, which are entitled to take high rank on their aesthetic merits, and not merely as historical documents or archaeological curiosities.

The term 'Indian' is ambiguous. In a geographical sense all art produced on Indian soil is Indian. That use of the term, however, is unfruitful and fallacious. Much of the art work produced on Indian soil is of alien origin, and should be considered historically as a local development of the styles of certain foreign schools. Most people in England, if they think of Indian art at all, probably think first of the

[1] The signatories are (1) Fred. Brown, (2) Walter Crane, (3) George Frampton, (4) Laurence Housman, (5) E. Lantéri, (6) W. R. Lethaby, (7) Halsey Ricardo, (8) T. W. Rolleston, (9) W. Rothenstein, (10) George W. Russell (A. E.), (11) W. Reynolds Stephens, (12) Charles Waldstein, and (13) Emery Walker.

luxurious buildings and decorations executed for the lavish Mughal court during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But, except in the geographical sense, most of the Mughal art is no more Indian than is Government House, Calcutta. The Tāj and Government House are alike in so far as both were built by the hands of Indian masons for foreign masters to foreign designs. The architect of the Tāj, as we shall see in Chapter XII, was either a Venetian or a Turk. Nobody pretends that he was an Indian, and the whole composition, although, like Government House, erected by Indian workmen, is essentially foreign, that is to say, Persian. All the characteristically Muslim art in India is equally alien, modelled on styles prevalent in Mecca, Isfahan, or Constantinople, and not evolved from Indian types. The Indo-Muhammadan art of the Mughal period is substantially Persian, and on rigorous logical principles should be discussed in an appendix to a treatise on Persian art, rather than as a branch of the art of India.

The real Indian art is Hindu.

Hindu art, including Jain and Buddhist in that comprehensive term, is the real Indian art. We can trace its development by the testimony of existing remains from the third century before Christ, and are assured that it had gone through a long process of unrecorded evolution for ages previous to the date of the earliest extant monument. The considerable intrinsic merits of Indo-Persian Muhammadan art being generally recognized, the controversy concerning the claims of India to possess real Fine Art must be concerned with the Hindu art discussed in Chapters II to XI of this work.

The merits of Hindu sculpture.

The high achievement of the semi-foreign sculptors of Asoka's reign and of the best artists of the Gandhāran school is so deeply tinged by foreign influences that it may be left out of consideration in this connexion. In sculpture the artistic success of India should be judged from her performance during those periods when elements of foreign origin were a negligible quantity. It is difficult to understand how any unprejudiced critic can refuse the name of fine art to the best sculpture of Sañchī, Bharhut, Mathurā, the Gupta period, and other categories of early date illustrated in the following pages. The widest divergence of opinion relates to the vast mass of sculptures executed from the seventh century to the present day, and grouped together as Mediaeval and Modern in the seventh chapter.

The sentiments of the older critics are expressed in the passage from Professor Westmacott's *Handbook* quoted above; those of the new school, as enunciated by Mr. Havell, credit the same sculptures with 'a depth and spirituality which never entered into the soul of Greece', with sublime imagination and the loftiest idealism.

Who is right? Answers to that question presumably will continue to differ. So much, perhaps, may be conceded by all parties, that the newer criticism has succeeded in proving that the history of Indian sculpture after the third century of the Christian era is not uniformly 'written in decay', and that mediaeval art at its best possesses qualities entitling it to respectful consideration on artistic grounds. Opportunities for further discussion of the aesthetic merits of the mediaeval work will occur in subsequent chapters.

In painting, including drawing, it is little short of unreasonable to affirm that

India has produced no works of fine art. The frescoes of Ajantā and Sīgiriya bear eloquent testimony to the contrary, and expert opinion fully recognizes the high qualities of the Indo-Persian school, which, in some of its branches, includes distinctly Indian or Hindu elements. The *Rāgmālā*, or 'musical mode', pictures especially, while largely Persian in technique, are purely Indian in sentiment and often of remarkable beauty.

The brilliant success attained by Hindu art, both plastic and pictorial, in the treatment of plant motives and the representation of indigenous animals is unsurpassed, and amply attested by many of the illustrations in this book.

Most of my readers, perhaps, will find no difficulty in accepting the proposition that India has produced numerous works of creative fine art in both sculpture and painting, worthy of study as such, and not merely on account of their historical and antiquarian interest.

Hindu sculpture is commonly reproached for the faults of ignoring anatomical detail in the representation of the human form, and modelling the body and limbs with a rounded, unnaturally smooth surface. It is true that the Indian sculptor, as a rule, and particularly in the mediaeval period, does not attempt to model realistically all muscular details. But his omission to do so is not due to incapacity. Dr. Coomaraswamy has shown conclusively that it is intentional and essential to the Hindu ideal as prescribed by the scriptures. The capacity of Hindu artists for correct modelling is demonstrated by their successful treatment of hands, which in many cases is admirably expressive. Numerous proofs of this statement will be found in the illustrations. The Indian generalized treatment of the body and limbs is not such a violent departure from the facts of nature as might be supposed by a European critic, because the Hindu body is ordinarily much more smooth and rounded than that of Europeans. If the reader will compare the Toluvila Buddha with the Sinhalese native seated beside the image in the same posture, as seen in the photograph (Chap. III), it will be apparent that the conventional generalization has not to be carried very far.

Another familiar and more serious depreciatory criticism is based on the frequent introduction into Hindu art of monstrous and impossible forms, often grotesque, and not rarely hideous. To my mind it appears impossible to defend the representation of such forms on artistic grounds. The spirited Polonnāruwa bronzes of the dancing Siva (Chap. VII, § 7 B) are grievously marred as works of art by the hideous extra arm brought across the chest. The symbolical significance of additional arms, heads, and so forth to a devout worshipper is not to the purpose. But the defenders of such monstrosities as being legitimate in art allege the emotional and intellectual value of the symbolism as the one reason for tolerating their presence. The argument is fallacious in mixing up two totally distinct things—edification and art—and, if accepted, would justify the description of crude woodcuts in old Bibles as works of art. Dr. Coomaraswamy quotes with approval the following rhetorical passage from the writings of Lafcadio Hearn, the enthusiastic admirer of things Japanese :—

'Perhaps to uninitiated eyes,' Hearn writes, 'these many-headed, many-handed gods at first may seem—as they seem always in the sight of Christian bigotry—only

monstrous. But when the knowledge of their meaning comes to one who feels the divine in all religions, then they will be found to make appeal to the higher aestheticism, to the sense of moral beauty, with a force never to be divined by minds knowing nothing of the Orient and its thought . . . as they multiply before research, they vary and change: less multiform, less complex, less elusive the moving of waters, than the visions of this Oriental faith . . . The stranger, peering into its deeps, finds himself, as in the tale of Undine, contemplating a flood in whose every surge rises and vanishes a face—weird or beautiful or terrible—a most ancient shoreless sea of forms incomprehensibly interchanging and intermingling, but symbolizing the protean magic of that infinite unknown that shapes and reshapes for ever all cosmic being.'

I do not profess to understand the 'higher aestheticism', and am thoroughly convinced that sculpture and painting which sacrifice aesthetic essentials to symbolism in so far abandon their claims to be regarded as works of art. A composition including misshapen, monstrous, unbalanced forms may still in virtue of its quality as a whole compel the admission of its right to a place, even to a high place, in the kingdom of art, but if it succeeds in doing so, the success is won in despite not in virtue of the inartistic conceptions which deface it.

Relative rank of Hindu art.

It would be futile to attempt to fix in a scale of precedence the relative rank of the art of India as compared with that of other countries in Asia, not to speak of Europe. Each has its merits and defects. So much may be affirmed with confidence, that Indian art does not deserve all the scorn heaped upon it by Professor Westmacott or all the praise lavished upon it by Mr. Havell. Truth, as usual, lies somewhere between the extremes. Sir C. Purdon Clarke was not far wrong when he wrote: 'I, whilst giving Indian art a good place among the arts of the world, do not place it in the first rank, except for its eminent suitability to its country and people.'[1]

Originality of Indian art.

The judgement of M. Le Bon, that Indian art is distinguished by 'striking originality', may, I think, be accepted. Notwithstanding the endless diversity of races, creeds, customs, and languages, India as a whole has a character of her own which is reflected in her art. A peculiar people necessarily produces a peculiar and essentially original art. India, of course, has borrowed many things from abroad during the long course of the ages, but it is a trite observation, easily proved by many instances, that she always so transmutes her borrowings as to make them her own. Such transmutation is equivalent to originality.

Originality of architecture.

The originality of Indian art is, perhaps, most conspicuous in architecture, a subject treated only cursorily in these pages. No evidence apparently exists to suggest the foreign origin of any of the main types of Indian buildings prior to the Muhammadan conquest. The effect of that conquest upon architecture was lasting because the Muhammadan government endured for centuries and set the fashion to its subjects. But all the old Hindu styles seem to be indigenous, evolved ultimately from wooden and bamboo structures, with brick as an intermediate stage. The forms

[1] *J. I. A. I.*, 1890, p. 526.

of column and capital, borrowed from Persia freely, and from Greece to a more limited extent, were always used merely as decorative details of buildings, which continued to be essentially Indian in plan and elevation.

Sculpture, too, if the semi-foreign styles of Asoka's reign and the Gandhāran region be excluded, owes little to foreign models. The strong effort continued for several centuries on the north-western frontier to acclimatize Greek forms and technique failed in the end, and the alien style was swamped by the native. The lineal descendants of the Gandhāra school must be sought in the Far East, not in India. Greek artistic canons and rules of proportion never succeeded in making headway against the strong current of ancient Indian tradition. Hindu sculpture, whatever may be thought of its intrinsic quality, continued to be Indian on the whole, guided by Indian not Greek principles. The foreign influences, Assyrian, Persian, or Greek, had merely superficial effect, chiefly traceable in decorative details.

The fragmentary nature of the record of painting makes it more difficult to judge how far the Indian forms of that art are original. We may suspect foreign, and especially Persian, elements in the art of Ajantā and Sīgiriya, but suspicion is far removed from proof, and proof is lacking. The close relation between the sculptures and the paintings of the Western Caves supports the view that the paintings are indigenous, but no definite conclusion can be formulated because materials for tracing the antecedents of the early Indian and Ceylonese paintings do not apparently exist. Perhaps detailed study of the recent discoveries in Chinese Turkistan may throw more light on the obscure question of the origin of Indian painting.

Indian art, on the whole, is the slave of religious tradition, and it is this undeniable fact which gives plausibility to the thesis that India is destitute of fine art. Works of fine art in that country may be considered as by-products of religious emotion, the creations of men whose genius was strong enough to mould traditional forms into an expression of itself. Art for its own sake did not, and does not now, interest the Hindu. The enormous mass of Indian literature, whether in Sanskrit or any other language, does not contain, I believe, a single treatise on the aesthetics of plastic and pictorial art, and thus presents a marked contrast to the literature of China, which is rich in ancient works dealing with aesthetic criticism. A few pages written by Abūl Fazl, a Muhammadan author of the sixteenth century, dealing with the introduction of Indo-Persian painting by Akbar, and some confused notes on Buddhist image-makers by Tāranāth, a Tibetan historian of the seventeenth century, constitute the whole of India's contributions to the literature of art. The Hindu *Silpa-śāstras* are primarily codes of ritual rules, supposed to be revelations from heaven, designed to ensure the construction of buildings with due regard to religious and astrological requirements, and to prevent irreverent representations of the gods. Their use as guides to aesthetically correct construction and composition is secondary and incidental. The Hindus always present an aesthetic principle in the guise of a religious precept.

But, although nearly all Indian art is religious, it is a mistake to suppose that style was dependent on creed. Fergusson's classical *History of Indian Architecture*

is grievously marred by the erroneous assumption that distinct Buddhist, Jain, and Hindu styles existed. Style, which M. Le Bon regards as an affair of race, is more conveniently considered as a function of time and place, varying according to the date and locality of the work. There is no such thing, for example, as a Jain style of architecture. The *stūpas* of the Jains were indistinguishable in form from those of the Buddhists, and a Jain curvilinear steeple is identical in outline with that of a Brahmanical temple. Works of art, including architecture, should be classified with regard to their age and geographical position, not according to the creed for the service of which they were designed. The arrangement of the following chapters is based on that principle, a small exception being made in the case of the monotonous mediaeval Jain sculptures, which for convenience are treated together without distinction of age and place. place, not of creed.

Limited effect of creed on art forms.

The varying practical requirements of the cult of each religion, of course, had an effect on the nature of the buildings required for particular purposes. For instance, the church or 'chaitya-hall' was of use to Buddhists only, and consequently is a purely Buddhist form. But any given church would be built in the style of its age and country. Similarly each religion had its own fashion of representing deities, but a Buddhist Bodhisattva, say, of the twelfth century would be modelled in the same style as a Brahmanist Vishnu from the same region.

The three Indian religions.

The connexion between art and religion in India being so close, and the references to the three principal Indian religions—Buddhism, Jainism, and Brahmanical Hinduism—being necessarily frequent in the course of this work, readers not versed in the history and peculiarities of Indian religions may welcome a few words of explanation concerning them in their relation to art. The last-named religion—Hinduism—really is the oldest of the three, sending down some of its roots into the Vedas, while others penetrate deeply into hidden strata of aboriginal belief. Historically, both Buddhism and Jainism, which, as systems known to us, both date from 500 B. C. in round numbers, may be regarded as offshoots or sects of Hinduism. The earliest monuments of art, however, happen to be Buddhist, and so Buddhism has the first claim to our attention.

Buddhism: monasteries.

Gautama, the Sage of the Sakyas, the founder of historical Buddhism, as a philosopher accepted the current Indian ideas concerning rebirth, laying special stress upon the miseries inseparable from the continuance of the chain of existence. As a moralist he taught a system of lofty ethics. His teaching, doctrinal and ethical, was entrusted to an Order of begging friars and nuns, which developed quickly into a highly organized and powerful Society or Church, full of missionary zeal, whose operations extended in due course as far west as Epirus and Cyrene, and as far east as Japan. From the third century before to the fourth century after Christ Buddhism was the predominant, although never the sole, Indian religion, in possession of enormous influence exercised by a disciplined hierarchy and supported by the immense wealth of innumerable monastic foundations.

Those institutions, comparable in riches and dignity with the greatest abbeys of mediaeval Christendom, became active centres of learning and art, enlisting

the services of artists of all kinds for the worthy decoration of the sacred buildings and the celebration of worship with becoming splendour.

The most prominent external feature of the Buddhist cult being the veneration of relics, multitudes of domed cupolas (variously called *stūpas*, *dāgabas*, *chortens*, or 'topes') were erected for the safe custody of the relics, and surrounded with accessory structures upon which all the resources of art were lavished without stint. The monasteries and churches, whether excavated in the rock or structural, were equally ornate. All classes of Buddhist buildings have yielded a rich harvest of works of art.

In early times Buddhist artists abstained deliberately from attempting to model or depict the likeness of the founder of their religion, but about the beginning of the Christian era his effigy was brought into common use, and soon became the leading feature of Buddhist decoration. The later Buddhism of the 'Great Vehicle' kind, which delighted in the multiplication of countless images, differed fundamentally in many ways from the earlier or 'Little Vehicle' schools.[1] But all schools alike agreed in venerating the memory of Gautama, the Buddha, or Enlightened One. The personal enthusiastic devotion thus roused converted a system of cold philosophical and ethical doctrine into a religion cherished with passionate fervour. The greater part of the remains of Buddhist art is the work of votaries of the 'Great Vehicle', and is mainly concerned with the expression of devotion to the person of Buddha, to his Law, and to his Church. The development and diffusion of that art were effected by the monastic Order.

The philosophical doctrines of Gautama might be thought to involve inevitably a religion of unhappy gloom and despairing pessimism as cheerless as the austerest form of Calvinism. But in practice they never had that effect, nor have they now in Burma, where the Buddhist population is reputed to be the happiest people upon earth. It would take too long to explain the why and the wherefore, but the fact is certain. Every scene in the relief sculptures of Bharhut or Sānchī and in the paintings of Ajantā is full of the joy of life, and proves that the Buddhist Indians of the olden time knew the preciousness of happiness. Popular Buddhism then, as now, was not exactly the same thing as the Buddhism of the scriptures. The worship of the Yaksha sprites, the Nāga water-spirits, and their female consorts, played in ancient Indian Buddhism a part similar to that played by the worship of the Nats in Burma at this day. For the full understanding of Indian Buddhism the works of art are authorities as important and essential as the writings.

The cognate and yet fundamentally distinct religion of the Jains may be more briefly dismissed.[2] The saint named Mahāvīra occupies in Jain estimation a position similar to that which Gautama Buddha holds among the Buddhists, and was contemporary with him for some years. Mahāvīra, however, does not seem to have

[1] 'Vehicle' (Skr. *yāna*, Gk. ὄχημα) originally meant a boat or raft to carry the worshipper across the sea of phenomenal existence to the haven of salvation, variously figured as *nirvāna*, *moksha*, &c. The word also meant a cart.

[2] Jain, not the Sanskrit 'Jaina', is the vernacular and English form of the word.

exercised personal magnetism equal to that of his rival. Jain veneration is still shared by Mahāvīra with his predecessors, whereas Buddhists have long ceased to trouble themselves about the 'former Buddhas'. Like the Buddhists, the Jains had a monastic organization, but it never attained power equal to that of the Buddhist Order. The Jains, who still number considerably more than a million in India, belong for the most part to the mercantile castes and reside chiefly in Rājputāna and the Western provinces. Their religion has thus shown more tenacious vitality within the limits of India than Buddhism, which died out in the land of its birth many centuries ago. On the other hand, the Jains have exhibited little missionary zeal, and their creed never made any considerable conquests outside of India. In the early centuries of the Christian era they were far more influential than they are now, and in the South their religion appears to have been at one time, perhaps even predominant. In ancient times they venerated relics and erected *stūpas* for their custody exactly in the same way as the Buddhists did, and we know accurately from the Mathurā relief sculptures what their *stūpas* were like, but, so far as I am aware, no monument of that class now standing has been recognized as Jain.

In the domain of art the most notable achievements of the Jains are the exquisite marble temples of Mount Ābū, built in the local 'Gūjarāt' style. The Jain temples in Mysore are almost equally ornate in a different fashion. Illustrations of both will be found on subsequent pages. A peculiarity of Jain architecture is the massing of an enormous crowd of temples into a confined space, as at Palitāna in Kāthiāwār and other places. The individual buildings are in the style of their age and locality. Jain figure-sculpture is enslaved by ritual tradition so completely as to leave hardly any scope to the genius of the individual artist, and is much the same at all times and places. It would, consequently, be difficult to specify even one Jain image as obviously deserving to rank as a work of creative fine art. The gigantic colossi of Sravana Belgola and Kanara are, perhaps, the most artistic specimens of Jain sculpture. The extant Jain statues, being usually those dedicated by members of the Digambara sect, who affected nudity, are naked and unashamed. The Jain monastic institutions, although not indifferent to learning, never became centres of art-teaching like those of their Buddhist rivals. Jain art.

Hinduism, from one point of view the religion and from another the complex social system taught and regulated by the Brahman caste, is of immemorial antiquity. Ever in a state of incessant movement and change, like the ocean it yet remains the same, ready and able to engulf the creeds, customs, and rituals of weaker systems. Buddhism and Jainism, both heretic sects as regarded from the orthodox Brahman standpoint, struggled against their destiny for long ages and in the end succumbed. The beginning of the marked Hindu revival may be dated in the fourth century after Christ. From that time until the closing years of the twelfth century, when the fierce Muslim raiders quenched in blood the light of Buddhism in its last Magadhan stronghold, the teaching of the Brahmans steadily gained ground, so that Buddhism in its later stages became almost indistinguishable from Hinduism, more especially in its Saiva form. Hinduism.

Brahmanical Hindus, having no use for *stūpas* and churches, did not erect buildings of those classes. Each Hindu goes to a temple on his own account, and makes his offering for himself, not 'for the welfare and happiness of all beings', as in the Buddhist formula. There may be a vast crowd round and in a Hindu temple, but there never is a congregation worshipping in unison. Hinduism knows no founder, and recognizes no dominating human personality like Gautama Buddha, or even Mahāvīra. The Hindu, although obliged to utilize the services of Brahmans for ceremonial purposes, deals with his gods directly, not through any prophet.

Hence Hindu sacred buildings (and only sacred edifices have survived from ancient times) are all temples, and the decorative art of those temples concerns itself with the gods, not at all with men. The human sympathy evoked by the veneration offered to a great human teacher is wanting, and the art expressive of the worshipper's devotion loses all touch with the facts of this mortal life.

It would be easy to extend this introductory essay by the discussion of many topics which have been left unnoticed, but it is better to allow the illustrations in the following chapters to speak for themselves and gradually effect their purpose of eliciting an instructed opinion on the meaning and value of Fine Art in India and Ceylon. During the last few years Indian-born students have become keenly alive to the interest of the ancient political history of the land of their birth, and have proved their capacity for scientific historical research. Perhaps this book may do something to arouse like interest in the story and achievements of Indian art, and may induce my Indian readers to agree with the London artists whose eloquent protest has been quoted, that 'the existence of a distinct, a potent, and a living tradition of art is a priceless possession to the Indian people, and one which they, and all who admire and respect their achievements in this field, ought to guard with the utmost reverence and love'.

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CHAPTER II

THE HINDU STYLES OF ARCHITECTURE

Early wooden architecture.

THE imperial palace at Pātaliputra, the modern Patna, the capital of Chandragupta Maurya, the first emperor of India at the close of the fourth century before the Christian era, is described by Greek and Roman authors as excelling in splendour the royal residences of Susa and Ekbatana. Although no vestige of such a building, except, perhaps, some brick foundations, has survived, there is no reason to doubt the statements of the historians. Abundant evidence establishes the fact that Indian architects before the time of Asoka built their superstructures chiefly of timber, using brick almost exclusively for foundations and plinths. No deficiency in dignity or grandeur was involved by the use of the more perishable material; on the contrary, the employment of timber enables wide spaces to be roofed with ease which could not be spanned by masonry, especially when, as in India, the radiating arch was not ordinarily employed for structural purposes.[1]

Stone buildings of Asoka.

Notwithstanding the superiority of timber in certain respects, Chandragupta's grandson, Asoka Maurya, evidently influenced by foreign example, preferred masonry. It is on record that during his reign of about forty-one years (273 to 232 B.C.) he replaced the wooden walls and buildings of his capital by permanent works in masonry, and caused hundreds of fine edifices in both brick and stone to be erected throughout the empire. So astonishing was his activity as a builder that people in after ages could not believe his constructions to be the work of human agency, and felt constrained to regard them as wrought by familiar spirits forced to obey the behests of the imperial magician. No building in India or Ceylon with any pretensions to be considered an example of architecture can be assigned certainly to a time earlier than that of Asoka, with whom the history of Indian architecture, as of the other arts, begins.

Architecture of Maurya and Sunga periods.

After the death of Asoka the empire broke to pieces, but his Maurya descendants continued to rule the home provinces for about half a century, at the end of which (*circa* 184 B.C.) they were superseded by the Sunga kings who governed parts of Northern India for seventy-two years, until about 112 B.C. But the style of architecture, decoration, and sculpture which first assumed a permanent form under the

[1] During the early centuries of the Christian era the Hindus knew the principle of the true arch, and occasionally built one with brick voussoirs set end to end, not face to face. The best example of such arches is seen in the temple at Bhītargāon in the Cawnpore District, possibly of Gupta, or even Kushān age, but other instances are known (Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, xi. 43). An arch so constructed was very weak. As a rule, Indian builders preferred the false or corbelled arch, constructed with horizontal courses of brick or stone gradually meeting at the top. They evidently disliked facing the difficulty caused by the thrust of the true arch which 'never sleeps'.

Asoka continued in use up to about the close of the
. Although Buddhism during that period, approxima
.D. 100, was by no means the only religion in India, it
the result of the great Buddhist emperor's propaga
early monuments are almost all Buddhist. Very
can be ascribed to the reign of Asoka. The huge
own as the great *stūpa* of Sānchī, with its plain stone
ossibly some other similar structures may be as early,
e name of architecture as yet discovered seems to be



Fig. 1. The great *stūpa*, Sānchī, as restored.
(Photo., supplied by Prof. Macdonell.)

ncient civil buildings have all perished utterly, and
can be traced only by means of religious edifices.
chitectural compositions were *stūpas*, with their appu
ionasteries, and churches, the 'chaitya-halls' of Fergu
hurches include both rock-cut and structural exampl
equently set up.

or 'topes', the 'dāgabas' of Ceylon—solid cupola
were constructed either for the safe custody of relics
se, or to mark a spot associated with an event sacred
ntil a few years ago the *stūpa* was universally believ
ut it is now matter of common knowledge that the
ical in form and accessories with those of the rival



Plate I. The great *stūpa*, Sānchī, east side, before restoration.
(Photo. 2334, I. O. *List*.)

no specimen of a Jain *stūpa* is now standing, and our attention may be confined to the Buddhist series.[1] The early examples were of a hemispherical form. The great *stūpa* of Sānchī as it appeared before restoration is shown in Plate I, and as repaired by the Archaeological Survey in Fig. 1. As time went on the height of the dome was raised, and by a series of gradual modifications the ancient model was transformed into a lofty tower, and ultimately into the Chinese pagoda.

The most ancient *stūpas* were very plain. They were often surrounded by a stone railing, which marked off a procession path for the use of worshippers and served as a defence against evil spirits.[2] The early examples of such railings, as at Sānchī, are perfectly unadorned copies of wooden post and rail fences. The bars

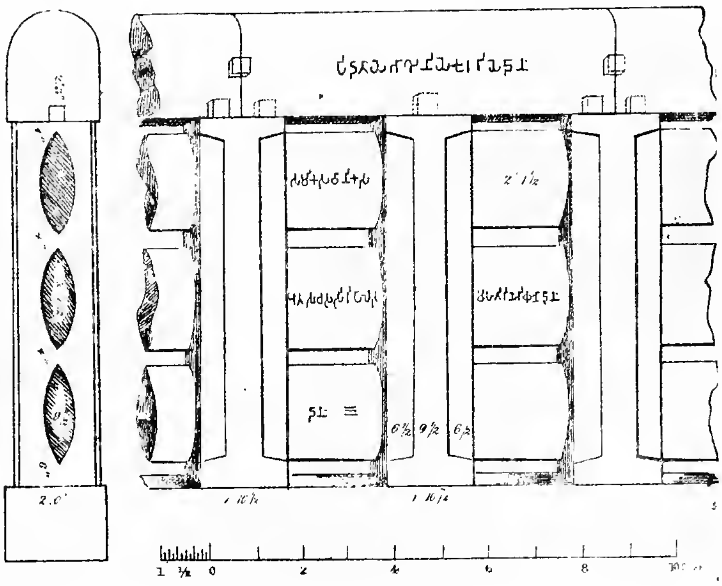


FIG. 2.
(From *Bhilsa Topes*, Pl. IX, Fig. 1.)

of the railing were commonly, though not always, lenticular in section, inserted in the posts, as shown in Fig. 2.

In the time of the Sunga dynasty the *stūpas* and their appurtenances became more ornate. Sculpture was freely applied to every member of the railing—to the posts, rails, and coping. The standard example of such a sculptured railing of early date is that at Bharhut. Late in the second century of the Christian era, at Amarāvatī, the railing was transformed into a screen covered with stone pictures in comparatively low relief. The sculpture of such highly ornate rails will be discussed in subsequent chapters, and we shall see that various ornamental designs were applied

[1] Jain *stūpas* are now represented by *samosaranas*, small structures in four diminishing tiers (*Hist. of Ind. and E. Archit.*, 2nd ed. (1910), vol. ii, p. 34 note). For an ancient example see *Jain Stūpa of Mathurā*, Pl. LXXXI, 1, back.

[2] Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 270.

also to the decoration of the *stūpas* themselves. The openings giving access to the procession path inside the railing were dignified by the erection of lofty gateways (*toraṇa*), copied from wooden models, and covered with a profusion of sculpture. The best examples of such gateways are those at Sānchī.

Size of *stūpas*.

Stūpas, not to speak of miniature votive models, varied greatly in size. The very ancient specimen at Piprāwā on the Nepalese frontier, which may possibly be earlier than Asoka, has a diameter of 116 feet at ground level, and stands only about 22 feet high. The diameter of the great Sānchī monument at the plinth is 121½ feet, the height about 77½ feet, and the stone railing is a massive structure 11 feet high. Several monuments in Northern India, some of which were ascribed to Asoka, are recorded to have attained a height of from 200 to 400 feet; and to this day the summit of the Jetawanārāma *dāgaba* in Ceylon towers 251 feet above the level of the ground.[1] The larger monuments afforded infinite scope to the decorative artist.

Origin of the domical *stūpa*.

All writers on Indian architecture have assumed that the domical *stūpa* must be a development of the earthen sepulchral tumulus, the form of a tomb being naturally utilized for a structure frequently intended to conserve bodily relics. But this assumption fails to explain the facts. The natural shape assumed by an earthen tumulus is that of a cone or pyramid, and as a matter of fact the earthen tumuli in the Champāran District and the Egyptian stone pyramids are conical, whereas a *stūpa* is invariably domical. Moreover, many *stūpas*, including some of the most famous, had nothing to do with bodily relics, being simply enduring monuments marking sacred spots. The current assumption implies both that *stūpas* intended for the reception of relics preceded those designed merely as memorials commemorating religious events, and that the form of a sepulchral monument was transferred to a building which had nothing to do with sepulture. Neither of these propositions is entitled to acceptance without proof, and no proof is forthcoming.[2]

The true explanation seems to be that the domical form of the masonry *stūpa* (probably built first in brick, not stone) is derived from the curved roof of bamboos built over a primitive circular hut-shrine constructed of perishable materials. Circular shrines with conical roofs still exist among the Todas, and such a structure, if fitted with a domical roof, would be a *stūpa*. The solid interior of the *stūpa* may or may not have been suggested by the tumulus. My argument applies only to the exterior domical form.

Origin of all Indian curved roofs.

Curved roofs, as Fergusson observed, while very rare in the rest of the world, are common in India. We have not only the dome of the *stūpa*, but the barrel roof of the

[1] i. e. the Jetawana as ordinarily understood. Mr. Parker shows good reason for believing that the so-called Jetawana is really the Abhayagiri, which stood to the north of Anurādhapura, and that the true Jetawana is the building to the east of the Sela chaitya (*Ancient Ceylon*, p. 300).

[2] Like everybody else, I formerly accepted the current theory. Mr. Parker suggests a connexion between the domed *stūpa* and somewhat similar Phoenician tombs, as at Amrith (Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art, Phénicie*, fig. 94, 95; *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 261). The late Dr. Bloch, who opened some of the tumuli near Nandangarh in the Champāran District, believed them to be royal tombs of the seventh or eighth century B.C. (*Ann. Rep. A. S., Eastern Circle*, 1908–9, p. 3).

'chaitya-hall' or church, the Bengal cornice, and the curvilinear steeple of the 'Indo-Aryan' or Āryāvarta style of temple. Every form of curved roof used in India can, I venture to think, be explained by assuming its derivation from a prototype constructed with elastic bamboos. The late Mr. William Simpson, who successfully applied this explanation to the Bengal cornice, the barrel roof of the 'chaitya-hall', and the 'Indo-Aryan' steeple, truly remarked that the claims of bamboo to supply a theory of origins for Indian architecture had been insufficiently considered, but did not proceed to apply his theory to the case of the *stūpa*.[1] Fergusson's belief in the sepulchral descent of the domed *stūpa* alone prevented him from definitely recognizing the true origin of the external form. 'If one can fancy,' he wrote, 'a circular chamber with a domical roof—not in stone, of course—as the original receptacle of the relic, we may imagine that the form was derived from this'; and he proceeds to cite from the Bharhut sculptures an instance of 'just such a domical roof'.[2] In the Sānchī reliefs (*post* Chap. III) we actually find a shrine with a domical roof represented on one pillar along with a *stūpa* of the same form.

Although monastic institutions were not peculiar to Buddhism, having been adopted earlier by both Jains and Brahmanical Hindus, the Buddhist Order (*sangha*), including both monks and nuns, attained (as pointed out in the Introduction) a height of power to which the monastic communities of the other religions never aspired; and, in consequence, the buildings dedicated to the use of the Order were frequently designed on a scale of the utmost magnificence. The essential feature in a monastery is the provision of residential cells, arranged usually round a courtyard or quadrangle. When such a quadrangle became multiple, with the addition of chapels, *stūpas*, refectories, halls, churches, storehouses, and other buildings, the greater monasteries covered an enormous area, and offered to the architect, sculptor, and painter endless opportunities for the display of art in every form. Although no very early monastery has survived in a condition at all complete, the ground-plans of many such establishments have been clearly traced, and near Peshāwar considerable remains of superstructures crowded with statuary have been disclosed. Recorded descriptions and extant remains amply attest the splendour of the more considerable monasteries, each of which was a centre of secular as well as of religious education, and also a school of art in which men were trained in all the crafts needed for the adornment of the holy places.

The architectural style employed in the monastic buildings varied, of course, according to time and place. In Western India many monasteries were excavated in the solid rock, but in other parts of the country they were largely constructed of timber resting upon massive brick foundations. Our knowledge of ancient Indian art depends

[1] W. Simpson, 'Origin and Mutation in Indian and Eastern Architecture'; an admirable essay in *Trans. Roy. Institute of Brit. Architects*, vol. vii, N. S. (1891), 225–76, with numerous illustrations. Compare the stone circular domed shrines (*vihāra*) of the north-western frontier (Foucher, *L'Art bouddhique du Gandhāra*, p. 100; fig. 38–41).

[2] *Hist. of Ind. and Eastern Architecture* (1910), p. 66. The suggestion has been made in Ceylon that the domical form was adopted as being the best fitted to resist weather and the damage caused by vegetation.

much on the study of the remains of the monasteries, both rock-cut and structural, and the extant examples of the early schools of painting occur almost exclusively in the rock-cut monasteries and their connected halls in the west.

Buddhist churches.

The church, or 'chaitya-hall' of Fergusson, was a form of architecture peculiar to Buddhism, not being suitable for the ritual of either Jains or orthodox Hindus. The best structural example still standing is that at Tēr, probably the ancient Tagara, in the Sholāpur District, Bombay, which has escaped destruction by being built into

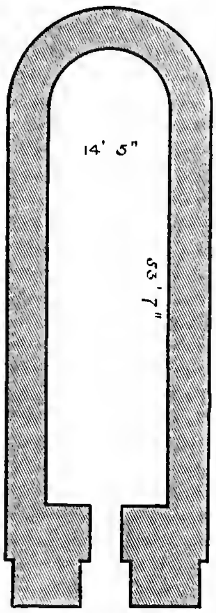


FIG. 3.



FIG. 4. Façade of rock-cut church at Nāsik, *circa* B.C. 150. (From a photo.)

a Brahmanical temple. It is a long chamber, constructed of brick, 26 feet in length and 12 in width on the inside, with walls $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, an apsidal end, and a wagon-vaulted ridge roof. The bricks, laid in mud cement, with exceedingly fine joints, are of huge size, measuring 17 × 9 × 3 inches.[1]

Four or five similar buildings have been traced in plan at other localities, but the superstructures have almost wholly disappeared, except in two cases. The ground-plan of one in the Godāvarī District is shown in Fig. 3.[2]

When side-aisles are added, the form of the Buddhist church becomes almost identical with that of the early Christian basilica, a *stūpa* or *dāgaba* usually taking the

[1] *Ann. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1902–3, p. 197, pl. XXIX, with plan and front and side elevations.

[2] Other examples are known at Sānchī and three localities in the Guntūr and Krishna Kistna) Districts, Madras. The one at Chezarla in the latter District (*G. O. Madras, Public* 382, dated 30 April, 1889) has its barrel roof standing, like that at Tēr. The early *Progress Reports of the Madras Archaeological Survey*, it may be explained, were published in Government Orders.

place assigned to the altar in the apse of the basilica. The celebrated cave at Kārli, between Bombay and Poona, is designed on that plan, consisting of a nave and side-aisles, terminating in an apse or semi-dome, round which the aisle is carried. The general form of the façade is that of the Nāsik rock-cut example of the second century B.C., but of course details vary according to date and locality. The most ancient example of such a façade is the Lomas Rishi Cave in the Barābar Hills near Gayā, dating from Asoka's time, about 257 B.C. (Fig. 5), which is an exact copy of wooden construction. The frieze of elephants is well carved. Many of the later façades are crowded with figures of Buddha and other sculptures.



FIG. 5. Façade of Lomas Rishi Cave, Barābar Hills, Gayā.
(Arch. S. photo., supplied by Prof. Macdonell.)

Isolated pillars, or columns, usually associated with other buildings, and frequently surmounted by a human figure, animal sculpture, or sacred symbol, continued to be erected during many centuries by adherents of all the three leading Indian religions. The oldest are the monolithic pillars of Asoka, who set up at least thirty such monuments, of which many, more or less perfect, survive.[1] Ten of those known bear his inscriptions. The Lauriyā-Nandangarh monument, inscribed with the first six Pillar Edicts, and practically uninjured, is shown in Plate II. The shaft of polished sandstone, 32 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, diminishes from a base diameter of $35\frac{1}{2}$ inches to a diameter of only $22\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the top—proportions which render it

[1] See the author's paper on the subject in *Z. D. M. G.* for 1911.



PLATE II. Asoka inscribed Pillar at Lauriyā-Nandangarh.
(Photo. 26 *a*, I. M. *List.*)

the most graceful of all the Asoka columns. The uninscribed pillar at Bakhirā in the Muzaffarpar District, in perfect preservation, and presumably of earlier date, is more massive, and consequently less elegant. The fabrication, conveyance, and erection of monoliths of such enormous size—the heaviest weighing about fifty tons—are proofs that the engineers and stone-cutters of Asoka's age were not inferior in skill and resource to those of any time or country. The sculpture on the Asoka pillars will be discussed in the next chapter.

In Kanara the Jains erected many detached columns of remarkably pleasing design.

A particularly elegant example, 52½ feet in height, which faces a Jain temple at Mūdabidri in South Kanara, not far from Mangalore, is shown in Fig. 6. The material is granite, and the design is of singular grace. The work may be assigned to the eleventh or twelfth century, but I do not know its exact date. About twenty of these pillars exist in the South Kanara District. As Mr. Walhouse truly remarks: 'The whole capital and canopy are a wonder of light, elegant, highly decorated stone-work; and nothing can surpass the stately grace of these beautiful pillars, whose proportions and adaptations to surrounding scenery are always perfect, and whose richness of decoration never offends.'[1] In the whole range of Indian art there is nothing, perhaps, equal to these Kanara pillars for good taste.

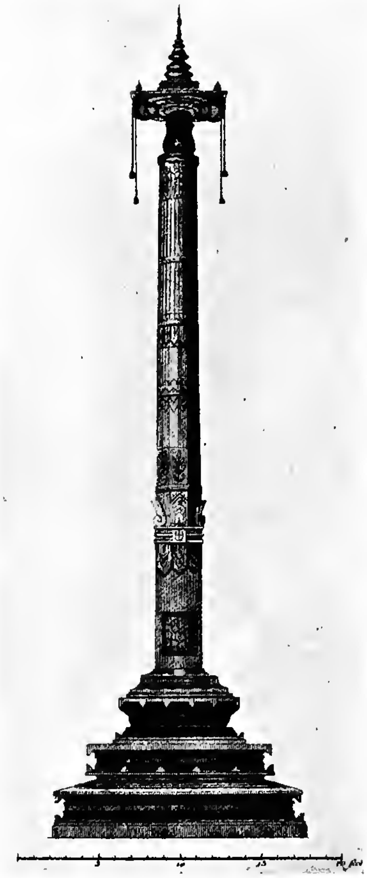


Fig. 6. Jain column at Mūdabidri, S. Kanara.
(Moor, *Hindu Pantheon* (1810), pl. 77.)

Excepting the Buddhist cave-temples and edifices discussed above, few buildings now existing in India or Ceylon can be positively dated earlier than the sixth century of the Christian era. The oldest Brahmanical temple known in India is one at Rāmnagar, the ancient Ahichhatra, in the Bareli District, Agra Provinces, which may be ascribed either to the first century before, or the first century after, Christ. It was dedicated to Siva, and was adorned with carved bricks and terra-cottas, said to represent incidents in the legend of Siva; but no detailed description of this notable discovery is on record, and it is impossible to make out what the temple was like.[2]

[1] *Ind. Ant.* v. (1876), p. 39, with a good plate of a beautiful example at Yenūr.

[2] Führer, *Progr. Rep. Epigr. and Archit. Branches, N. W. P. and Oudh*, 1891–2, p. 2. The assignment of date is chiefly based on the find of so-called 'Mitra' coins in the lower terrace of the temple. When that report was written, Dr. Führer had not begun the career of forgery which resulted in his resignation. The deeply-incised patterns on the bricks of ancient buildings were cut in the clay before firing.

The brick temple at Bhītargāon in the Cawnpore District, with an 'Indo-Aryan' curvilinear steeple, may possibly go back to the fourth century;[1] and certain minute shrines in the so-called 'Gupta style' may not be much later. But throughout India, except Buddhist remains, there is hardly anything standing which can be dated earlier than A.D. 550. No early examples of civil architecture exist, and after the date named Buddhist structures become scarce. The styles of Indian architecture from the sixth century to the present day, therefore, must be deduced from Brahmanical and Jain temples, and the numerous examples testifying to the skill and taste of Indo-Muhammadan builders. The Muhammadan styles will be dealt with in a later chapter; at present our concern is only with Jain and Brahmanical religious edifices.

Styles based on date and locality.

The variety of styles which may be distinguished depends, as already observed, not on differences of creed, but on date and locality. At Khajurāho, for instance, Jain and Brahmanical temples alike are built in the 'Indo-Aryan' style, and the building at Delhi, which Fergusson cites as a typical example of the 'modern Jaina style', is merely an ordinary specimen of late architecture in the 'composite' style usual since the eighteenth century.

Early stages of Indian styles lost.

All authors who treat of Indian architecture notice, and are embarrassed by the fact, that each style when it first comes to our knowledge is full-grown and complete. The earliest specimens betray no signs of tentative effort, and in no case is it possible to trace the progressive evolution of a given style from rude beginnings. The extensive destruction of ancient monuments, especially those built of brick, no doubt supplies a partial, though not adequate, explanation. I am convinced that the more fundamental explanation is to be found in the assumption that all the Indian styles are derived from prototypes constructed in timber, bamboos, and other perishable materials. We have seen how easily the Indian curvilinear roofs and the *stūpa* railings can be accounted for in this way, and by the extension of the theory an adequate reason for the non-existence of the missing links in the chain of architectural evolution is supplied. In the essay previously cited, Mr. Simpson has quoted from the ancient work entitled the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*S.B.E.*, vols. xii, xxvi) a long description of an early Brahmanical temple as constructed some five or six or seven hundred years before the Christian era. That temple consisted simply of two sheds, which were 'merely formed of posts and beams, covered with reeds and mats, and could only be described as belonging to the "thatch period" in architecture'. From such an edifice to the temples of Mount Ābū and Tanjore the distance is great, but there seems to be little reason to doubt that the intervening stages were worked out for the most part by experiments with evanescent materials. Brick, the intermediate stage between the 'thatch period' and the 'stone period', offers such a ready prey to the spoiler that it may be reckoned as only 'semi-permanent' material.[2] Whatever be the validity of this theory, we

[1] Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. xi, pp. 40–6, pl. XIV–XVII; Vogel, *Ann. Rep. A. S. Northern Circle*, 1907–8, p. 31.

[2] 'The earlier temples, I believe, were built wholly in brick. At Aunda we find a small one built almost entirely of that material, while the star-shaped plan and sharp crisp mouldings are maintained as well almost as if built in stone. Remains of some of

must take the styles ready-made as we find them, and briefly consider their several peculiarities, so far as may be necessary for the intelligent appreciation of the ancillary fine arts, which form the main subject of this work.

Essentials of a temple.

In an ordinary Hindu temple the essential part is the rectangular cell or shrine containing the image or symbol of the god, and such a plain cell constitutes the simplest form of temple. Dignity is gained by the addition of a high roof, which may grow into a steeple, by prefixing a porch, which may grow into a nave, and be further amplified by aisles, transepts, and subsidiary steeples, until an architectural composition of extreme complexity is evolved.

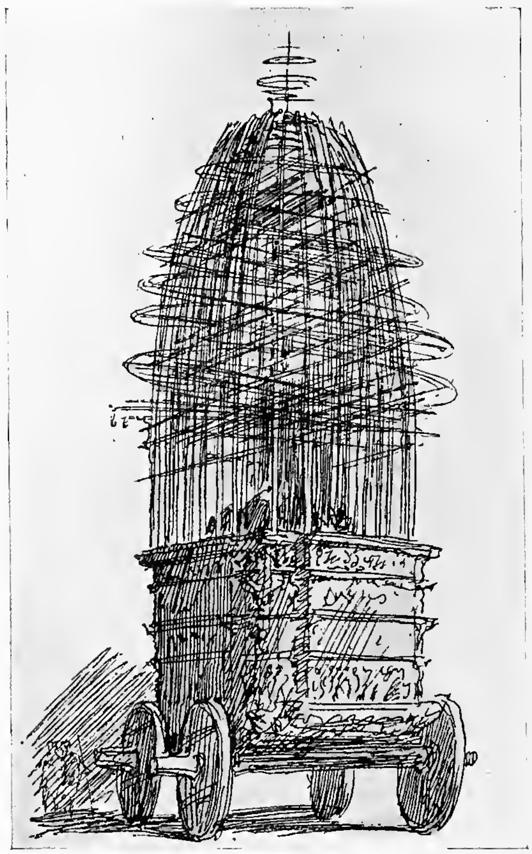


FIG. 7. Sketch of processional car. (From a drawing by Mr. Simpson.)

Another type, built frequently by Jains and occasionally by Brahmanists, is a modification of the monastery, the monks' cells round the quadrangle being replaced by niches enshrining images. The modifications of both ground-plan and superstructure are, indeed, endless.[1] All forms offer abundant opportunity for artistic decoration.

Two leading styles.

In the crowd of varieties two leading styles of temple architecture—the Northern or Indo-Aryan of Fergusson, and the Southern or Dravidian—may be readily distinguished.[2] If it be possible to amend the nomenclature so long established by Fergusson's authority, it would be preferable to give territorial names to all styles, calling the Indo-Aryan style that of Āryāvarta or Hindustan, the great plain between the Himalayas and the Narbadā.[3] The term Dravidian is free from objection, Drāvida being the ancient name of peninsular India.

these early brick temples are found in North Gūjarāt, and the foundations and platforms on which the older stone ones are erected are frequently constructed with a brick core. Brick was, without doubt, the prevalent building material before stone came into general use, and probably immediately succeeded the more primitive wooden structures whose [*sic*] forms are reproduced in many of the earliest caves' (Cousens, *Progr. Rep. A. S. W. I.*, 1894–5, p. 6). In some regions where stone was abundant the brick stage may not have intervened. For N. Gūjarāt see Burgess, vol. ix, *A. S. W. I.*, vol. xxxii of New Imperial Series.

[1] At Aihole, Bijapur District, Bombay, 'we have an unbroken sequence in the styles from the fifth to the fourteenth century—from the early cave to the latest mediaeval temple' (Cousens, *Progr. Rep. A. S. W. I.*, 1908–9, p. 35).

[2] This classification does not apply to Ceylon.

[3] The term Indo-Aryan implies a disputable theory.

The Āryāvarta, or Indo-Aryan style, examples of which to the south of the Narbadā are rare, is characterized by the bulging steeple with curvilinear vertical ribs, placed over the sanctuary, and frequently reproduced on other parts of the building. Miniature repetitions of the form are often used with good effect as decorations of the steeples themselves. Mr. Simpson proved, as already observed (*ante*, p. 18), that this type of roof is derived from the bamboo framework used to cover processional cars (Fig. 7). Āryāvarta or Indo-Aryan style.

The best early examples are found at Bhuvanesvar in the Purī District, Orissa, where the temples, numbering several hundreds, illustrate the history of the style from the ninth or tenth to the thirteenth century. The earliest specimens have steeples comparatively low and squat, but pleasing to an eye which has become Temples at Bhuvanesvar.



Fig. 8. Muktesvara temple, Bhuvanesvar, Orissa.
(Photo. 280 *a*, I. M. *List*.)

accustomed to the strange design. The porch is a walled chamber with a low, massive roof, and internal pillars are wholly wanting. The combination of vertical and horizontal lines is skilfully arranged so as to give dignity to buildings of moderate height. This early astylar form of temple is best illustrated by the Muktesvara shrine, which Fergusson called 'the gem of Orissan art' (Fig. 8).

A second, and later, variety of the style is adequately represented by the Great Temple, which has a high steeple tower, with sides vertical for the most part, and curving only near the top. The roof of the porch has considerable elevation, and in many details the design differs from that of the earlier variety. Sculptures of remarkable merit, which will be illustrated in a later chapter, are introduced in panels on the basement and elsewhere (Plate III). The Great Temple.

The third, or 'decorated', variety of the Bhuvanesvar style, in which columns become prominent, dates from the twelfth or thirteenth century. The most charming The Rājarānī temple.

example is the Rājarānī temple. Some exquisite details of this building are illustrated in Fig. 9.

The most renowned achievement of the vigorous Orissan school of architects is the temple of the Sun at Konārak (*vulgo* 'Kanaruc') on the coast, known to sailors as the Black Pagoda, in order to distinguish it from the White Pagoda, or temple of Jagannāth at Purī. The remains of the main steeple, never completed, which had been overwhelmed long ago by the drifting sand, have been lately exposed by excavation. The porch, which stands practically perfect, is covered by a beautifully designed



FIG. 9. Details of Rājarānī temple, Bhuvanesvar.
(Photo. 299 *a*, I. M. *List*.)

pyramidal roof, justly praised by Fergusson, and described by the Workmans as the most perfectly proportioned structure which they had seen in the course of years of study devoted to Indian temples. The temple, when in better condition than it now is, was admired enthusiastically by Abūl Fazl, the minister and historian of Akbar in the sixteenth century. Considering its exceptional excellence, it is strangely late in date, having been built by King Narasimha, who reigned between A.D. 1240 and 1280, a time when high-class work was not often produced. A large book might be devoted to the description and illustration of this building and its sculptures, which



Plate III. Āryāvarta style, Great Temple, Bhuvanesvar.
(Photo 251 *a*, I. M. *List*.)

will be illustrated by select examples in Chapter VII.[1] Plate IV, from a photograph kindly supplied by the Director-General of the Archaeological Survey, shows the recently excavated remains of the steeple, as well as the porch, seen from the north-west.

The Bhuvanesvar group of temples stands first in importance among the examples of the Āryāvarta style by reason of the immense number of buildings, usually in fairly good condition, and their variety, which marks the stages in the history of the style for at least three centuries. The group next in importance, situated at Khajurāho in the Chhatarpur State, Bundelkhand, although far inferior in both numbers and variety, includes some admirable buildings designed on a grand scale and richly adorned with sculpture. The temples, in more or less satisfactory preservation, numbering between twenty and thirty, were all erected by order of the Chandēl kings within a century before and after A.D. 1000. They are built of hard gneiss, an intractable material, unfavourable to the application of the exuberant ornament dear to Indian taste. Many of the details are executed in sandstone, which offers greater facilities to the sculptor. Several of the domes, constructed in the Indian manner with horizontal overlapping courses of stone, are remarkable achievements, the largest being 22 feet in diameter. The cusps hanging from the centre of some of the domes are beautiful, although, of course, not so elaborately carved as the similar works executed in more manageable marble at Mount Ābū. Plate V gives a good notion of one of the best of the Khajurāho temples, which I had the pleasure of inspecting more than thirty years ago. The steeple is nearly 100 feet high.

Northern India is full of examples of the style, ancient, mediaeval, and modern, mostly in stone, but occasionally in brick. The oldest brick specimen in preservation sufficiently good to allow of the recognition of the style is that at Bhītargāon in the Cawnpore District (*ante*, p. 23), now believed to be of early date, possibly of the fourth century. Another well-preserved ancient brick temple, referred doubtfully to the eighth century, stands at Kōnch in S. Bihār.[2] There is reason to believe (as already observed, *ante*, p. 23) that the transition from wooden to stone architecture was often made through brick, and that the scarcity of old brick buildings is due to the facility with which the material could be utilized for other constructions. The decorations of brick buildings were carried out in terra-cotta and carved, not merely stamped, bricks. Such bricks of good design are often seen built into later structures. The art of carving brick appears to be extinct.

The Bengal variety is characterized by the use of the bent cornice, obviously copied from the bamboo eaves of an ordinary Bengal hut, and by a peculiar arrangement

[1] Koṇārak=*Koṇa*+*arka*, i.e. the sun (*arka*) of Koṇakoṇa, the name of the place. The date, which Fergusson hesitated to accept, has been definitely settled by copper-plate inscriptions. See *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1902–3, pp. 46–50; ibid., 1903–4, pp. 46–8; *Progr. Rep. E. Circle*, 1908–9, p. 18. I agree with Dr. Burgess in thinking that mistakes were made in the work done by the Archaeological Survey at Konārak.

[2] Cunningham described and illustrated both temples: Bhītargāon, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. xi, pp. 40–4, Pl. XIV–XVII; and Kōnch, ibid., vol. viii, p. 54, Pl. VI; vol. xvi, pp. 50–58, Pl. XVI–XVIII. But the Bhītargāon temple is now believed to be older than he supposed it to be.



Plate IV. Temple of the Sun, Konārak, Orissa, as excavated.
(Arch. S. photo.)

of the curvilinear steeples; one lofty steeple placed over the centre being surrounded by four, eight, or sixteen smaller towers of the same form. Figure 10 illustrates a seventeen-towered temple in the Dinājpur District. Some of the details are Muhammadan. Fergusson has described a large similar temple at Kāntonagar in the same District, finished in 1722, and decorated with applied terra-cottas of slight artistic merit. This variety of the Āryāvarta style is peculiar to Bengal.[1] The only example recorded outside that province is one at Bilhari, Central Provinces, built to the order of a Bengālī immigrant.



Fig. 10. Temple in Bengali style, Dīnājpur.

Modern temples.

In the modern temples of Northern India the tendency is to reduce the curvature of the steeple, and to make the form approximate to that of an English slender spire. The effect is sometimes pleasing, but lacking in the massive dignity of the best designs at Bhuvanesvar and Khajurāho. The contemptible sculptured and painted decorations of the modern buildings testify plainly to the general lack of artistic feeling.

Numerous recent buildings, sacred and secular, combine the Muhammadan dome with the Bengālī cornice, omitting the steeple. Such buildings are erected freely by Hindus for purely Hindu purposes, as, for instance, the elegant mausoleum built at Benares to the memory of the lately deceased saint, Swāmi Bhāskaranand, which looks like a Muslim building. An example will be illustrated in Chapter XII.

The Gupta style.

Hardly anything remains standing of the larger temples, which must have been erected in many places during the rule of the great Gupta monarchs of the fourth and fifth centuries. The surviving buildings of that time are chiefly tiny shrines resembling the cave temples, and situated in out-of-the-way places. Cunningham treated those

[1] Manmohan Chakravarti, 'Bengali Temples and their General Characteristics' (*J. A. S. B.*, vol. v, New Ser. (1909)).



PLATE V. Āryāvarta (Indo-Aryan) style; temple of Viśvanāth at Khajurāho.
(Photo. 1813, I. O. *List.*)

little edifices as examples of the 'Gupta style', and enumerated seven characteristics of that style, namely, (1) flat roofs, without steeples of any kind; (2) prolongation of the head of the doorway beyond the jambs; (3) statues of the personified Ganges and Jumna guarding the entrance; (4) pillars with a massive square capital, surmounted by two lions back to back, often with a tree between them; (5) bosses over the capitals, and peculiar friezes; (6) continuation of the architrave of the portico as a moulding round the building; and (7) deviation of the plan from the cardinal points. A characteristic example exists at Tigawā in the Jabalpur District, Central Provinces, but is hardly worth illustration.[1]

A beautiful variation of the Āryāvarta or Indo-Aryan style, found in Rājputāna and Gūjarāt, is characterized by a free use of columns carved with all imaginable richness, strut brackets, and exquisite marble ceilings with cusped pendants, at least equal to the best Tudor work of the kind. By an unfortunate error Fergusson described this Western or Gūjarātī style as the 'Jain style'. In reality it has no concern with any special kind of religion, and is Jain merely because Jains were numerous and wealthy in Western India long ago as they are still. When power passed into Muslim hands the so-called Jain style, that is to say the local style, was applied with the necessary modifications to the needs of Muhammadan worship (*post*, Chap. XII).

Two temples at Mount Ābū, built wholly of white marble, are famous as unsurpassed models of this wonderful style. The earlier, dedicated to Ādināth, was built by a minister or governor named Vimala in A. D. 1031; the later was consecrated by Tejpāl two centuries afterwards, in A. D. 1230. Notwithstanding the considerable difference in age both temples are similar in style. I give illustrations showing half of the ceiling in Vimala Sāha's temple (Plate VI) and some of the columns in the upper hall of Tejpāl's temple (Plate VII). It is needless to comment on the beauty and delicacy of the carving and the richness of the design in both cases.

It would be easy to fill many pages with more or less similar specimens of work of cloying richness to be found in Rājputāna and Gūjarāt, but the two choice illustrations selected must suffice. I am tempted, however, to add an unpublished photograph (Plate VIII) of a charming temple of the Sun at Osia in the Jodhpur State, Rājputāna, lately brought to notice by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, and treated in a much simpler fashion. Osia possesses no less than twelve large ancient temples, some Jain and some Brahmanical, and all, apparently, dating from the eighth century. The residents of the town show their appreciation of these works of art by using them as public latrines.[2]

The Dravidian or Southern style is sharply distinguished from that of Āryāvarta by its straight-lined tower divided into stories by horizontal bands, and surmounted by either a barrel-roofed ridge or a small dome. The central shrine, except in the earliest examples, is invariably surrounded by an immense walled quadrangle, usually

[1] Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, ix. 42; photo. 1440, I. M. *List*. The temple is a rectangular cell approached by a four-pillared portico with all the characteristics described.

[2] *Progr. Rep. A. S. W. I.*, 1906–7, p. 36.



Plate VI. Part of ceiling of Temple of Vimalasāha, Mt. Ābū, A.D. 1031.
(A. S. photo.)

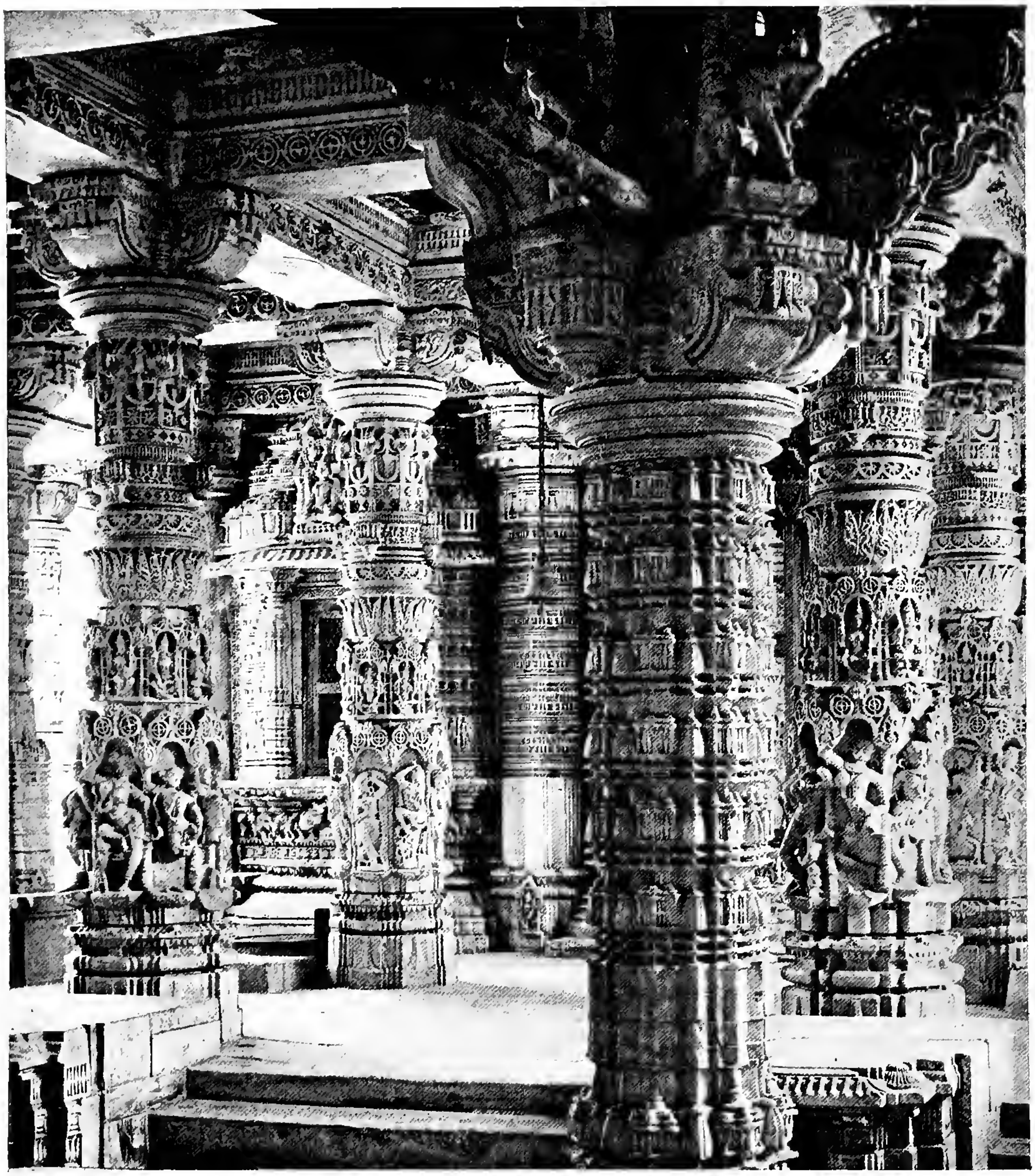


PLATE VII. Pillars of upper hall of Tejpāl's Temple, Mt. Ābū, A.D. 1230.
(A. S. photo.)



PLATE VIII. Temple of the Sun at Osia, Jodhpur State, Rājputāna.
(Photo. 2825, A. S. W. I.)

including numerous subsidiary temples, tanks, and sculptured halls or cloisters. The quadrangle is entered by lofty gateways (*gopuram*), which ordinarily overtop the central shrine, and so spoil the effect of the architectural composition. But the great temple of Tanjore, its smaller replica at Gangaikondapuram, and some of the earlier temples at Conjeeveram (Kānchī) are designed on correct principles, with the central mass dominating the composition. Sometimes there are several quadrangles, one within the other.

The history of the style begins in the seventh century with the Dharmarāja Ratha, the earliest of the rock-cut *rathas* at Māmallapuram, thirty-five miles south of Madras, commonly known as the Seven Pagodas, which were excavated in the reign of Narasimha-varman, surnamed Mahāmalla, the Pallava king who defeated Pulakesin II Chalukya in A. D. 642. All the Seven Pagodas are the work of one Pallava king or another during the seventh century. I give an illustration of the Ganesa Ratha (*cir.* A. D. 680), with a ridge roof (Fig. 11). Some of the others are crowned by domes.



FIG. 11. Ganeśa (Ganēsh) Ratha, Māmallapuram. (Photo. 1953, I. M. *List.*)

The next stage in the development of the style is marked by the structural temples at Conjeeveram (Kānchī), the Pallava capital, which became known only a few years ago, and have been recently described in detail by Mr. A. Rea. Six temples of the Pallava period exist in or close to the town.[1] Inscriptions prove that the two principal edifices, the Kailāsanātha and the Vaikuntha-Perumāl, were erected by the sons of King Rājasimha, great-grandson of Narasimha-varman. The Muktesvara temple of about the same date, say A. D. 700 to A. D. 750, with a domical roof, is a typical example. Mr. Rea is mistaken in believing the structural temples to antedate the rock-cut examples.[2]

Further development was effected under the patronage of the powerful Chola kings, Rājarāja and his son Rājendra (985 to 1035), the builders respectively of the Great Temple at Tanjore and its fellow at Gangaikondapuram in the Trichinopoly

[1] Rea, *Pallava Architecture*, 4to, Madras, 1909, being vol. xxxiv of *Archaeol. S. Rep., India*, New Imp. Series, and vol. xi of the Southern India Series.

[2] The correct history is given by Mr. Venkayya in 'The Pallavas' (*Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1906–7, pp. 226–35), and Dr. Hultzsch (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. x, pp. 1–14).

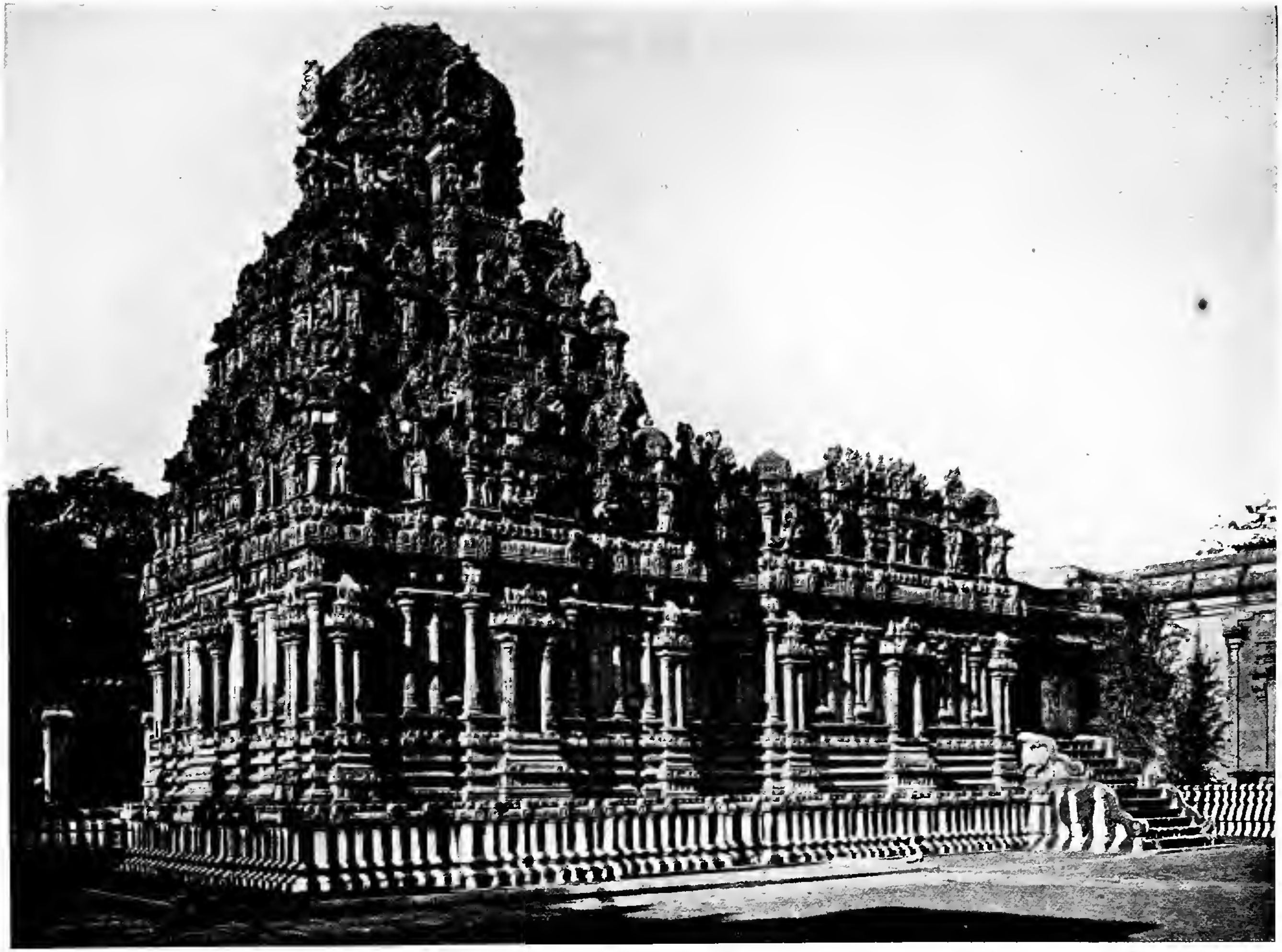


PLATE IX. Dravidian style; Temple of Subrāhmaṇya, Tanjore.
(Photo. 2518, I. O. *List.*)

District. A representative illustration of the Chola buildings is afforded by the relatively small temple of Subrāhmanya or Kārtikeya at Tanjore, nearly contemporary with the Great Temple, and considered by Fergusson to be 'as exquisite a piece of decorative architecture as is to be found in the south of India' (Plate IX).

The gigantic South-Indian temples, with vast quadrangular enclosures and lofty *gopurams* overtopping the central shrine, extend in date from the seventeenth century



FIG. 12. Muktesvara Temple, Kānchī, from the south-west. (Rea, *Pallava Architecture*, Pl. XVIII.)

to the present day. Fergusson states that he was personally acquainted with 'upwards of thirty great Dravidian temples, or groups of temples, any one of which must have cost as much to build as an English cathedral—some a great deal more'. Several such edifices, at Ramesvaram, Tinnevelly, Madura, and other places, are described in his book. The buildings at Madura are of special interest because they can be dated closely, having been erected by Tirumal Nāik, a local chieftain, who reigned from 1623 to 1659. Fig. 13 gives a general view of the Madura temple, a typical example. The corridors or cloisters connected with such temples are of wonderfully

large dimensions—those of Rāmesvaram, for instance, aggregating nearly 4,000 feet in length—and are filled with weird, fantastic sculpture. The sculpture will be illustrated in due course in a later chapter. The architecture, which resembles that of the earlier temples in its general lines, need not be further discussed for the purposes of this work. The most marvellous of all Dravidian temples is the well-known rock-cut Kailās temple at Elūra, excavated from a hill-side by a Rāshtrakūta king in the eighth century. Some of the sculptures will be noticed subsequently.

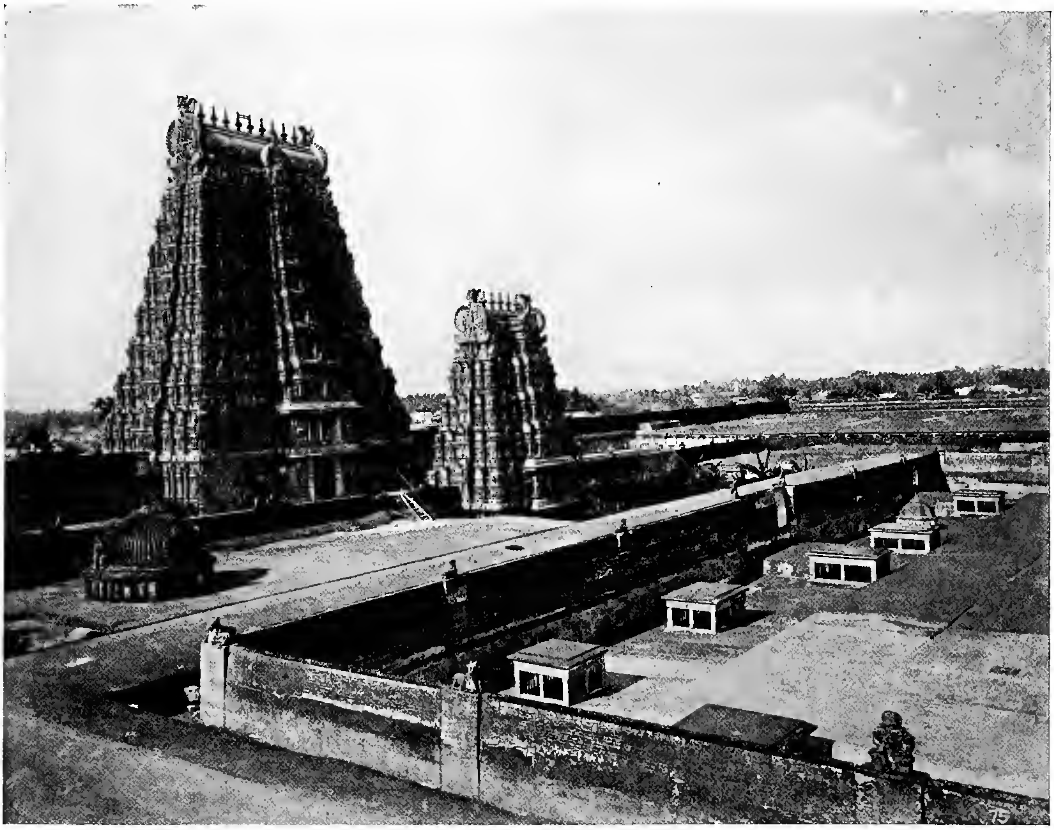


FIG. 13. Madura Temple, general view.
(A. S. photo., supplied by Prof. Macdonell.)

The immense ruins of the city of Vijayanagar, dating from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, now represented by Hampi and other villages in the Bellary District, Madras, present numerous examples of a special local variety of Dravidian architecture. There is room for only one illustration (Fig. 15). *The Vijayanagar style.*

The style intermediate in both locality and character between the Northern and Southern styles is that which received from Fergusson the inappropriate name of Chalukyan. It is true that the Chalukya clan supplied one of the leading royal families of the Deccan from the middle of the sixth to the middle of the eighth *The Deccan or Chalukyan style.*

century, and again from A. D. 973 to the Muhammadan conquest, but the typical examples of the style are the work of Hoysala, not Chalukya kings ; and, if a dynastic designation be given, the style should be named Hoysala rather than Chalukya. Territorial designations are, however, preferable to dynastic, and if it be practicable to modify Fergusson's established nomenclature, the style may be better described either as that of the Deccan, or that of Mysore, in which province the finest specimens occur, at Halebīd, the ancient capital, Belūr, and many other localities less known to fame.



FIG. 14. Somnāthpur triple, stellate temple, Mysore, A.D. 1268.
(Photo. supplied by Prof. Macdonell. See *Ann. Rep. A.S., Mysore*, 1909–10, p. 9.)

The style, whatever name be bestowed upon it, is characterized by a richly carved base or plinth, supporting the temple, which is polygonal, star-shaped in plan, and roofed by a low pyramidal tower, surmounted by a vase-like ornament. The temple of Vishnu in the village of Nuggēhalli, in the Tiplūr Taluk, Mysore, as shown in Plate X, from an unpublished photograph, gives a good notion of this extraordinarily ornate style. The stellate plan appears clearly in the view of the Somnāthpur temple (Fig. 14). The Belūr temple is known to have been erected in A.D. 1117 by a Hoysala king named Bettiga, converted from Jainism to faith in Vishnu. The more magnificent temples at Halebīd, the Hoysalesvara and Kedāresvara, are somewhat later in date, and necessarily must have been under construction for many years.



PLATE X. Deccan style; temple, Nuggēhalli, Mysore, A.D. 1249.
(Photo. A S. Mysore.)

Not long ago the disintegrating action of the roots of a banyan tree unfortunately reduced the Kedāresvara to a heap of ruins.[1]

Plate XI, showing a small portion of the sculptures on the eastern end of the Hoysalesvara temple, will give the reader a faint notion of 'one of the most marvellous exhibitions of human labour to be found even in the patient East'. The architectural framework, it will be observed, is used mainly as a background for the display of an



FIG. 15. The Council Hall, Vijayanagar.
(Photo. supplied by Prof. Macdonell.)

infinity of superb decoration, which leaves no space uncovered and gives the eye no rest.

'The building,' Fergusson writes, 'stands on a terrace ranging from 5 to 6 feet in height, and paved with large slabs. On this stands a frieze of elephants, following all the sinuosities of the plan and extending to some 710 feet in length, and containing not less than two thousand elephants, most of them with riders and trappings, sculptured as only an Oriental can represent the wisest of brutes. Above these is a frieze of *śārdūlas*, or conventional lions—the emblems of the Hoysala Ballālas who built the temple.[2] Then comes a scroll of infinite beauty and variety of design; over this

[1] The principal temples in this style range in date between A.D. 1117 and 1268 (Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, Constable, 1909, p. 194). See Workman, *Through Town and Jungle* (1904), ch. v, with many excellent illustrations.

[2] The lions are there, not as the emblem of the Hoysala kings, but as part of the canonical scheme of decoration—elephants, lions, horses, men.

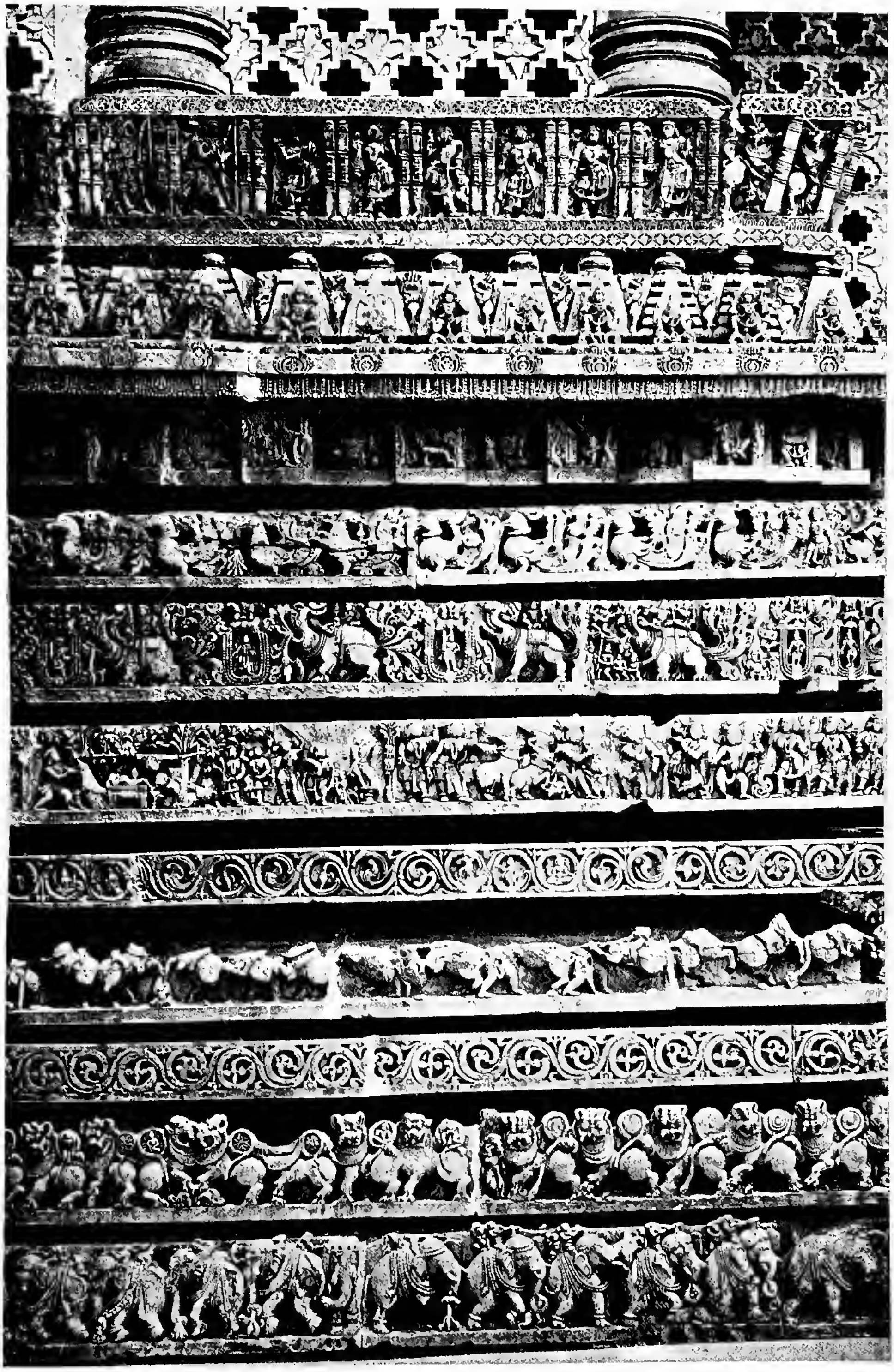


Plate XI. Hoysaleśvara Temple, Halebīd; sculptures on east end.
(Photo. 1550, I.O. *List*.)

a frieze of horsemen and another scroll; over which is a bas-relief of scenes from the *Rāmāyana*, representing the conquest of Ceylon and all the varied incidents of that epic. This, like the other, is about 700 feet long. (The frieze of the Parthenon is less than 550 feet.) Then some celestial beasts and celestial birds, and all along the east front a frieze of groups from human life, and then a cornice, with a rail, divided into panels, each containing two figures [only a single figure in the part photographed]. Over this are windows of pierced slabs, like those of Belūr, though not so rich or varied.'

The Hoysalesvara and several other buildings of its class are twin temples consisting of two distinct shrines set side by side and joined together. The beautiful building at Somnāthpur (*ante*, Fig. 14) is a triple temple. A special feature of interest in these Mysore temples is the record of the names of the Kanarese artists, who executed individual statues. At Belūr there are twelve such signatures, and at the Hoysalesvara fourteen, all different. Eight signatures on the Somnāthpur temple have been noted, among them that of Mallitamma, who executed forty images.[1]

Certain temples near the Tungabhadrā river situated in the western part of the Ballāri (Bellary) District, Madras, wedged in between Mysore territory on the south and the Nizam's Dominions on the north, form the subject of an excellent monograph by Mr. Rea, entitled *Chalukyan Architecture.* The title is so far justified that the buildings were erected to the order of Chalukya kings in the twelfth century. But the style is a modification of the Dravidian or Southern, not of the Deccan or Mysore style called Chalukyan by Mr. Fergusson. The plans are rectangular, not star-shaped, and the towers are distinctly Dravidian in design. The buildings, as Mr. Rea correctly observes, 'exhibit a preponderance of Dravidian forms. They might best be described as an embodiment of Chalukyan details engrafted on a Dravidian building.' Although the statues, individually regarded, are not of high merit, and present much of the grotesqueness of commonplace Hindu sculpture, the ornament, considered as a whole, is superb. It is impossible, we are assured, to describe the exquisite finish of the greenstone or hornblende pillars, or to exaggerate the marvellous intricacy and artistic finish of the decoration in even the minutest details. The ornament is generally completely undercut, and is sometimes attached to the solid masonry by the most slender of stalks, producing the effect of an incrustation of foliage on the wall. Both the intricate geometrical patterns of the ceilings and the foliated work covering every other part of the building exhibit the greatest possible exuberance of varied forms boldly designed and executed with consummate mastery of technical details. No chased work in gold or silver could possibly be finer, and the patterns to this day are copied by goldsmiths, who take casts and moulds from them, although unable to reproduce the sharpness and finish of the originals.

Opinions may differ as to the propriety of employing such jewellers' work as architectural decoration, but concerning the beauty of the result and the high standard of executive skill no two opinions are possible. The annexed plan of

[1] In *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. v, Part I, pp. xxxvi, xxxviii, Mr. Rice describes and illustrates several temples. See also *Ann. Rep. Archaeol. S., Mysore*, 1909–10, para. 25.

a ceiling in the Sūryanārāyanaswāmi temple at Māgalā may suffice to give some notion of the exquisite carving characteristic of the Ballāri variety of the Dravidian style, as favoured by Chalukya Kings.

The peculiar styles of architecture prevalent in the Himalayan kingdoms of Kashmīr and Nepāl demand brief notice. The Kashmīr style.

The Kashmīr style proper is restricted to the Valley, although a modification of it is found in the Salt Range region of the Panjāb. The temples in this style, varying in date from about A. D. 750 to 1200, are all of small size, but in some cases the dignity of magnitude is attained by the addition of a walled quadrangle of imposing dimensions.

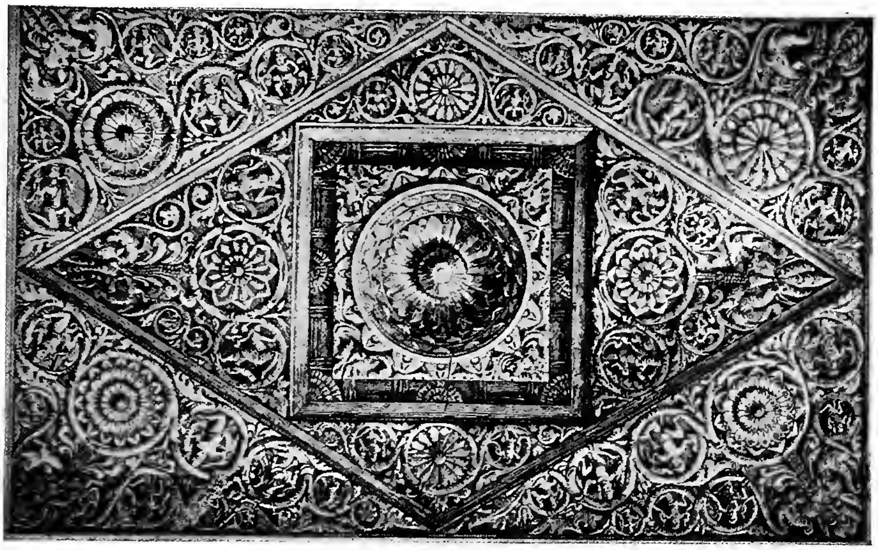


FIG. 16. Plan of ceiling in Sūryanārāyanaswāmi Temple at Māgalā. (Rea, *Chalukyan Architecture*, Pl. XX, Fig. 1.)[1]

The best-known example is the temple of Mārtānda or Mārtand—a local name of Vishnu as the Sun-god—which was erected about the middle of the eighth century by Lalitāditya (A. D. 724–60), the most powerful sovereign of Kashmīr. This building, although the largest of its kind, is of modest dimensions, being a rectangle measuring 60 feet long by 38 feet wide. The width of the façade, however, is increased to 60 feet by the addition of wings, and the walled enclosure measures internally 220 by 142 feet. The colonnade lining the wall is composed of eighty-four pillars, with intervening niches surmounted by the trefoil arches and triangular pediments or gables characteristic of the style. The cell, or chapel, which occupied the centre of each face of the enclosure, originally reached a height of about 30 feet. All the roofs have disappeared completely, so that it is uncertain whether they were of wood or stone.

[1] Mr. Rea's volume is No. XXI in the New Imperial Series of the *Archaeological Survey of India* (Madras, Govt. Press, 1896).

Fig. 17 clearly illustrates most of the peculiarities of the architecture, which may be summed up as consisting of pyramidal roofs, gables, trefoil arches, quasi-Doric columns, and dentil ornaments.

The temple at Būniār (Bhaniyar), of uncertain date, which resembles that of Mārtand in being surrounded by a colonnade, differs by being of smaller dimensions and in almost perfect preservation. The central shrine is now covered with wooden shingles, which may or may not have been the original form of roof.

The more ornate temples at Vāntpar (Avantipura) were erected during the reign of Avantivarman (A. D. 855–83). The well-known little shrine at Pāyer, which



FIG. 17. Details of temple of Mārtand, Kashmīr.
(From a drawing by W. Simpson, by kind permission of the Council of the Roy. Inst. of Brit. Architects.)

Fergusson assigned to the thirteenth century, is older than he supposed, and probably dates from the tenth century.[1] The notion, started by Cunningham and accepted by certain other authors, that the quadrangles of the more important temples were designed to be filled with water, so that the shrines might be placed more immediately under the protection of the Nāgas, or water-sprites, is absolutely baseless.[2]

Two peculiarities of Kashmīr architecture—the trefoil arch and the quasi-Doric columns—have given rise to much discussion. The trefoil arch recurs in certain temples at Malōt, Katās, and other places in the Salt Range, which was subject

[1] Miscalled Pāyech by Vigne and many subsequent authors (Stein, transl. *Rājataranginī*, vol. ii, p. 473).

[2] Ibid., Bk. iv, v. 192 note.



PLATE XII. Temple at Bhātgāon, A.D. 1703.
(Wright, *Hist. of Nepāl*, Pl. III; by permission of the Syndics of the Cambridge Univ. Press.)

to the crown of Kashmīr in the seventh century;[1] and when employed structurally, appears to be derived from the similar form frequently used as a canopy to a statue.[2]

The columns of the Kashmīr temples are usually described as Indo-Doric on the assumption that their design is derived ultimately from Greek models. Mr. Tavenor Perry has thrown doubt upon this assumption because the Kashmīr columns have sixteen flutes and are associated with very unclassical gables and trefoil arches.[3] But, on the whole, it appears that the term Indo-Doric may be justified, the Kashmīr column most probably having been derived from the Greek through Sassanian intermediaries. As usual in India, the stages of the evolution of the Kashmīr style cannot be traced in detail. It is possible that the Salt Range temples alluded to, and others at Gōp, Sūtrapāda, and Kadwār in Kāthiāwār, which resemble the Kashmīr buildings in certain respects, may be older than those in the Valley, but no clear evidence on the subject is available.[4]

The small valley of Nepāl proper, measuring about 20 miles by 15, is said to contain more than two thousand temples. Most of them are designed in a style differing but slightly from the familiar Chinese pattern, in which the roof is the main element, the walls being mere screens set between pillars. An excellent illustration of this style is afforded by a temple built at Bhātgāon in 1703 (Plate XII).[5]

The arrangement of the statuary on the stairs, which recurs at other shrines in the town, deserves notice. The two seated figures at the bottom are locally supposed to represent two Nepalese champions named Jayamalla and Phatta. Elephants come next, and are succeeded by griffins (*sārdūls*), the topmost figures being two fierce goddesses named Tigress (*Byāghrinī*) and Lioness (*Singhrinī*). In Northern India legend connects the names of Jayamalla and Phatta with the siege of Chitōr (*post*, Chap. XIII).

Certain temples and tombs of Jain priests in the South Kanara District on the western coast of the Madras Presidency, built in a style obviously derived from wooden originals, possess a surprising and unexplained resemblance to the buildings in distant Nepāl.[6]

The history of architecture in Ceylon remains to be written, the discussion of the subject in Fergusson's work, even in the new edition, being of little value. The chapter devoted to it in General de Beylié's treatise also is slight.[7] The materials for such a history not being fully accessible at present, it is impossible for me to do more than indicate some of the more notable achievements of the island architects

[1] Fergusson, *Hist. Ind. and E. Architecture*, 2nd ed., i. 270; Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. v, pp. 85–92, Pl. XXV–XXVII; vol. xiv, p. 35, Pl. XV; Beal, *Buddhist Records*, i. 143; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, i. 249.

[2] It is so used at Konārak in Orissa (*Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1903–4, Pl. XXII *a*).

[3] *Trans. Roy. Inst. British Architects*, 3rd Ser., vol. i, p. 158.

[4] For the Kāthiāwār temples see *A. S. W. India*, vol. ii, p. 187, Pl. LI–LIII; Cousens, *Progr. Rep. A. S. W. I.*, 1898–9, pp. 14–18.

[5] Illustrations of other styles used in Nepāl will be found in Le Bon, *Les Monuments de l'Inde*.

[6] Fergusson, *Hist. Ind. and E. Archit.*, 2nd ed., figs. 303, 304, 307.

[7] *L'Architecture hindoue en Extrême-Orient*, Paris, 1907, Chap. vi.

and specify the more conspicuous peculiarities which differentiate Ceylonese from Indian buildings, to which they are closely related.

The two capitals.

The principal remains are found at the two most notable of the ancient capitals, namely, Anurādhapura and Polonnāruwa, both situated in the North Central Province. The former city, a royal residence for more than a thousand years, was superseded in the eighth century by Polonnāruwa, the glory of which lasted, with interruptions, until the early years of the thirteenth century. The antiquities, therefore, belong to two widely separated series. Those at Anurādhapura go back to the time of Asoka, but mostly date from the earliest centuries of the Christian era; whereas the most important buildings at Polonnāruwa were constructed during the second half of the twelfth century (A. D. 1153–97) in the reigns of Parākrama Bāhu the Great and Kīrti Nissanka Malla.[1]

Anurādhapura.

Anurādhapura, when in its prime, was a city of colossal proportions, 'une véritable Rome bouddhique,' at least 8 miles in diameter, and crowded with magnificent buildings. After the removal of the court everything went to ruin, but many edifices were repaired and restored by Parākrama Bāhu, to whose energy the splendours of Polonnāruwa also are largely due. After his death the ancient capital again became desolate, and remained buried in dense forest until recent times. During the last forty years the ruins have been systematically and efficiently explored, with the result that the principal remains have been exposed, mapped, and more or less completely described.

Dāgabas.

The most conspicuous structures are the great Buddhist *dāgabas* (*stūpas*), far exceeding in dimensions anything of the kind now standing in India. That commonly called the Jetawanārāma, still 251 feet high, stands on a stone platform nearly 8 acres in extent, while the space included within the walled enclosure measures nearly 14 acres. The Abhayagiri *dāgaba*, almost equal in mass, was originally erected in the first century B. C. The earliest, the Thūparāma, built in the days of Asoka, has been covered up in recent times, like most of the others, by later additions.[2]

Other sacred buildings.

The *dāgabas*, huge masses of masonry, wonderful as stupendous monuments of

[1] Polonnāruwa, alias Kalingapura, or Pulastipura, the modern Topāvewa or Topāwa, represents a much more ancient city, Wijitapura, of which some remains seem to be traceable (Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 239–41). For the dates of the mediaeval kings see *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. i, p. 156. The traditional date for the foundation of Anurādhapura is 457 B.C. The sites of other capitals are discussed by Mr. Parker. Polonnāruwa was abandoned finally in A.D. 1240.

[2] See *Architectural Remains, Anurádhapura, Ceylon: comprising the Dágabas and certain other Ruined Structures.* Measured, drawn, and described by James G. Smither, F.R.I.B.A., late Architect to the Government of Ceylon. Sixty-seven Plates. Published by order of the Ceylon Government (Atlas folio, N. D.). The drawings, finished in 1877, were not published until 1894. I am indebted to the liberality of the Government of Ceylon for a copy of this splendid work. An immense amount of further research has been done since. Seven Reports by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Archaeological Commissioner, deal exclusively with Anurādhapura, which is largely treated also in his *Annual Reports* from 1890 to 1907. The latest received is that for 1907, printed as Sessional Paper V of 1911. Mr. Parker (*Ancient Ceylon*, p. 300) gives good reasons for believing that the real Abhayagiri is now miscalled the Jetavana. The true Jetavana, according to him, stands to the east of the Sela Chaitya.

laborious engineering, are not in themselves interesting as examples of architectural art. The work of the artist must be sought in the numerous and splendid associated buildings. The stone railing never attained in Ceylon the development which in India made it the vehicle for much of the highest art of the country. The only considerable example in the island, situated at Anurādhapura, and discovered and rebuilt by Mr. Bell, was a well-designed structure of uncertain date, perfectly plain, as at Sānchī, except for sculptured guard-posts at the entrance. It surrounded a rectangular pillared hall, not a *dāgaba* (Fig. 18).[1] The monasteries and temples connected with the *dāgabas* included every variety of edifice needful for the accommodation of thousands of monks and for the ritual of a highly ceremonial religion.



FIG. 18. Stone railing at Anurādhapura, as restored.
(Photo. C. 1009, A. S., Ceylon.)

Mr. Bell's description of the Vijayārāma at Anurādhapura, erected in or about the eighth century for the use of a community of Tantric Mahāyānist Buddhists, will serve to give a notion of the form and extent of an early monastic establishment of the more important kind in Ceylon.

'Here existed,' he writes, 'a typical *sanghārāma*, or Buddhist establishment, perfect in itself, with its shrines and meeting-hall, its priestly residences, bath-house, store-rooms, ponds, &c.

Broadly, the monastery consisted of a raised quadrangle, 288 feet north and south by 268 feet east and west, walled, with entrances at the cardinal points, enclosing a *dāgaba* [*stūpa*] and three *vihārēs* [temples], and having an open hall attached to the north. Outside this *temenos* was first a walk, then twelve annexes, evenly grouped, surrounded by a moat, with the chief *pansala* [monks' residences], a bathing-house, and a few other buildings on the south and west; the whole covering an area of 12½ acres, bounded by a quadrangular wall of stone, 200 yards

[1] Full details in *Ann. Rep. A. S., Ceylon*, for 1892 (xxxvii, 1904), p. 1. As a decorative pattern the railing was familiar in the island (see *Anc. Ceylon*, p. 278).

by 300 yards, traces of which may still be seen. From the lodge (*mura-gē*) a broad street led straight to the inner quadrangle.' [1]

It would be difficult to point out the ruins of an Indian monastery equally extensive. The unlimited field for the exercise of the painter's and sculptor's arts presented by such a mass of buildings was sedulously cultivated.

The Buddhist temples in Ceylon, differing widely from Indian models, ordinarily were rectangular buildings of either brick or stone, approached through a vestibule, and sometimes with only a single entrance, but often with four entrances facing the Temples.



FIG. 19. Siva temple No. 1, at Polonnāruwa, west wall. (Photo. A. 248, A. S., Ceylon.)

cardinal points. They were frequently arranged *quincunx* fashion in groups of five, four small shrines being placed symmetrically round a larger central one.

Shrines of the Hindu gods find honoured places among the Buddhist buildings, Vishnu, for instance, being regarded as the protector of Ceylon, and worshipped in subordination to Buddha. Hindu temples intended for Brahmanical worship, as practised by the Tamil invaders, also exist. One illustration of such a temple at Polonnāruwa, dedicated to Siva, and dating probably from the eleventh or twelfth century, may be given to show how far the Ceylonese Hindu buildings resemble the South Indian Chola types.[2] The Tivanka Vihārē at Polonnāruwa, built by Parākrama

[1] *Ann. Rep. A. S., Ceylon*, for 1891 (xxxvi, 1904), p. 4. The existence of Tantric Mahāyānist Buddhism in Ceylon deserves special notice.

[2] Fully described and illustrated in *Ann. Rep. A. S., Ceylon*, 1907, pp. 17–24, 36, Pl. XVI–XIX, and plan. This purely Brahmanical building is locally miscalled the *Daladā Māligāwa*, or 'Shrine of the Tooth Relic'. The fine Hindu bronzes described *post*, chap. vii, sec. 7 *b*, were found by digging a trench outside a southern extension of the eastern wall of the enclosure of this temple, to which they evidently belonged.

Bāhu, and generally miscalled the Thūpārāma, has a high pyramidal roof in Dravidian style, and, generally speaking, the Polonnāruwa buildings have a distinctly Dravidian character, but the huge Dravidian gateways (*gopuram*) are unknown in Ceylon.

The basements are sometimes adorned with relief figures in stucco of some merit (Fig. 20).

Circular temples or shrines, of which three notable examples are known, are the most original and peculiar of Ceylonese buildings.[1] That at Polonnāruwa, erected by King Nissanka Malla at the close of the twelfth century, is considered by Mr. Bell to be 'the most beautiful specimen of Buddhistic stone architecture existing in Ceylon'. He declares that 'no photographs or drawings can adequately reproduce, nor can words but faintly outline, the inexpressible charm' of the inner platform. The



FIG. 20. Stucco reliefs on porch of the Hetadāgē, Polonnāruwa. (Photo. A. 288, A. S., Ceylon.)

structure, about 80 feet in diameter, is circular, standing on a terrace, also circular, and 125 yards in diameter. It was intended for the reception of the tooth-relic. The centre was occupied by a small *dāgaba* surrounded by sixteen statues, and two concentric circles of granite columns, twenty and sixteen in number respectively. The entrance was through a portico on the north-east. The elaborate decoration was lavished chiefly on the stylobate of the inner platform and on the staircase. A portion of the exterior is shown in Fig. 21, and the western stairs in Fig. 22.[2]

A second and earlier building of the same class has been discovered at a place called Medirigiriya in the Tamankaduwa District, North Central Province, hidden in the heart of the forest, six miles from the nearest village. It stands on the highest point of a mass of rock, and like its fellow at Polonnāruwa is surrounded by a slab wall, carved with surface ornament. There are

'three concentric rows of graceful columns (sixty-eight in all) of the type seen at Thūpārāma and Lankārāma, Anurādhapura. The inner and second row[s] of pillars

[1] Except the circular form, they have nothing in common with the four circular temples recorded in India (Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, ix. 74).

[2] The building is fully described and illustrated by half-tone blocks in Mr. Bell's *Ann. Rep.* for 1903, 1904, and 1907 (Sess. Papers LXV, LXVI of 1908, and V of 1911). It has been extensively restored by the replacing of fallen members.

bear single lions and pilasters on their capitals, the outermost [bears] posturing *gaṇas* (dwarfs). In height this row of columns is but 9 ft. 9 in., while the two inner rows reach 16 ft. All are octagonal, and all are unbroken, save four; but several have lost their spreading capitals. Within the circle of pillars, seated on an *āsanaya*, is a Buddha in stone; probably one of four cardinally placed, with their backs to a small central *dāgaba*. The design on the stone slab wall encircling the *dāgaba* and columns is the "Buddhist railing" pattern, in this differing from the flowered ornamentation of the Polonnāruwa "*Waṭa-dā-gē*".

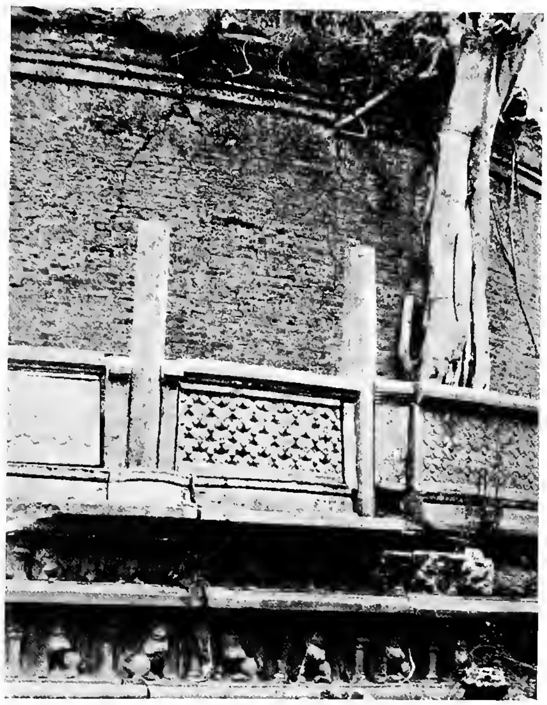


FIG. 21. Circular shrine (*waṭa-dā-gē*) at Polonnāruwa; part of north-eastern quadrant. (Photo. A. 409, A. S., Ceylon.)

An inscribed pillar close by was erected in the third year of King Kāsyapa V (929–39), which may be taken as the date of the building.[1] Fig. 23 shows the best-preserved part of the enclosure.

The Toluvila example.

The third example, discovered in 1894, to the north of the great Toluvila monastery at Anurādhapura, is of small size, with an enclosure 37 feet in diameter, surrounding a miniature *dāgaba* with a diameter of only 8 feet, and two concentric rings of slender columns.[2]

[1] Bell, *Ann. Rep.* for 1897, p. 7; for 1907, Pl. XXVIII, XXIX (Sess. Papers XLII, 1904; V, 1911).

[2] *Ann. Rep. A. S, Ceylon*, 1904, p. 2 (Sess. Paper LXVI of 1908). In *Ann. Rep. A. S., Ceylon*, 1907, p. 3, Mr. Bell notes the existence of six small circular brick shrines (*waṭa-geval*) at the Vessagiriya Monastery, Anurādhapura, besides one at the Abhayagiriya and one at the Toluvila. These seem to be different from the *waṭa-dā-gē* type described in the text.

Such concentric circles of detached, slender, monolithic columns are a characteristic feature of Ceylonese architecture. They occur, in addition to the examples already cited, at the Thūpārāma and Lankārāma *dāgabas* of Anurādhapura, as well as at the



FIG. 22. The same; western stairs.
(Photo. A. 408, A. S., Ceylon.)



FIG. 23. Circular shrine (*waṭa-dā-gē*) at Medirigiriya, N.C.P.
(Photo. C. 1690, A. S., Ceylon.)

Ambusthāla *dāgaba* of Mihintalé, distant eight miles from the early capital. Their purpose has been much discussed. Mr. Smither has demonstrated to my satisfaction that those at the Thūpārāma could not have carried a roof of any kind.[1] It is

[1] General de Beylié maintains that the Thūparāma columns supported 'un toit à l'indienne, à étages superposés' (*L'Architecture hindoue en Extrême-Orient*, Paris, 1907, p. 361).

possible that in some cases they may have been used to support sacred Buddhist symbols, but ordinarily, as Mr. Parker argues, those round the large buildings appear to have been intended primarily as a barrier against evil spirits, and secondarily to support festoons of lamps suspended on great occasions. At the *waṭa-dā-gē* shrines, according to Mr. Bell, the pillars were intended to 'hold up a roof to shelter the small *stūpa* and worshippers at the shrine'.[1]

The forms of shaft and capital, differing widely from Indian types, are illustrated on a larger scale in Figs. 24 and 25. In Fig. 26 a more complex, later kind of column is exemplified. But it is impossible to go into detail here, or to discuss the age and evolution of the various types. Mr. Parker supposes the Thūpārāma columns to date from the period between 100 B. C. and 100 A. D.[2]

Shafts and capitals of columns.





FIG. 24. Photo. A. 287, A. S., Ceylon. FIG. 25. Photo. A. 288, A. S., Ceylon.
Capitals at Abhayagiri Vihāre, Anurādhapura.

This necessarily slight notice of architecture in Ceylon may be concluded by mention of a unique building at Polonnāruwa known as the Sat Mahāl Prasādaya, a seven-storied square brick tower, built in diminishing stages, and rising from a low basement, which measures 39 feet 2 inches each way at ground level. The brickwork was covered with fine lime plaster, probably once coloured, and twenty niches contained as many stucco statues, eleven of which still exist. The edifice was erected by order of King Nissanka Malla a little before A. D. 1200, in imitation of

Sat Mahāl Prasādaya.

[1] *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 289; *Ann. Rep. A. S., Ceylon*, 1904, p. 2.

[2] *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 268.

Cambodian models, and probably for the use of the Cambodian mercenaries i in the service of the Ceylonese monarch.[1]



FIG. 26. Column at Galapāta vihārē, Bentota, S.P. (Photo. Z. 17, A. S., Ceylon.)

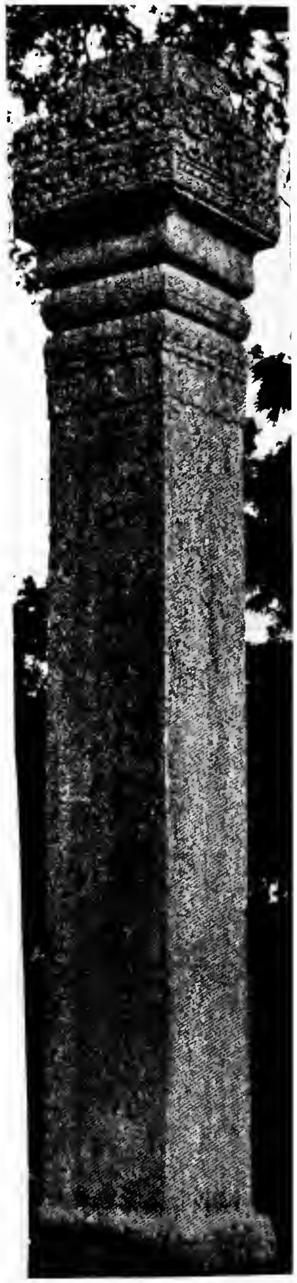


FIG. 27. Column in Ruwanveli area, Anurādl with extra fillets; 9 ft. 4 in. high. (Photo. C. 406, A. S., Ceylon.)

[1] *Ann. Rep. A. S., Ceylon*, 1903, pp. 14–16, Pl. XIII–XV (Sess. Paper LXV of 1908). The 'Potgul Vehera' monastery to the south of Polon: also displays Cambodian features (*Ann. Rep.* p. 17).

CHAPTER III

SCULPTURE OF THE EARLY PERIOD

Section I. The Age of Asoka.

A short time after the death of Alexander in 323 B.C., the throne of Magadha, or South Bihār, then the premier kingdom of Northern India, was seized by Chandragupta, surnamed the Maurya, known as Sandrokottos to Greek authors. In the course of a victorious reign of twenty-four years this able prince made himself master of all India, at least as far south as the river Narbadā, and acquired from Seleukos Nikator, first his enemy and then his ally, the valuable provinces lying between the Indus and the Hindu Kush mountains which now constitute the major part of the kingdom of Afghanistan. The Maurya Dynasty.

Chandragupta was succeeded by his son Bindusāra, who, in or about 273 B.C., transmitted the imperial sceptre to his son, Asoka, the third and most renowned sovereign of the Maurya dynasty. For forty-one years (273–232 B.C.) Asoka ruled his immense empire with great power and might, maintaining friendly relations with his neighbours, the Tamil states of the extreme south, and also with the island kingdom of Ceylon, and the more remote Greek monarchies of Macedonia, Epirus, Western Asia, Egypt, and Cyrene.

Early in life the emperor became a convert to the Buddhist religion, and as the years rolled on his zeal increased, so that his energies and riches were devoted almost exclusively to the work of honouring and propagating the teaching of his Master, Gautama Buddha, the sage of the Sakyas. With one exception, he abstained from wars of conquest, and was thus free to concentrate his attention upon the task to which his life was consecrated.[1] Asoka's patronage of Buddhism.

As explained in Chapter II, the earliest extant examples of architecture, as distinguished from mere engineering, and of the other fine arts, date from the days of Asoka. Nothing deserving the name of a work of art has yet been discovered which can be referred with confidence to an earlier time. His mighty father and grandfather must surely have built palaces, public offices, and temples suitable to the dignity of a powerful empire and proportionate to the wealth of rich provinces, but of such structures not a trace seems to survive. The best explanation of this fact is the hypothesis already discussed (*ante*, p. 23), that the early works of Indian architecture and art were mainly constructed of timber and other perishable materials ill fitted to History of Indian art begins with Asoka.

[1] For full discussion of the history of Asoka see the author's works *Early History of India*, 2nd ed., 1908, and *Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India*, 2nd ed., 1909. The view that he became a Buddhist early in life, though not yet universally accepted, is supported by the authority of M. Senart and Mr. F. W. Thomas, and confirmed by the latest researches.

withstand the ravenous tooth of time. Whatever be the true explanation, the fact remains that the history of Indian art begins with Asoka. 'But,' as Professor Percy Gardner observes, 'there can be no doubt that Indian art had an earlier history. The art of Asoka is a mature art: in some respects more mature than the Greek art of the time, though, of course, far inferior to it, at least in our eyes.'[1] With that mature art we must be content to begin our story, acknowledging the impossibility of tracing in detail the stages of its growth.

Earlier art.

We can, however, affirm with certainty that many forms of Asokan architecture and plastic decoration were descended from wooden prototypes, and may also discern traces of the influence of lost works in metal, ivory, terra-cotta, and painting.[2] We may, moreover, feel some confidence in assuming that the sudden general adoption of stone as the material for both architecture and sculpture was in large measure the result of foreign and especially of Persian example. The fuller consideration of the foreign influences affecting Indian art will be more conveniently deferred and made the subject of a separate chapter (Chap. XI).

Personal initiative of Asoka.

But whether we concede much or little importance to the foreign elements of ancient Indian art, great weight must be allowed for the personal initiative of Asoka, a man of marked originality of mind, capable of forming large designs and executing them with imperial thoroughness. The direction taken by Indian art, like the diffusion of Buddhism, was determined in its main lines by the will of a resolute and intelligent autocrat.

Early art nearly all Buddhist.

I now proceed to a summary description of the principal works of art surviving in India and Ceylon from the times of Asoka and his successors down to about A. D. 100. The buildings having been already noticed, and the art of painting being reserved for another chapter, this chapter will be confined to sculpture. Most of the extant works were executed in honour of Buddhism, which became the State religion in the empire of Asoka and was introduced during his reign into independent Ceylon. Although we know that both Jainism and Brahmanical Hinduism continued to attract multitudes of adherents during the Maurya period, hardly any material remains of works then dedicated to the service of those religions have survived.

Frank naturalism.

The art of the times dealt with in this chapter is characterized by frank naturalism. It is thoroughly human, a mirror of the social and religious life of ancient India, apparently a much pleasanter and merrier life than that of the India of later ages when the Brahmans had reasserted their superiority and imposed their ideas upon art and upon every branch of Hindu civilization. The early sculptures, while full of the creatures of gay fancy, are free from the gloom and horror of the conceptions of the mediaeval artists. The Buddhism with which nearly all of them are concerned was,

[1] *Trans. 3rd Intern. Congress for the Hist. of Religions* (Oxford, 1908), vol. ii, p. 81.

[2] The pictorial character of the ancient Indian reliefs, 'histoires sans paroles', is obvious, and the affinity of much of the decorative work with the jeweller's art is equally plain. The sculpture on a pier of the southern gate at Sānchī was actually executed by the ivory carvers of the neighbouring town of Vedisa (Bhīlsā) (*Ep. Ind.*, ii, pp. 92, 378, inscr. No. 200 of Tope I = C. 189). Cunningham was unable to read this significant record, the interpretation of which is due to Bühler.

as already observed in the Introduction, the popular creed of men and women living a natural life in the world, seeking happiness, and able to enjoy themselves. The recent critics of the 'nationalist' school, in their anxiety to secure adequate recognition for the merits of the mediaeval Brahmanical art, sometimes appear to believe that it alone truly expresses Indian thought. It is well to remember that for several centuries Indian thought was content to find its artistic utterance in a fashion much more human and cheerful.

Inscriptions, columns, and sculptures.

The known existing monuments of art dating from Asoka's reign are not very numerous, but it is not improbable that more may be discovered. His buildings having perished, our direct knowledge of the art strictly contemporary with him is derived from his inscriptions, the carvings and sculptures on his monolithic columns, and some independent statuary. The inscriptions are mentioned on account of their beautiful execution. The most faultless example is the brief record on the Rummindēī Pillar, which is as perfect as on the day it was incised;[1] but, almost without exception, all are models of careful and accurate stone-cutting. The craft of the skilled mason and stone-cutter, so closely akin to fine art, reached perfection in the days of Asoka, as appears from every detail of the work, and especially from examination of the beautifully polished surface of the monoliths and the interior of the cave dwellings dedicated by him and his grandson in the hills of Bihār.

Capitals of monolithic columns.

The best evidence of the state of the art of sculpture, both in relief and in the round, during the reign of the great emperor is afforded by the capitals of the numerous monolithic columns erected between 250 B.C. and the end of the reign in 232 B.C., as briefly described and illustrated in Chapter II (*ante*, p. 20, Plate II). The capital of each pillar, like the shaft, was monolithic, comprising three principal members, namely, a Persepolitan bell, abacus, and crowning sculpture in the round. The junction between the shaft and the abacus was marked by a necking, the edge of the abacus was decorated with bas-relief designs, and the crowning sculpture was occasionally a sacred symbol, such as a wheel, or more commonly a symbolical animal, or group of animals. Sometimes the inanimate and animal symbols were combined.

Forms of abacus.

Within the limits thus determined the artists enjoyed considerable latitude, and in consequence the surviving capitals vary widely in detail. The abacus might be either rectangular or circular so as to suit the form of the sculpture above. The edge of the abacus of the beautiful Lauriyā-Nandangarh pillar is decorated by a row of flying sacred geese in quite low relief. The abaci of the pillars at Allahabad and Sankisa (Fig. 28) and the newly discovered bull pillar at Rāmpurwā exhibit elegant designs composed of the lotus and palmette or honeysuckle. Whatever the device selected, it is invariably well executed, and 'chiselled with that extraordinary precision and accuracy' which characterize the workmanship of the Maurya age, and have never been surpassed in Athens or elsewhere.[2]

Animal symbolism.

The topmost sculpture in the round was most often one or other of the four animals symbolizing respectively the four quarters of the world—namely, the elephant,

[1] *Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India*, Pl. II.

[2] E. J. Marshall, in *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1906–7, p. 89.

the guardian of the east; the horse, of the south; the bull, of the west; and the lion, of the north. All these animals, except the horse, are actually found on extant capitals, and it is recorded that a horse once crowned the pillar at Rummindeī, the Lumbini garden. On the sides of the abacus of the Sārnāth capital all the four creatures are carved in relief, evidently signifying that the monument, although specially connected with the north by its position and the symbolical lions, was designed to commemorate the proclamation of the Good Law to the Church of the four quarters.[1]

The elephant of the Sankisa capital is well modelled, but unhappily badly mutilated. The two pillars at Rāmpurwā bear respectively the bull and lion, guardians of the west and north.[2] Monasteries occupied by western and northern communities may have existed in the neighbourhood.

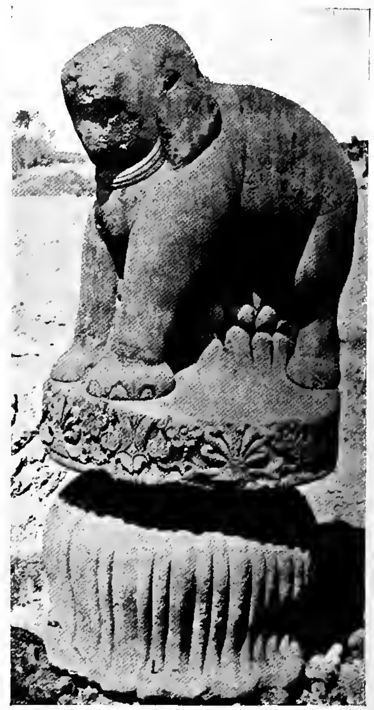


Fig. 28. Capital of Sankisa pillar. (Photo. 680, I. M. *List.*)

The Sārnāth capital.

The magnificent Sārnāth capital discovered in 1905, unquestionably the best extant specimen of Asokan sculpture, was executed late in the reign between 242 and 232 B. C. (Plate XIII). The column was erected to mark the spot where Gautama Buddha first 'turned the wheel of the law', or in plain English, publicly preached his doctrine. The symbolism of the figures, whether in the round or in relief, all refers to the commemoration of that event for the benefit of the Church Universal. The four lions standing back to back on the abacus once supported a stone wheel, two feet nine inches in diameter, of which only fragments remain.[3]

It would be difficult to find in any country an example of ancient animal sculpture superior or even equal to this beautiful work of art, which successfully combines realistic modelling with ideal dignity, and is finished in every detail with perfect accuracy. The bas-reliefs on the abacus are as good in their way as the noble lions in the round. The design, while obviously reminiscent of Assyrian and Persian prototypes, is modified by Indian sentiment, the bas-reliefs being purely Indian. Mr. Marshall's conjecture that the composition may be the work of an Asiatic Greek is not supported by the style of the relief figures. The ability of an Asiatic Greek to represent Indian animals so well may be doubted.

[1] This explanation of the symbolism was suggested by the discovery of rude symbolical bronze figures of the four animals in Ceylon (*post*, chap. vii, sec. 7). See the author's paper 'The Monolithic Pillars of Asoka' in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1911. The lion was also regarded as a symbol of Buddha himself.

[2] *J. R. A. S.*, 1908, p. 1085, Pl. I.

[3] Discovered by Mr. F. O. Oertel and described by him in *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1904–5, pp. 68–70, Pl. XX. His account of the excavations has been reprinted in a separate volume entitled *Buddhist Ruins of Sārnāth near Benares*, 1904–5.



PLATE XIII. Capital of inscribed Asoka pillar at Sārnāth.
(A. S. photo.)

Sānchī edict-pillar capital.

The only rival to the artistic supremacy of the Sārnāth capital is the replica which once crowned the detached pillar at Sānchī engraved with a copy of the Sārnāth edict denouncing schism. So far as can be judged from Maisey's drawing, the Sānchī capital is little inferior to that at Sārnāth, and it is possible that both works may proceed from the hands of a single artist.[1] A century or so later, when an inferior sculptor attempted to model similar lions on the pillars of the southern gateway at Sānchī, he failed utterly, and his failure supports the theory that the Sārnāth capital must have been wrought by a foreigner. Certainly no later sculpture in India attained such high excellence.

The Bakhirā pillar.

The perfection of the Sānchī and Sārnāth lions on the edict-pillars must have been the result of much progressive effort. The uninscribed pillar at Bakhirā (Fig. 29) seems to be one of the earlier experiments of Asoka's artists. The clumsy proportions of the shaft contrast unfavourably with the graceful design of the Lauriyā-Nandangarh column (*ante*, Plate II), which bears a copy of the Pillar Edicts, and may be dated in 242 or 241 B.C., while the seated lion on the summit is by no means equal to the animals on the edict-pillars of Sārnāth and Sānchī erected between 242 and 232 B.C. I am disposed to think that the Bakhirā column was set up soon after 257 B.C., the date of the earliest Rock Edicts.



FIG. 29. Asoka pillar at Bakhirā, Muzaffarpur District. (A. S. photo. supplied by Prof. Macdonell.)

Colossal female statue, Besnagar.

An uninscribed colossal statue of a female, 6 feet 7 inches in height, and found near Besnagar adjoining Bhīlsā in the Gwālior State, Central India, a locality associated by tradition with Asoka, is attributed to his reign on account of the style and costume. The image, now illustrated for the first time (Plate XIV), has suffered so severely from violence and exposure that it is difficult to estimate its aesthetic quality, but, so far as can be

[1] Maisey, *Sānchī and its Remains*, Pl. XIX, 2. I have not seen a photograph.



PLATE XIV. Colossal female statue from Besnagar.
(Photo. 1304, I. M. *List*.)

judged from what is left, the statue was a good naturalistic figure, probably intended for a Yakshī, or minor deity.[1]

Second colossal female statue.

A second colossal female statue, 7 feet high, locally known as the Telin, or Oil-woman, exists within the walls of Besnagar. I do not quite understand Cunningham's description, and therefore abstain from quoting it or from attempting to fix the age of the work.[2] It is desirable that this image should be re-examined and photographed. Cunningham mentions the existence in his time at Besnagar of several other remarkable sculptures apparently of Maurya age, including a polished sandstone elephant with rider, which seem to merit careful illustration. No site appears to equal Besnagar in the number of sculptures dating from the Maurya period.

Torso from Sānchī.

The Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, exhibits the torso of a male statue about 3 feet in height, lent by Major-General Kincaid, which is labelled as having 'formerly crowned one of the several detached columns erected by Asoka', and as having been found in front of the western gateway at Sānchī. The material is highly polished reddish Udayagiri sandstone. The figure wears a sash across the breast, a rich collar, and an elaborate belt, all of which are finished with exquisite care and minuteness. This notable work appears to be correctly ascribed to the Asokan age.[3] The figure looks like that of a Bodhisattva.

The Parkham Yaksha.

A mutilated colossal standing statue of a male, perhaps representing the Yaksha demi-god Kuvera, god of wealth, found at Parkham in the Mathurā District, and now in the Mathurā Museum, is proved by its inscription to date from the Maurya age. The material is polished grey sandstone similar to that used for the Asoka pillars. The height, including pedestal, is 8 feet 8 inches, and the breadth across the shoulders is 2 feet 8 inches. The excessively bulky body is clothed in a waistcloth (*dhōtī*) held round the loins by means of a flat girdle tied in a knot in front. A second flat girdle is bound round the chest. The ornaments are a necklace and a torque from which four tassels hang down on the back. The clumsiness of the modelling suggests that the prototype must have been a figure carved from a log of wood. Some praise may be given to the treatment of the drapery.[4]

A Sānchī statue.

A broken statue of a man which once crowned one of the detached columns at Sānchī was regarded by Cunningham as a singularly successful effort of Indian art. The figure, which is nude save for a scanty waistcloth and has a small nimbus round the head, appears to be that of some Buddhist saint. Cunningham thought that it might be an effigy of Asoka himself, who was and is venerated as a saint. But Asoka, if represented as a religious person, would be clothed in a monastic robe, not

[1] It is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It was found on the bank of the Betwā, to the north-east of the town site (Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. x, p. 44). It is not included in Anderson's *Catalogue*. Several works of reference erroneously place Bhīlsā (Bhēlsā) in the Bhopāl State.

[2] Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. x, p. 40.

[3] Publ. as full-page Plate 142, vol. xiii, *J. I. A. I.*, in order to illustrate the rich jewellery.

[4] Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. xx, p. 40, Pl. VI, back and front views; Sten Konow *Ind. Ant.*, xxxviii (1909), p. 148; Vogel, *Catal. Archaeol. Museum, Mathurā* (Allahabad, 1910), p. 83, Pl. XII. The inscription, which is imperfect, appears to state that the statue was made by Bhadapugarin and [dedicated] by Gomitra, pupil of Kunika.

in a waistcloth. Moreover, it is doubtful if the nimbus was used in India in his time. The statue, although of early date, probably is considerably later than Asoka's age. The published sketches are hardly sufficient to justify a judgement on the aesthetic merits of the work.[1]



FIG. 30. The Heliodoros pillar, Besnagar. (A. S. photo.)

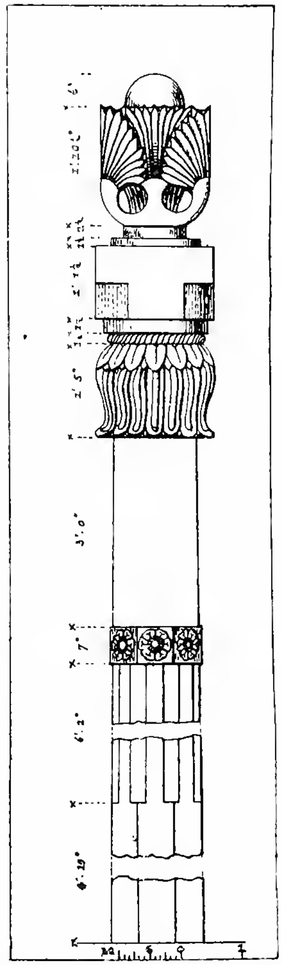


FIG. 31. Fan-palm capital, Besnagar. (Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. x, Pl. XIV, Fig. 1.)

SECTION II. POST-ASOKAN SCULPTURE.

The Heliodoros pillar.

A detached pillar standing to the north-east of Besnagar has been invested with special interest by the recent discovery of a long-concealed inscription on the base,[2] which records the erection of the monument in honour of Vishnu by Heliodoros, son of Dion, envoy from the great King Antalkidas of Taxila to a local prince. Antalkidas

[1] Maisey, *Sānchī*, Pl. XXXII, 1; Cunningham, *Bhīlsa Topes* (1854), p. 197, Pl. X.

[2] Concerning the inscription, see Marshall, Fleet, and Barnett in *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, pp. 1053–6, 1087, and 1093; also D. R. Bhandarkar in *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, 1909, art. xiv. Dr. Fleet clearly is right in maintaining that the record ends with a date.

is supposed to have reigned about 170 B.C. The inscription states that the column was crowned by an image of Garuda, the monstrous bird sacred to the god, but no such image is now visible. Cunningham found, lying close by, a square pinnacle, 2 feet 7 inches in height, formed in the shape of a fan-palm, which he supposed to belong to the column. If it does, the fan-palm capital must be of later, perhaps Gupta date, and substituted for the original Garuda capital. It is known that in the fourteenth century Sultan Fīrōz Tughlak replaced the sculptures crowning the Asoka columns which he moved by ornaments of his own design, and earlier Hindu kings may have done likewise. The fan-palm capital, whatever be its age, is unique. It is



FIG. 32. Part of coping and pillar, Bodh-Gayā. (Photo. 56, I. M. *List.*)



FIG. 33. Part of coping and pillar, Bodh-Gayā sacred tree, &c. (Photo. 58, I. M. *List.*)

reproduced from Cunningham's drawing in Fig. 31, and the pillar, as it stands, is shown in Fig. 30, from a photograph. The shaft is 17 feet 11 inches in height.

Sculptured railing at Besnagar.

Most of the examples of early post-Asokan sculpture are found on the decorated stone railings which became fashionable in the time of the Sunga dynasty within the century after Asoka's death, or on the gateways which were inserted into the openings of the plain railing at Sānchī. Besnagar offers an excellent example of a sculptured railing certainly not later than 100 B.C., and perhaps as early as 200 B.C., which once surrounded a small *stūpa*. The coping-stone is adorned with a frieze representing a religious procession, with elephants, horses, &c., divided into compartments by the graceful sinuosities of a lotus stem. The pillars exhibited scenes of Buddhist legend in panels, and on the cross-rails elegant lotuses are carved.[1]

[1] Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. x, p. 38, Pl. XIII.

A better-known example is the often described railing at Bodh-Gayā, which used to be called 'the Asoka railing', but has been proved to date from Sunga times. Thirty pieces have been found, evidently belonging to two distinct structures, some pieces being of granite (? gneiss), and others of sandstone. All are similar in style, irrespective of material, and may be dated about a century after Asoka's death, more or less.

Sculptured railing at Bodh-Gayā.

Most of the subjects are treated in low relief. Those on the coping are purely fanciful; those on the panels and medallions include weird centaurs, winged beasts, domestic animals, sacred trees, and sundry scenes of human life, all no doubt significant and readily intelligible to ancient Buddhists versed in the legends of their scriptures and traditions, but now difficult of interpretation. Most of the more interesting sculptures have been published more than once; a few are here reproduced from photographs. They are simply pictures in stone, and should be criticized as drawings slightly in relief rather than from the point of view of a sculptor. They exhibit a lively fancy,



FIG. 34. Winged lion.
(Photo. 56, I. M. *List.*)



FIG. 35. Winged ox.
(Photo. 56, I. M. *List.*)

considerable skill in drawing, and much neatness of execution; but whenever the subjects agree with those of the Gandhāra reliefs, the technique of the latter is superior.

Specimens of Bodh-Gayā sculptures.

In Fig. 32 is shown a part of an animal frieze on the coping, very similar to what we shall meet later at Amarāvatī. The pillar panel gives an interesting picture of an early Buddhist chapel enshrining the symbol of the preaching of the Law. Images of Buddha do not occur at this period. The façade, with its curved roof, originally derived from a bamboo form, illustrates the architecture of the western cave-temples, and the origin of curved roofs.

The next illustration (Fig. 33) is equally instructive concerning the practice of early Buddhist cult. The railing round the sacred tree is perfectly plain. The fact that the railing is drawn in sufficiently correct linear perspective deserves notice.

The figures following (Figs. 34, 35) give specimens of the winged animals, borrowed from Western Asiatic, or perhaps Hellenistic art. Similar figures occur in the earliest of the western cave-temples, but are not to be found, I think, after the Christian era. They are used freely for decorative purposes, and if they had any definite symbolical meaning I do not know what it was.

Another medallion (Fig. 36) gives the Indian form of centaur, a conception

familiar in variant shapes to Asiatic art from very remote times. A frieze on the coping pictures queer fish-tailed monsters, which recall many forms in Hellenistic art, and like them came from Western Asia (Fig. 37).

Another piece of coping exhibits more strange beasts, and one of the Sunga inscriptions which fix the approximate date of the monument. The medallion below gives a picture of a more specially Indian fantasy, the *kinnara*, or horse-headed female (Fig. 38). A similar sculpture has been found near Patna.

The series of illustrations may be closed by two purely naturalistic pictures—an excellent buffalo (Fig. 39), and a husband and wife seated together (Fig. 40).



Fig. 36. Centaur.
(Photo. 58, I. M. *List.*)



Fig. 37. Coping: fish-tailed monsters.
(Photo. 57, I. M. *List.*)

Every form, however outlandish, is Indianized by its close association with the lotus, the most characteristic and universal of all Indian art motives. Infinite variety in the treatment of the conventionalized flower is exhibited in the minute details both at Bodh-Gayā and elsewhere.[1]

The *stūpa* of Bharhut.

In 1873 Cunningham discovered at Bharhut (more accurately 'Barhut', 24° 37′ N., 80° 53′ E.), about midway between Allahabad and Jabalpur, the remains of a Buddhist *stūpa*, surrounded by a stone railing adorned with sculptures of surprising richness and interest. The *stūpa* had then been almost wholly carried off by greedy villagers in search of bricks, who treated the sculptures with equal ruthlessness, and were

[1] For numerous drawings of the sculptures on the Bodh-Gayā railing, see Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. i, Plates VIII to XI; vol. iii, Plates XXVI–XXX: and *Mahābodhi*; also Rājendralāla Mitra, *Buddha Gaya*.



Plate XV. Bharhut, inner view of eastern gateway.
(Photo. 1070, I. O. *List* = Cunningham, Pl. XII.)

prevented from destroying them all only by the great weight of the stones. During the following years to 1876, Cunningham and his assistant uncovered the ruins and saved a large number of the sculptured stones by sending them to Calcutta, where they now form one of the chief treasures of the Indian Museum.[1] Everything left on the site was taken away by the country people and converted to their base uses.

The railing. The railing, constructed after the usual pattern, in a highly developed form, was extremely massive, the pillars being 7 feet 1 inch in height, and each of the coping stones about the same in length. The sculptures of the coping were devoted mainly to the representation of incidents in the *Jātakas*, or tales of the previous births of the



Fig. 38. Horse-headed female.
(Photo. 57, I. M. *List.*)

Buddha. The carvings on the rails, pillars, and gateways, all treating of Buddhist legends, were exceedingly varied in subject and treatment. The general appearance of the structure will be understood from Plate XV. The composite pillar of the gateway, made up of four clustered columns crowned by a modified Persepolitan capital, is worthy of special notice. An inscription records that the eastern gateway with the adjoining masonry was erected during the rule of the Sunga dynasty (185–173 B.C.), but it is not possible to determine the date of the monument with greater precision. The execution of work so costly and elaborate must have extended over many years. Certain masons' marks in the Kharoshthī character of the north-western frontier prove that foreign artists were called in to teach and assist local talent. The

[1] Anderson, *Catalogue*, Part I, pp. xiii–xx, 1–120.

railing exhibits a great mass of sculptures of a high order of excellence. The subjects and style are described by Cunningham as follows :—

Subjects and style of the sculptures.

'The subjects represented in the Bharhut sculptures are both numerous and varied, and many of them are of the highest interest and importance for the study of Indian history. Thus we have more than a score of illustrations of the legendary *Jātakas*, and some half-dozen illustrations of historical scenes connected with the life of Buddha, which are quite invaluable for the history of Buddhism. Their value is chiefly due to the inscribed labels that are attached to many of them, and which make their identification absolutely certain. Amongst the historical scenes the most interesting are the processions of the Rājas Ajātasatru and Prasēnajita on their visits to Buddha ; the former on his elephant, the latter in his chariot, exactly as they are described in the Buddhist chronicles.

Another invaluable sculpture is the representation of the famous Jetavana monastery at Srāvasti—with its mango tree and temples, and the rich banker



Fig. 39. Buffalo.
(Photo. 59, I. M. *List.*)



Fig. 40. Man and woman.
(Photo. 59, I. M. *List.*)

Anāthapinda in the foreground emptying a cartful of gold pieces to pave the surface of the garden.

But besides these scenes, which are so intimately connected with the history of Buddhism, there are several bas-reliefs, which seem to represent portions of the history of Rāma during his exile. There are also a few scenes of broad humour in which monkeys are the chief actors.

Of large figures there are upwards of thirty alto-rilievo statues of Yakshas and Yakshinīs [Yakshīs], Devatās, and Nāga Rājas, one half of which are inscribed with their names. We thus see that the guardianship of the north gate was entrusted to Kuvera, King of the Yakshas, agreeably to the teaching of the Buddhist and Brahmanical cosmogonies. And similarly we find that the other gates were confided to the Devas and the Nāgas.

The representations of animals and trees are also very numerous, and some of them are particularly spirited and characteristic. Of other objects there are boats, horse-chariots, and bullock-carts, besides several kinds of musical instruments, and a great variety of flags, standards, and other symbols of royalty.

About one half of the full medallions of the rail-bars and the whole of the half-medallions of the pillars are filled with flowered ornaments of singular beauty and delicacy of execution.' [1]

[1] *The Stūpa of Bharhut* (1879), p. 18.

The medallions on the rail-bars and the half-medallions on the pillars are filled with a wonderful variety of bas-relief subjects. The comic monkey scenes collected in Cunningham's Plate XXXIII display a lively sense of humour, freedom of fancy, and clever drawing. They must, of course, like all the early bas-reliefs, be judged as pictures drawn on stone, rather than as sculpture. The rollicking humour and liberty of fancy unchecked by rigid canons, while alien to the transcendental philosophy and ascetic ideals of the Brahmans, are thoroughly in accordance with the spirit of Buddhism, which, as a practical religion, makes human and animal happiness its avowed object. Everything seems to indicate that India was a much happier land in



Fig. 41. Bharhut; comic scene.
(Photo. 1034, I. O. *List* = Cunningham, Pl. XXXIII, 3.



Fig. 42. Bharhut; elephant and monkeys.
(Photo. 1034, I. O. *List*.)

the days when Buddhism flourished than it has ever been since. The first medallion selected for illustration is a very funny picture of a tooth being extracted from a man's jaws by an elephant pulling a gigantic forceps; and the second (Fig. 42) is nearly equally humorous. The stories alluded to are presumably traceable somewhere in a *Jātaka*.

Coping. Figure 43 gives a characteristic and well-preserved specimen of the bas-reliefs on the coping. The large fruit is that of the jack (*Artocarpus integrifolia*), and the deer are the spotted hog-deer kind (*Axis porcinus*). The artists who could design and execute such pictures in hard sandstone had no small skill. In general appearance they are not altogether unlike the much later reliefs from Boro-Būdūr in Java.

The large alto-rilievo images of minor deities on the pillars vary much in quality. Some, as for instance the image of Sirimā (Cunningham, Pl. XXIII, 1), are ill designed, with the attenuated waist and exaggerated hips which disfigure so many Indian sculptures. Others are thoroughly natural, life-like representations of women, admirably modelled, skilfully executed, and pleasing but for the ugly snub-nosed faces, apparently representing people like Tibetans. The statue of Chukalokā (Cunningham, Pl. XXIII, 3), not reproduced, is specially interesting as the earliest extant example of the 'Woman and Tree' motive, common in Alexandrian art and a great favourite in India, which will be discussed in Chapter XI. One of the best statues is that of the Yakshī Sudarsanā (Fig. 44), which exhibits a good knowledge of the human form and marked skill in the modelling of the hips in a difficult position. Mr. Havell observes that the technique is that of a wood-carver.[1]

Alto-rilievo images.



FIG. 43. Bharhut; *jātaka* scene on coping. (Photo. 1072, I. O. *List.*)

Equally good is the image of the nameless Yakshī on a pillar removed from the *stūpa*, and found by Cunningham at Batanmārā, a village near Bharhut. I am not sure that this is not the best of the series. The modelling would do credit to any sculptor, and the execution of all details is perfect. At Sānchī the reliefs are more refined than those of Bharhut, but I doubt if any of the larger sculptures are as good as the best Bharhut Yakshīs.

The Bharhut sculptures, having escaped the destructive zeal of Muhammadan iconoclasts by reason of their situation in an out-of-the-way region, lay safely hidden under a thick veil of jungle until a century ago, when the establishment of general peace and the spread of cultivation stimulated the local rustics to construct substantial houses from the spoils of the old monuments for which they cared nothing. The extensive group of early Buddhist buildings at and near Sānchī in the Bhopāl State similarly evaded demolition because it lay out of the path of the armies of Islam. Although the monuments of Sānchī have not suffered as much as those of Bharhut from the ravages of the village builder, they have not wholly escaped injury. During the first

The remains at Sānchī.

[1] The forms *Yakshī* and *Yakshinī* both occur.

half of the nineteenth century much damage was done by the ill-advised curiosity of amateur archaeologists. Now, however, the authorities concerned are fully alive to their responsibility, and everything possible is being done to conserve the local memorials of India's ancient greatness.

The four gateways.

The importance of Sānchī in the history of Indian art rests chiefly upon the four wonderful gateways forming the entrances to the procession path between the *stūpa*



Fig. 44. Sudarsanā Yakshī, Bharhut. (Photo. 1067, I. O. *List* = Cunningham, Pl. XXIII, 2.)



Fig. 45. A Yakshī, Batanmārā, near Bharhut. (Photo. 1090, I. O. *List*=Cunningham, Pl. XXI, 2.)

(Plate I and Fig. 1) and the surrounding railing. The stone railing itself is a perfectly plain copy of a wooden post and rail fence, dating probably from the time of Asoka. The four gateways, a century later, more or less, are covered with masses of sculpture so intricate as almost to defy description in detail. The most ancient portal, the southern, was already prostrate when visited by Captain Fell in 1819; the western one came down between 1850 and 1860; while the northern and eastern gateways have never fallen. All have undergone thorough repairs during recent years, and are now erect. The work on the sculpture, which must have continued for many years, may be assigned approximately to the period between 150 and 100 B. C.



PLATE XVI. Eastern gateway of great *stūpa*, Sānchī, back view.
(I. O. Photo.)

Gateways of this kind, derived from temporary structures erected on the occasions of festivities, are the prototypes of the Chinese *pailus*, to which they have a general resemblance.

Construction of the gateways.

The Sānchī gateways, or *toraṇas*, stand 34 feet high, and are all substantially alike, while differing much in detail.

'Two massive square pillars, one on either side, 14 feet high, forming as it were the gate-posts, support an ornamental superstructure of three slightly arched stone beams or architraves placed horizontally, one above the other, with spaces between them. The topmost beam of each gate was surmounted by the sacred wheel flanked by attendants and the *triśūla* emblem.

The faces, back and front, of the beams and pillars are crowded with panels of sculpture in bas-relief representing scenes in the life of Buddha, domestic and silvan scenes, processions, sieges, adoration of trees and *topes*, and groups of ordinary and extraordinary animals, among which are winged bulls and lions of a Persepolitan type and horned animals with human faces.'[1]

Extent of the sculptures.

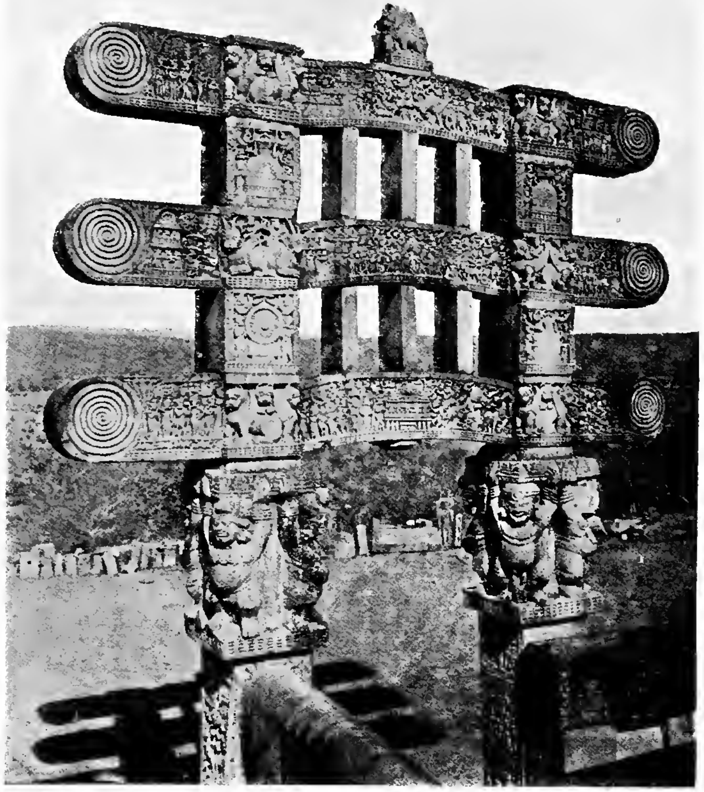
Plate XVI, representing the eastern gateway, will enable the reader to appreciate the wealth of ornament lavished on the four monuments. The same gateway may be further studied by the aid of full-sized casts supplied to the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, and other institutions, some of which, however, do not exhibit the casts. Numerous illustrations, more or less accurate and satisfactory, will be found in the works of Fergusson, Maisey, Cunningham, and other writers on Indian archaeology, but nothing approaching a complete description of the sculptures exists. In January and February, 1901, Mr. H. Cousens succeeded in photographing the whole mass of sculptures on 225 negatives to a uniform scale of one-eighth, but so far little use has been made of the huge supply of material thus accumulated.[2] The preparation of a descriptive and critical monograph would be an arduous undertaking, and the work would probably fill several large quartos. It is not likely to be written just yet. In this chapter a few illustrations must suffice.

Capitals of the southern gate-posts.

All critics are agreed that the southern gateway is the earliest of the four. One of its pillars is shown in Plate XVII, Fig. B. The capitals of its gate-posts are formed by four lions seated back to back, 'indifferently carved,' and evidently intended as imitations of those on Asoka's inscribed pillar already noticed (*ante*, p. 60). The marked decline in skill demonstrated by the contrast between the lions on the gate-post and those on the inscribed pillar is surprising considering the shortness of the interval of time, about a century, between the two compositions. The decadence is most easily verified by comparing the treatment of the lions' paws on the gate-post capital (Maisey,

[1] Cousens, *Progr. Rep. A. S., Western India, for year ending June* 30, 1900, para. 9.

[2] A brilliant lecture by M. A. Foucher, entitled *La Porte orientale du Stûpa de Sânchi* (Moulage du Musée Guimet), Paris, Leroux, 1910, throws much light on the meaning of the sculptures, and is illustrated from the new photographs. The right or northern pier of the southern gate depicts six of the Buddhist heavens, and other sections represent the leading incidents of Buddha's life, told by ingenious symbolical contrivances, the effigy of the Master being rigorously excluded. The most surprising discovery made by M. Foucher is that incidents in the history or legend of Asoka are shown on both the southern and eastern gates (*op. cit.*, pp. 76, 77).



A. West gate, back.



B. South gate, pillar.

PLATE XVII. Sānchī sculptures.
(Photos. supplied by Prof. Macdonell.)

Plate XIX) and of the same members on the capital of the inscribed pillar, or the similar Sārnāth pillar (*ante*, Plate XIII). The paws of the early Asokan sculptures are correctly modelled with four large front claws and one small hind claw, the muscles also being realistically reproduced. In the later work five large claws, all in front, are given to the paws, and the muscles are carelessly indicated by some straight channels running up and down.

Animals in Oriental art.

The change does not correspond with a deliberate resolve to substitute a generalized ideal for a realistic form. It simply indicates a decline of skill in animal sculpture in the round. The case does not support the theory of Dr. Coomaraswamy that the animals represented in Oriental decorative art need not resemble any beast on the face of the earth, and are the better for their lack of likeness. According to his view, 'the sculptured lions of Egypt, Assyria, or India are true works of art; for in them we see, not any lion that could to-day be shot or photographed in a desert, but the lion as he existed in the minds of a people, a lion that tells us something of the people who represents him.'[1] The theory thus enunciated certainly does not apply to elephants and monkeys, which notoriously are represented in Indian art, both plastic and pictorial, with the utmost fidelity to nature and the fullest understanding of the character of both animals, as may be seen from many examples in this book. It is not easy to perceive why a bad lion should be extolled in preference to a good elephant. Probably the critic cited was anxious to justify the fearsome beasts so common in Ceylonese art, which certainly could not be found in any desert. But the theory does not fit the case even of lions, because nobody can deny that the best lions in Indian sculpture are those of Asoka's time, which are by far the most naturalistic.

Other capitals.

The capitals of the gate-posts of the northern gateway, the next in date, exhibit four elephants standing back to back, and carrying riders. Those of the eastern gateway (Plate XVI) are similar. On the capitals of the latest gateway, the western, four hideous dwarfs, clumsily sculptured, take the place of the elephants or lions (Plate XVII, Fig. A).[2]

Subjects all Buddhist.

All the Sānchī sculptures, like the Ajantā paintings, deal with Buddhist subjects. If a composition seems in our eyes to be purely secular, that is only because we do not understand its meaning. Genre pictures, whether in paint or bas-relief, do not exist in the ancient art of India. The main object of the artist was to illustrate his Bible, and if, perchance, the illustration could be made into a pretty picture, so much the better; but anyhow, the sacred story must be told.

Worship by the whole creation.

In addition to his desire to tell edifying stories in a manner readily intelligible to the eyes of the faithful, the old artist clearly was dominated by the feeling that he was bound to impress on all beholders the lesson that the dead Teacher, the last and greatest of the long line of Buddhas, had won and continually received the willing homage of the whole creation—of men, women, and children, of the host of heaven, the water-sprites, and the demons—nay, even of the monsters of romance and the

[1] *The Aims of Indian Art* (Essex House Press, 1908), p. 14.

[2] Compare the frequent occurrence of similar dwarfs in the sculpture of Ceylon. I do not understand the symbolism.

dumb animals. And so, in all the ancient Buddhist art, whether at Sānchī or elsewhere, weird winged figures hovering in the air, snake-headed or fish-tailed monsters emerging from their caverns or haunting the deep, offer their silent homage to the Lord of all, and the monkeys bow down in adoration before the Master who had turned the wheel of the Law and set it rolling through the world. The early artists did not dare to portray his bodily form, which had for ever vanished, being content to attest his spiritual presence by silent symbols—the footprints, the empty chair, and so forth.[1] But, whether the Master was imaged or symbolized, the notion of his adoration by all creation was continually present in the minds of the artists and influenced their selection of decorative motives. Although concerned in the main with thoughts of religion and worship they were not unmindful of beauty, which they often succeeded in attaining in no small degree.



FIG. 46. Bracket figure, &c.; eastern gateway, Sānchī. (I. O. photo.)

In the early works, like those of Sānchī and Bharhut, the absence of images of Buddha has the advantage of saving the stone pictures from the formal symmetrical arrangements grouped round the central figure which often weary by their monotonous iteration in Gandhāra and at Amarāvatī.

Bracket figure, &c.

In a general way, the style of the Sānchī reliefs resembles that of those at Bharhut, but is rather more refined and delicate. If we have no Yakshī statues as at Bharhut, compensation may be found in the elegant bracket figures, practically statues in the round, which are a specially pleasing feature of Sānchī art. A good example of such a figure is shown in Fig. 46. It is a form of the Woman and Tree motive. The beautiful decorative details of the pillar are worthy of careful study. No nation has surpassed the Indians in the variety and delicacy of the floral designs enriching their sculpture and pictures.

Nāga worship, &c.

Two more photographs must conclude the illustration of the Sānchī sculptures.

[1] 'The outward form, Brethren, of him who has won the truth (*Tathāgata*) stands before you, but that which binds it to rebirth is cut in twain. So long as his body shall last, so long do gods and men behold him. On the dissolution of the body, beyond the end of his life, neither gods nor men shall see him' ('Brahmajāla Sutta,' transl. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, p. 54). The absence of images of Buddha from early Indian art does not imply that images of the Hindu gods were then unknown. They were certainly in use as early as the fourth century B. C. (*Ind. Ant.*, xxxviii (1909), pp. 145–9).

In the upper panel of Fig. 47 we see the worship of a Nāga spirit represented by an image of the hooded cobra housed in a shrine with a domical roof.[1] Such



Fig. 47. Nāga shrine, &c.; eastern gateway, Sānchī.
(I. O. photo.)



Fig. 48. Three men in a boat, &c.; the inundation miracle; eastern gateway, Sānchī.
(I. O. photo.)

[1] It is possible that the object of worship may be Buddha himself sheltered by the hoods of Muchalinda, the Snake King. The Real Presence of Buddha in these sculptures is always indicated symbolically.



PLATE XVIII. Processional scenes, Mathurā; in a *toraṇa* arch.
(Photo. by Dr. Führer = *Jain Stūpa*, Pl. XIX.)

a temple roof, I think (*ante*, p. 17), was the origin of the domed *stūpa* as seen in the central panel. The figure of the guardian deity in the lowest panel is a good sample of Sānchī sculpture on the larger scale, and may be compared with the door-keepers on stelae at Anurādhapura in Ceylon (*post*, Pl. XXI).

Three men in a boat, &c.

The scenes represented in Fig. 48 are not less interesting for their subjects and dainty ivory-like carving, and each might supply material for lengthy comment. The most curious panel is the central one with three men in a boat, the record of a miracle on the occasion of an inundation of the Niranjana river. The lowest panel, M. Foucher informs me, appears to represent the visit of Bimbisāra to Buddha. The men and trees on land will assume their proper relative places if we imagine the figures to be on hinges and set up standing. This substitute for perspective continued to be used in Hindu pictures many centuries later in date, as we shall see in due course.

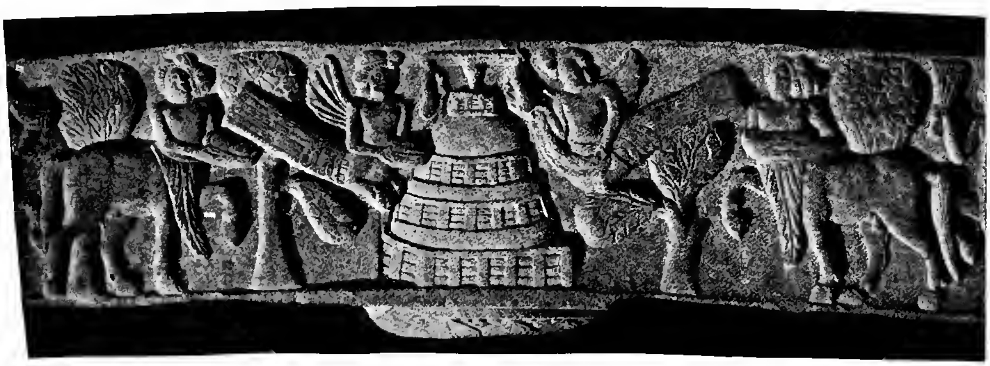


FIG. 49. Part of frieze on *toraṇa* beam, Mathurā; worship of a *stūpa*.
(Photo. by Dr. Führer = *Jain Stūpa*, Pl. XV, 2.)

Reliefs at Mathurā.

Certain early bas-reliefs, dating probably from the first century B. C., discovered in the Kankālī mound near Mathurā, and apparently associated with the very ancient Jain *stūpa* which once existed there, are extremely curious for various reasons, and present remarkable forms not found elsewhere. As art they are far inferior in delicacy and definition to the work at Sānchī, the trees especially being sketched quite roughly. Fig. 49 represents the adoration paid to a *stūpa*, presumably Jain, by fabulous creatures, *suparṇas*, or harpies, and *kinnaras*, or centaurs.

The form of the *stūpa*, with two procession-paths and railings round the dome, in addition to the path and railing on the ground level, is unusual. No other example is known of a leaf being used to mask the junction between the human and equine bodies in the centaurs.

The larger fragment (Plate XVIII), apparently from the same building, offers many points of interest. The abnormal elongation of the principal worshipper in the spandrel is due seemingly to the necessity for filling the space. The garland bearers of the middle concentric band are depicted in an unusual manner. The oxen are fairly well drawn, but the horse is atrocious, and the floral patterns are feeble.

Two fragments (Fig. 50) in the Mathurā Museum, of uncertain origin, are very like the Bharhut sculptures. The modelling and execution are good (Mathurā Museum, Nos. I, 15, 18; *Catalogue* (1910), Pl. XXI). The fragments are 1 foot 3 inches, and 1 foot 4 inches in height respectively. Reliefs in Bharhut style.



FIG. 50. Fragments in Bharhut style, Mathurā Museum.
(Photo., A. S., No. 45 of 1908–9.)

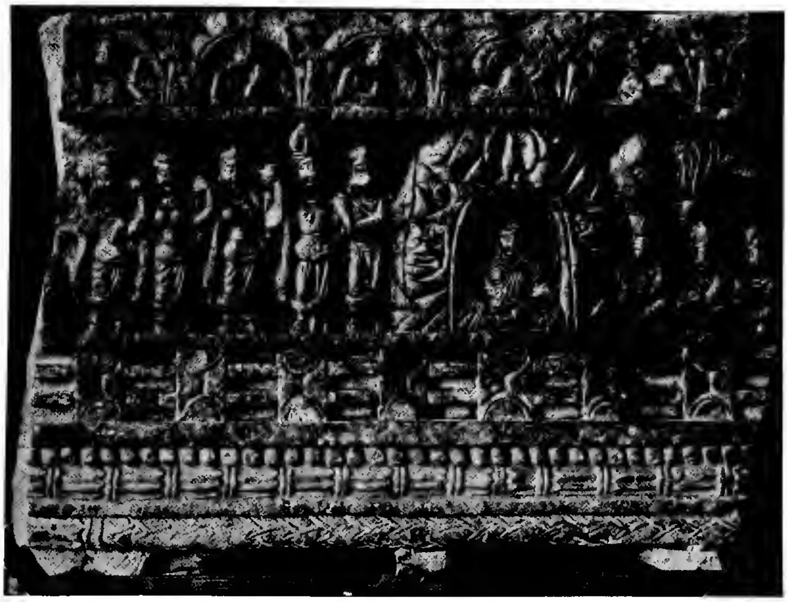


FIG. 51. Visit of Indra to Buddha, Mathurā Museum.
(Photo. No. 40 of 1907–8.)

A relief of unknown origin in the local Mathurā Museum (Fig. 51) depicts in a strangely stiff and archaic wooden style the famous visit of Indra to Buddha seated in a cave. It should be contrasted with the very different treatment of the same subject by the Gandhāra school (*post*, Fig. 60). I hesitate to assign a date to the Visit of Indra.

Mathurā version. The relief seems to be a direct copy of work in wood, and may be compared with the frieze from Chambā (Chap. X, Sec. 7, *post*). Dr. Vogel regards this work as a 'clumsy imitation' of Gandhāran art. The height is 1 foot 6 inches (Mathurā Museum, No. 11, *Catalogue*, pp. 31, 130).

Jain bas-reliefs in Orissa.

The sandstone hills known as Khandagiri, Udayagiri, and Nīlagiri, situated in the Purī District, Orissa, a few miles from the Bhuvanesvara temples (*ante*, p. 25), are honeycombed with Jain caves of various dates, the oldest of which date from the second century B.C. The local worship appears to have been devoted chiefly to the early Tīrthankara, Pārsvanāth, who lived some centuries before Mahāvīra, usually regarded as the founder of Jainism. The elaborate, but ugly, and semi-barbaric sculptures in the Rānī Gumphā, or Queen's Cave, are interpreted as representing a procession in honour of Pārsvanāth. Plate XIX is a good illustration of the style, which shows no trace of foreign influence, so far as I can see.[1]



Fig. 52. Female statue, Jayavijaya cave, Udayagiri, Orissa, ? 2nd cent. B.C. (Photo. 407, I. M. *List.*)

Female statue.

At the Jayavijaya cave on Udayagiri a female statue (Fig. 52), about 6 feet high, and almost in the round, seems to be of early date and to possess considerable merit. The goddess, or whoever the personage may be, is represented as leaning her weight on the right leg, the left foot being bent in behind the right, so that only the toes touch the ground. In her right hand she holds up an object, presumably a flower, while the left forearm is bent horizontally across her waist. She apparently wears drawers, and is nude above the waist, in accordance with the fashion of ancient India, maintained in the south until recent days. The head-dress is a peculiar ribbed cap with long lappets. The features have been destroyed. The form is naturalistic and the pose easy.

Western India.

The sculpture in the most ancient cave-temples of Western India, at Bhājā and Bedsā (Poona District), Pītalkhorā (Khāndesh District), and Kondānē (Kolābā District) offers little of aesthetic interest. The small five-celled hermitage at Bhājā,

[1] 66 caves, viz. 44 on Udayagiri, 19 on Khandagiri, and 3 on Nīlagiri. The inscription of King Khāravela in the Hāthī Gumphā, or Elephant Cave, is of the second century B.C., but not precisely dated, as formerly supposed (Fleet, *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 242). See *Imp. Gaz.* (1908), *s.v.* Khandagiri; *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1902–3, pp. 40–2. The best account of the caves is that by Bābū Monmohan Chakravarti in *Gaz. Purī District* (1908). See also Fergusson, *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 2nd ed. (1910), vol. ii, pp. 9–18.



PLATE XIX. Portion of frieze in Rānī Gumphā Cave, Udayagiri, Orissa, ? 2nd cent. B. C.
(Photo. 416, I. M. *List.*)

dating probably from the second century B. C., is supposed to be the most ancient. The cornice is supported by male figures used as caryatids, wearing waistcloths, large turbans, and much jewellery. The statues of the armed door-keepers are similarly clothed. The early date of the Pītalkhorā church cave is attested by two short inscriptions in script of the Maurya age or a little later. Two ugly little winged sphinxes on the back wall may be compared with the winged horse at Bhājā and similar creatures at Bodh-Gayā (*ante*, p. 67). At Bhājā the Persepolitan bell-capitals are surmounted by groups of queer sphinx-like figures without wings, having male or female busts with the bodies of oxen. At Kondānē, a statue labelled in characters of about the Maurya period as 'made by Baluka, the pupil of Kanha (Kṛishṇa)', is supposed to have been intended for a portrait of the excavator, but is so much mutilated that the skill of the sculptor can be judged only by the elaborate head-dress, most carefully chiselled.[1] The most interesting early sculptures of the western caves are the capitals of the two pillars in front of the Bedsā cave, which are surmounted by 'horses and elephants bearing men and women of bold and free execution'.[2]

Southern India.

In Southern India the amount of early sculpture as yet discovered is extremely small. The Bhattiprolu *stūpa* in the Guntūr District, Madras, dating from about 200 B. C., and utterly destroyed in recent times, is known to have been once surrounded by a marble screen and decorated with accessory sculpture. But all is gone, and when Mr. Rea explored the site, his researches, although rewarded by important inscriptions, disclosed no sculpture worth mentioning.[3]

At Jaggayapeta, or Betavolu, in the same District, a little has been saved from the wreck of another richly adorned *stūpa*, dating from either the later Maurya or the Sunga period. The original construction of the Amarāvatī *stūpa* goes back to the same times, and a few examples of the ancient sculptures survive, obviously related to the art of Bharhut and the earliest cave-temples of the west, and in some cases showing affinity with that of Mathurā. The best is the slab from Amarāvatī, of uncertain date, representing a man with his hand on the head of a boy (Fig. 53), which is good work.

Ceylonese sculpture abundant.

Ceylon is rich in sculpture of many kinds, beginning probably, as in India, from the third century before Christ. Fergusson's belief that the 'almost total absence of sculpture' was one of the most striking peculiarities of Ceylonese art has been disproved abundantly by the fruitful researches of the Archaeological Commissioner and his staff.[4] But it is extremely difficult to affix dates, even approximate, to the numerous specimens of the Ceylonese sculptors' skill. Dated dedicatory inscriptions, so common in India, are rare in the island, and the principal monuments have been

[1] *A. S., Western India*, vol. iv, p. 9, Fig. 9. The founders of temples often inserted portrait statues of themselves and their wives (*Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1905–6, p. 149).

[2] Fergusson, *Hist. of Ind. and E. Archit.*, 2nd ed. (1910), p. 138, fig. 64 = photo. 987, I. O. *List.*

[3] Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities* (Madras, 1894).

[4] The London collections do not include any Ceylonese sculpture deserving of notice, except a few examples in metal.

subject to such extensive alterations at various times that it is almost impossible to distinguish the sculptures of different periods. It is possible that when systematic study shall be applied to the local styles of art closer discrimination will be feasible,



FIG. 53. Man and boy, Amarāvatī.
(Burgess, *Amarāvatī*, Pl. LI, 2, reduced.)

but in the present state of knowledge anything like accurate chronological classification of the sculptures of Ceylon is unattainable. The brief discussion of the subject which limits of space permit me will be arranged under two headings, Early and Mediaeval; the former comprising everything up to about A. D. 700, and the latter

everything later. Ceylon has not produced any noticeable modern sculpture. Although the Early sculpture will be treated in this chapter for convenience, very little of it can be assigned with any confidence to the chronological limits of the Indian works described above.

Inferior in quality to Indian.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Archaeological Commissioner, acting under instructions from the Government of Ceylon, has liberally supplied me with a collection of considerably more than a hundred photographs, from which I have selected a few. The general impression on my mind is that, with the exception of some of the colossal statues, the bronzes, which are very good, but may have been cast in India, and a few other works, the production of the island sculptors is by no means equal to that of the best artists on the mainland. The style is Indian, with a difference. We must remember that many of the Ceylonese images were originally plastered and coloured, and that the rough, weather-worn blocks now visible do not produce the effect designed by the artists. I have endeavoured to select typical examples.

Stelae.

The highly decorated stelae at the entrances to chapels connected with the great *dāgabas* are characteristic of Ceylonese art. The examples chosen from the Abhayagiri *dāgaba* at Anurādhapura may be assigned with considerable probability to the time of King Gajabāhu I, in the second century of the Christian era, but it is possible that they may be later, or even earlier. The floral patterns differ widely from those used in the mediaeval stelae of Polonnāruwa. The devices springing from vases (Plate XX, Fig. C) recall many examples of the same motive in Alexandrian and Indian art.

The human figures in panels (Plates XX–XXII) have a general resemblance to those at Sānchī (*ante*, Fig. 47), but are not so finely executed. The dwarf in the Atlas pose may be noticed in Plate XXI, Fig. A. The seven-headed Nāga or cobra shown in Plate XX, Fig. B, is a good example of an art form extremely common in Ceylon, and usually well sculptured; the number of heads varies, nine being the maximum.

Door-keepers.

Door-keepers intended to ward off the attacks of evil spirits were deemed essential for most Ceylonese buildings. The Nāga at Ruwanveli (Plate XXI, Fig. B) is a good example of, I think, an early type, but it is not easy to be certain. I should be inclined to assign it to the early centuries of the Christian era.

Ugly dwarfs were regarded as very effective janitors. The specimens from the Ruwanveli and Jetāwanārāma *dāgabas* (Plate XXII, Figs. A, B) are typical. They may be compared with the somewhat similar figures on the capitals of the western gateway at Sānchī.

Grotesques.

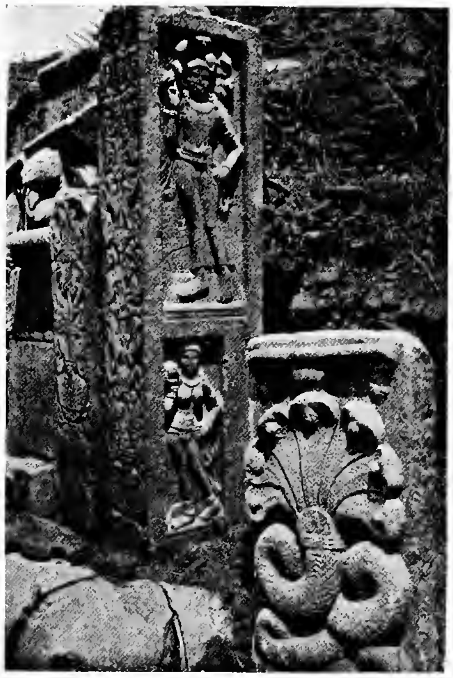
Fig. C in the same plate is a characteristic example of the small grotesque figures used decoratively in early Ceylonese art. Like Gothic gargoyles, they are cleverly done, though ugly.

Reputed statues of kings.

Portrait statues supposed to be those of ancient kings are a speciality of Ceylonese art. Mr. Smither has described two battered examples which seem to be of high antiquity. One of these, traditionally believed to represent King Devānampiya Tissa, the contemporary and friend of Asoka, which was found near the Ambusthāla *dāgaba*



A. East stele of south chapel.
(Photo. A. 461.)



B. The same stele, and a Nāga.
(Photo. A. 463.)



C. East stele of north chapel.
(Photo. A. 443, A. S., Ceylon.)

PLATE XX. Sculptured stelae at Abhayagiri *dāgaba*, Anurādhapura.



A. North stele, east chapel, Abhayagiri.
(Photo. C. 288.)



B. Nāga door-keeper, Ruwanveli *vihāre.*
(Photo. A. 465.)

PLATE XXI. Stelae, Abhayagiri and Ruwanveli.



A. Dwarf door-keeper, Ruwanveli *dāgaba.*
(Photo. A. 468.)



B. Dwarf right-handed door-keeper of south porch of west chapel of Jetawanārāma.
(Photo. C. 302.)



C. Part of dado, Ruwanveli *dāgaba, vihāre.*
(Photo. A. 466.)

PLATE XXII. Ancient grotesque figures, Anurādhapura.

at Mihintalē, eight miles from Anurādhapura, may be correctly attributed by the popular voice. It is described as follows :—

'The stone was in four pieces, but these have been put together and the statue placed erect on its circular base. The figure, which is 6 feet 5 inches in height, originally stood facing the *dāgaba*, and doubtless in a devotional attitude; the arms, however, are broken off close to the shoulders and cannot be found. The king is clothed in the "dhoti", or waist-cloth wrapped round the loins and falling to the ankles, the upper part of the body being uncovered. The head-dress consists of a plain and slightly elevated pear-shaped cap, encircled by a jewelled band, or diadem; the ears are adorned with pendant ear-rings, and the neck with a jewelled neck-piece. The base is carved to represent an expanded lotus-flower, and is precisely similar in design to that found at the Thūpārāma *dāgaba*. Both statue and base are much weather-worn, although originally sheltered beneath a covered structure of which three stone octagonal pillars, formerly surmounted by capitals, are the only remains.'[1]

The second example is the reputed portrait of King Bhātika Abhaya (Batiya Tissa), who reigned during the first century of the Christian era. It was found near the Ruwanveli *dāgaba*, and has been set up, after undergoing repair. The material is hard dolomite, much weather-worn, and the height is about 8 feet. The dress of the figure resembles that of another statue commonly believed to represent King Dutthagāmini, which stands on the terrace of the Ruwanveli *dāgaba*, and has been published by Mr. Havell. It seems probable that these works represent saints or religious teachers rather than kings. Both are old, but it is difficult to find reasons for more exact determination of their age.[2]

A curious collection of eight life-size images on the embankment of a tank at Minnēriya, N.C.P., is popularly believed to represent King Mahāsena (*cir.* A.D. 300) with his wives and courtiers. The images obviously are ancient, but too much injured for appraisement as works of art.[3]

Buddhas. Large and often colossal images of Buddha, seated, standing, or recumbent, are numerous in the island, some of which undoubtedly must be very ancient. One of the oldest, probably, is a battered seated figure at Tantrimalai, which wears a conical cap, and is believed by Mr. Parker to date from about the beginning of the Christian era.[4]

One of the best Buddhas of early age is the now well-known image from the Toluvila ruins, Anurādhapura, represented *in situ* in Fig. 54, with a native seated beside it in exactly the same attitude. The photograph helps the European reader to realize the facts on which the forms of the canonical images are based.

[1] Smither, *Anurādhapura*, p. 11.

[2] Smither, *op. cit.*, p. 11; Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, Pl. XII; Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, Fig. 72. The dates of early kings of Ceylon are uncertain; Bhātika Abhaya is assigned to A.D. 42–70, and Dutthagāmini to 106–84 B.C.

[3] *Ann. Rep. A. S., Ceylon*, 1893, p. 10; photos. A. 344–7, C. 806.

[4] Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 219, 244; Bell, *A. S. Rep.*, 1896, p. 8; photo. A. 183, not suitable for reproduction. The other great image at the same place (photos. A. 181, 182), with a Siamese look, appears to be many centuries later. Mr. Bell dates the Tantrimalai figures about A.D. 1200 (*A. S. Rep.*, 1907, p. 34). He does not distinguish the one which seems to be ancient.

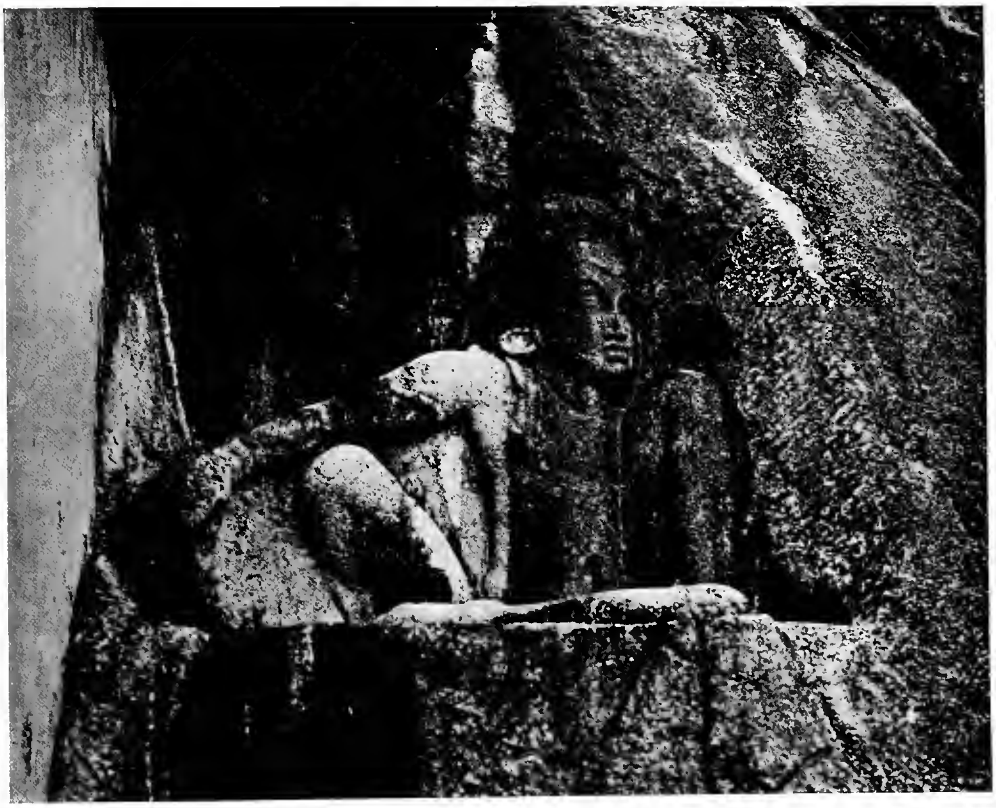


PLATE XXIII. Kapila relief, Isurumuniya, Anurādhapura.
(From a photo. by Dr. Coomaraswamy.)

The Kapila relief.

I think that I am right in including among the early works a fine sculpture of uncertain date, proved by Dr. Coomaraswamy to represent Kapila, a legendary sage (Plate XXIII). It is cut in rather high relief on the face of the rock on the right-hand side of the Isurumuniya Vihāra at Anurādhapura, where many other notable works of sculpture exist. They appear to be of various ages and to deserve more attention than they have received.

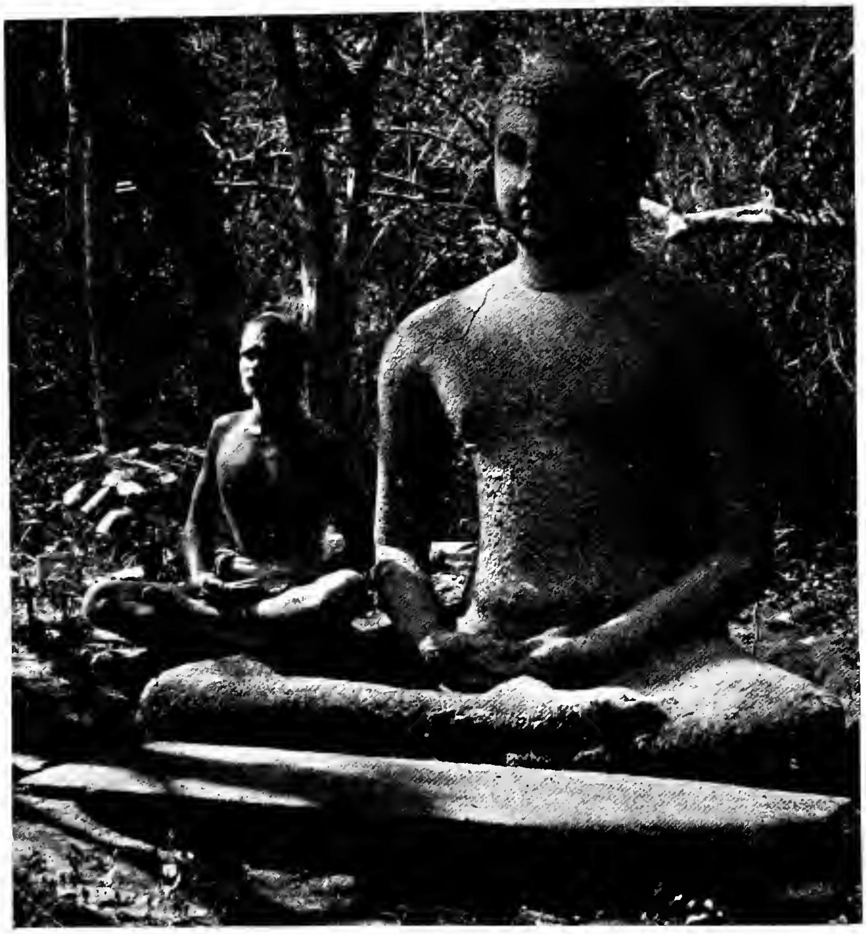


FIG. 54. Seated Buddha, 5 ft. 9 in. high; *in situ* at Toluvila, Anurādhapura; now in Colombo Museum; probably of early date; a native seated at side.
(Photo. C. 2, A. S., Ceylon.)

The subject is a man curled up in the attitude technically described as 'kingly ease' (*mahārāja līla*), with his left hand resting on the seat, and his right hand extended over the raised knee, holding the halter of a horse, the head of which appears on the rock, but is not included in the photograph. The man's head, covered with thick hair, is partly turned towards the proper left and averted from the horse,

which he seems to ignore. The expression is that of calm and abstracted but not unconscious dignity, while the difficult pose is modelled with consummate skill and yet with perfect simplicity. The work may be of early date, perhaps the close of the fifth century, when the parricide king, Kāsyapa I, the builder of Sīgiriya, is recorded to have made many images at Isurumuniya, in the vain attempt to cleanse his soul from the guilt of the murder of his father.[1]

The legend, as told in the *Rāmāyana*, may be briefly summarized as follows :—

Sagara, King of Ajodhya, had by his queen Sumati 60,000 sons, whose impiety was such that the gods complained to Vishnu and the sage Kapila. King Sagara, having undertaken to perform the rite of the horse sacrifice (*aśvamedha*) in token of his universal sovereignty, deputed the duty of guarding the intended victim to his 60,000 sons, who failed in the trust committed to their charge, and allowed the animal to be carried off to the nether regions (*Pātāla*). Their father having directed them to recover the horse, they dug down and down until they found him grazing in Hades, with the sage Kapila seated close by, and engaged in deep meditation. The princes menaced him with their weapons, but were reduced to ashes by the flames which darted from his person, when he turned his glance upon them.

This relief seems to me to be one of the most remarkable productions of Indian art, whether on the mainland or in the island of Ceylon.[2]

'Moon-stones.'

The 'moonstone', a semicircular slab placed at the foot of a staircase and carved elaborately in low relief, is specially characteristic of, although not absolutely peculiar to, Ceylonese art. The design is always based on the open lotus flower, the pattern being arranged in concentric circles. At Anurādhapura, where some specimens may be very ancient, the standard arrangement is that of an outermost circle with the 'cobra pattern', resembling acanthus leaves in effect; then a procession of quadrupeds in a fixed order moving from left to right—horse, elephant, humped bull, and lion; next, a belt of graceful foliage, which is followed by a row of sacred geese, while the central circles represent the lotus in bud, leaf, and flower. The animal symbolism is the same as that of the Asoka pillars, explained above (*ante*, p. 59).[3] In later ages the pattern was modified.

[1] Bell, *A. S. Rep.*, 1906, p. 8. Neither Mr. Bell nor Mr. Cave mentions the Kapila relief, the merit of which was first recognized by Dr. Coomaraswamy. The critical opinion expressed in the text is confirmed by Mr. Lawrence Binyon, who holds that 'the rock-carved "Kapila" in Ceylon is a tremendous work, impossible to forget when once seen' (*Sat. Rev.*, Feb. 18, 1911).

[2] For the identification, see Coomaraswamy in *Spolia Zeylanica*, vol. vi (1909), p. 132. The legend is given in Dowson, *Classical Dict. of Hindu Mythology*, *s.v.* Sagara. Some description of the shrines of Isurumuniya is given in Cave, *The Ruined Cities of Ceylon*, pp. 47–9. But the term 'grotesque' which he applies to the sculptures collectively is not applicable to the Kapila.

[3] A good early example from the Daladā Māligāwa in Smither, Pl. LVII. See also Tennent, *Ceylon*, 2nd ed., p. 619.

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CHAPTER IV

THE HELLENISTIC SCULPTURE OF GANDHĀRA

SECTION I. INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

IF Indian art as a whole may complain of undeserved depreciation and neglect, one branch of it, the Hellenistic sculpture of the regions on the north-western frontier, anciently known as Gandhāra, has received its full share of attention in Europe and been the subject of voluminous discussion. The existence of an Indo-Hellenic school of sculpture was not recognized generally until 1870, when the late Dr. Leitner brought to England a considerable collection of specimens, to which he gave the name of Graeco-Buddhist. But so far back as 1833 Dr. Gerard had disinterred the first known example, a circular relief of Buddha, from the chamber of a ruined *stūpa* near Kābul.[1] In 1836 James Prinsep published his account of the so-called 'Silenus' discovered by Colonel Stacy at Mathurā, which will be discussed in the next chapter; and in 1848 Cunningham examined the ruins of Jamālgarai to the north-east of Peshāwar. His observations, however, were not published until many years later. The first description of a selection of the Jamālgarai sculptures was that printed by Sir E. C. Bayley in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1852,[2] with illustrations so miserably rude that they gave little notion of the aesthetic value of the objects described. The sculptures thus imperfectly illustrated, having been subsequently brought to England, perished in the fire at the Crystal Palace which also destroyed Major Gill's copies of the Ajantā frescoes. Thus it happened that, as already observed, Dr. Leitner is entitled to the credit of having first convinced the learned world of the fact that during the early centuries of the Christian era North-Western India was the home of a school of Hellenistic sculpture of considerable artistic merit.

The fact was so novel and surprising that one distinguished antiquary, Mr. W. Vaux, F.R.S., was bold enough to dispute it, and to declare his inability to perceive any manifest traces of Greek art on the sculptures procured by Dr. Leitner and other collectors in the neighbourhood of Peshāwar. In a short time, however, evidence accumulated so rapidly that no possibility of doubt remained, and Professor Curtius was able to announce that the discoveries opened 'a new page in the history of Greek art'. That is the explanation of the keen interest taken in them by European scholars, who are eager to follow out in its most minute details the story of Greek art, on which that of modern Europe is based, while they usually remain indifferent, or even contemptuous, towards manifestations of artistic power in the nations of the East developed independently of the Hellenic tradition.

[1] K. 1 of Indian Museum; Anderson, *Catal.*, Part I, p. 261.

[2] Jamālgarai is the correct Pushto form (Vogel). The name is also written Jamālgiri or Jamālgaṛhi.

Abundance of examples.

During the last forty years thousands of Indo-Hellenic sculptures have come to light, while considerable numbers, including most of the choicest specimens, have been catalogued, described, and photographed. The number, indeed, is so great that it is difficult to make a small selection thoroughly representative. Most of the examples chosen to illustrate this chapter have been selected in virtue of their conspicuous aesthetic merits, and may be regarded as evidence of the highest attainment of a school of artists working on Indian soil, and applying more or less modified Greek methods of composition and technique to Indian subjects. A few of the figures mark the gradual disappearance of the Hellenic tradition and the progressive Indianization of the treatment.

The Gandhāra territory.

The country from which comes this wonderful wealth of semi-foreign sculpture may be described in general terms as the North-Western Frontier. It includes the modern District of Peshāwar, the valley of the Kābul river, Swāt, Bunēr, and other tribal territories, as well as the western portion of the Panjāb between the Indus and the Jihlam (Jhelum). The kingdom of which Peshāwar (Purushapura) was the capital having been known in ancient times as Gandhāra, the sculptures are most conveniently described by that territorial name.

The richest sites as yet explored are those crowded together in the Yūsufzai country to the north and north-east of Peshāwar, comprising Jamālgarai, Sahrī-Bahlol, Takht-i-Bahāī, and many more which it would be tedious to enumerate. Some of the best sculptures come from Suwāt (Swāt), but the hostility of the wild tribes prevents systematic exploration of the antiquities beyond the British frontier.

Arrangement by subjects alone possible.

Even within the frontier most of the exploration done until recently has been the work of amateurs, conducted in a haphazard fashion, without the formation or preservation of adequate detailed record.[1] Consequently, many buildings have been utterly destroyed, and the value of the large collections of sculptures found by many public institutions and private persons is seriously impaired by the lack of information concerning the provenance of the specimens. M. Foucher, the most learned and authoritative commentator on the sculptures, declares that it is impossible in the present state of knowledge to arrange them in chronological order. As a general rule, no doubt, the most Greek may be considered the oldest, and the most Indianized the latest, but the practical application of this principle presents many difficulties. Arrangement by localities is equally impracticable, because nobody knows where many of the best examples were found, and also because there is no distinct evidence of local variations in style. The general style over the whole region is fairly uniform. The result is that the only practicable arrangement is one by subjects. In this chapter it will not be possible to illustrate more than a few of the multifarious subjects treated by the artists, and students who wish to examine the whole field must be referred to special treatises. It is hoped, however, that the specimens reproduced will suffice to enable the reader to judge of the aesthetic qualities of the sculptures, and to place them in their due relation to Greek art on the one hand and to indigenous Indian art on the other, subject to a certain amount of vagueness in the chronology of the school.

[1] Research is now conducted by Mr. Marshall and his assistants on scientific lines, with excellent results.

Whenever the date of Kanishka, the celebrated king of Gandhāra, shall be determined, that of the best period of the Hellenistic sculpture will also be known. Many of them undoubtedly are contemporary with him, though some are earlier and others later. Without going into complicated antiquarian discussions, it may suffice to say here that none of the sculptures are later than A.D. 600, few, if any, later than A.D. 400, and that in all probability extremely few are earlier than the Christian era. The culmination of the art of the school may be dated from about A.D. 50 to A.D. 150 or 200. It is quite safe to affirm that the works of good quality belong to the first three centuries of the Christian era.[1] Thus the best productions of the Gandhāra Indo-Hellenistic school nearly synchronize with the art of the Flavian and Antonine periods in Western Asia and Europe, and in India with the reliefs on the great rail at Amarāvatī in the Deccan, as well as with many sculptures at Mathurā on the Jumna, both of which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Without exception, all the sculptures come from Buddhist sites and were executed in the service of the Buddhist religion, so far as is known. No trace of works dedicated to either Jainism or Brahmanical Hinduism has been discovered. Moreover, the subjects treated are not only Buddhist, but purely Indian. Buddha may appear in the guise of Apollo, the god Brahmā in that of St. Peter, or a door-keeper in that of Pallas Athēnē, but however Greek may be the form, the personages and incidents are all Indian, and centre round the person of Buddha, whose image dominates the compositions.

Herein lies the most obvious, and at the same time, perhaps, the most important difference between the ancient schools of interior India at Sānchī, Bharhut, or Bodh-Gayā, and the school of Gandhāra, with the cognate branches at Mathurā and Amarāvatī. In Gandhāra art, as M. Foucher observes, Buddha is everywhere; and whatever be the form which he assumes, as Prince Charming, emaciated ascetic, or ideal monk, or by whatever name he may be called, whether it be Siddhārtha, Sramana Gautama, or Buddha Sakyamuni, he dominates almost every composition, so that the preparation of a full list of the sculptors' subjects is equivalent to writing an illustrated life of the Master. The early schools of Indian art, as we have seen, were content to indicate his supposed presence by mere symbols, and did not presume to imagine his bodily likeness.

The material of the sculptures is usually a blue clay-slate, also described as 'hornblende-schist'. The stone was frequently finished with fine plaster, like the rock sculptures of Ajantā and many other localities in India and Ceylon, and the effect was heightened by the free use of colour and gilding, traces of which are still occasionally discernible.

[1] Certain facts may be brought together which connect the sculptures at several localities with the Kushān kings: (1) coins of Kanishka in foundation deposit of Sanghāo monastery (Cole, *Second Report*, p. cxx); (2) coin of Huvishka with a panel of best style at Takht-i-Bahāī (*J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 422); (3) seven coins of Vāsudeva with Jamālgarai sculptures (Cunningham, *Reports*, v. 194); (4) coin of Huvishka in good condition at Ahīnposh *stūpa*, along with coins of Sabina, &c. (*Proc. A. S. B.*, 1879, p. 209); (5) some of the Mathurā sculptures in Gandhāra style bear Kushān inscriptions. For reasons to be stated in the next chapter, I now take the most probable date of the accession of Kanishka to be A.D. 78.

Plaster heads.

Great numbers of detached heads, made sometimes of stucco and sometimes of terra-cotta, have been found, varying in dimensions from tiny objects two or three inches high to life size. These heads, as various in character as in dimensions, are often of high artistic merit. One mode of their use is explained by an observation of Masson, who noted that at Hidda, near Jalālābād, in the upper Kābul valley,

'idols in great numbers are found. They are small, of one and the same kind, about six or eight inches in height, and consist of a strong cast head fixed on a body of earth, whence the heads only can be brought away. They are seated and clothed in folds of drapery, and the hair is woven into rows of curls. The bodies are sometimes painted with red lead, and rarely covered with leaf-gold; they appear to have been interred in apartments, of which fragments are also found.'[1]



FIG. 55. Head of Bodhisattva.
(*The Gandhāra Sculptures*, Pl. XXV, 6.)



FIG. 56. Head of old man.
(*The Gandhāra Sculptures*, Pl. XXV, 14.)

Buddhists consider the multiplication of sacred images an act of merit, and the practice of making the bodies cheaply with clay enabled the pious donor to accumulate a credit balance of numerous good works without undue expense. Mr. J. P. Rawlins, who was stationed for a considerable time in the Hazāra District, now in the North-Western Frontier Province, informs me that in that country he has seen numbers of perfect plaster casts, 'for the most part only of heads, of all sizes and descriptions, fastened to the walls in appropriate groupings or singly. Many of them seem to be portraits of living people at the time, full of expression, and with many and varied head-dresses.' My informant believed the practice to have 'come down from Greek times'. The age of the heads actually seen by Mr. Rawlins does not appear, but, whatever it may be, the practice referred to by him proves that the ancient stucco and terra-cotta heads might have been used to fix on walls as well as on clay images. When objects of this

[1] *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 113.

class were exhibited before the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Sir J. B. Phear remarked that similar heads from the neighbourhood of Peshāwar preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta,

'obviously had been attached to masonry, and no doubt formed part of a subject worked out in high relief upon the frieze of some building. It was also remarkable that every one of them was unsymmetrical, i. e. compressed or flattened either on the right side or on the left side. The purpose of this must have been to adapt them to being seen with the greater artistic effect from a particular point of view; and it indicated considerable advance in knowledge of the peculiar conditions necessary for the success of sculptural ornament.'[1]

Examples.

The British Museum possesses about forty such detached heads, mostly from the Peshāwar District, purchased in 1861, fifteen of which have been published by Dr. Burgess. Two of those are here reproduced (Figs. 55 and 56). Terra-cotta heads, more or less similar in character, but not quite so well executed, were found in excavations at Saheṭh-Maheṭh in Oudh, supposed to be the site of Srāvastī.[2] The late Dr. Leitner pointed out the resemblance between these Indian heads and those from Cyprus to be seen in various museums.

No Greek architecture in India.

No trace of the existence of Greek architecture in either India proper or the borderland has ever been found, that is to say, no building yet examined was designed on a Greek plan, or with an elevation exhibiting one or other of the Greek orders, Doric, Ionic, or Corinthian. But the Indo-Hellenic architects freely used certain Greek architectural forms—columns, pilasters, and capitals—for decorative purposes, much in the same way as English architects of a century ago often applied a Greek pediment to the front of an English dwelling-house. The Doric column is found only in the late Kashmīr style, if there, for the matter seems to be open to some doubt (*ante*, p. 48). The Ionic column has been found in two temples on the site of Taxila, associated in one case with coins of Azes I, who is supposed to have reigned between 90 and 40 B. C.[3] Growse noted the occurrence of a 'niche supported by columns with Ionic capitals' on a fragment of sculpture at Mathurā,[4] and Simpson found the plaster fragment of a capital with corner volutes of the Romano-Ionic kind in the Ahīnposh *stūpa* near Jalālābād in the valley of the Kābul river.[5] Those four cases exhaust the list of undoubted Ionic forms known in India. More recently two more quasi-Ionic capitals have been discovered, one at Patna and the other at Sārnāth (Fig. 57), both of Asokan age, and said to resemble the capitals of the temple of Apollo Didymaeus at Miletus.[6]

Indo-Corinthian decorative forms.

The abundance of modified Corinthian columns, pilasters, and capitals in the art of Gandhāra contrasts strongly with the total lack of Doric and the extreme rarity of

[1] *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1870, p. 217.

[2] *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, vol. lxi (1892), extra No., Pl. XXVIII. For other Gandhāra stucco heads from Sahri Bahlol see *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1906–7, p. 107, Fig. 2 and Pl. XXXV.

[3] Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. ii, p. 129; vol. v, pp. 69, 72, 190; vol. xiv, p. 9, Pl. VII: *Early Hist. of India*, 2nd ed., p. 227.

[4] *Mathurā, A District Memoir*, 3rd ed., p. 171.

[5] *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1879, p. 209, Pl. XI.

[6] *Hist. Ind. and E. Archit.*, 2nd ed. (1910), vol. i, p. 207, note and woodcut.

Ionic forms. Most of the Gandhāran friezes exhibit representations of columns or pilasters with capitals more or less related to those of the Corinthian order, and which may be fairly called Indo-Corinthian. The shafts, whether round or square, are never fluted, and resemble those of the second or third century after Christ at Palmyra and Baalbec. The bases of structural pillars have been found at Jamālgarai only, and show that the shaft might be either cylindrical or square. The conviction of the architects that the form of column used concerned merely the decoration of a façade is well illustrated by the often-published slab from Muhammad Nari, on which Persepolitan columns are mixed up with Indo-Corinthian pilasters (Plate XXIV).



FIG. 57. Perso-Ionic capital of Maurya age, Sārnāth.
(Arch. S. photo., supplied by Prof. Macdonell; publ. in *J. R. A. S.*, 1907, Pl. III.)

The Indo-Corinthian capitals vary widely in detail, but all may be described as agreeing generally with the luxuriant cosmopolitan style in vogue throughout the Roman Empire during the early centuries of the Christian era. Six good specimens, believed to be from Jamālgarai, are grouped together in Plate XXV. The introduction of figures of Buddha in two cases may be illustrated from Graeco-Roman art of the time of Augustus, and again, two centuries later, at the Baths of Caracalla. The shell canopy is found in the art of both Alexandria and Asia Minor. Even the modillions of a cornice are sometimes made in the form of miniature Corinthian pilasters (Fig. 58). All capitals of the Indo-Corinthian class seem to be post-Christian, and their introduction appears to have been associated with the Kushān or Indo-Scythian conquest of Kābul and the Panjāb during the first century of the Christian era.



FIG. 58. Modillions.
(Photo. 1013, I. M. *List.*)



PLATE XXIV. Buddha, &c.; slab from Muhammad Nari.
(Photo. by Griggs.)

Decorative motives.

The more purely decorative motives commonly used by the Gandhāra school, such as the long garland carried by Erotes, the vine pattern, the hippocamps and other monsters, and the Atlantes, will be noticed in Chapter XI, dealing with foreign influence on Indian art, and need not be described here.

Two classes of figure sculpture.

The figure sculptures, as distinguished from detached heads and from merely decorative motives, may be grouped in two classes, as detached statues or small groups, often completely or nearly completely in the round, and relief pictures illustrating sacred stories in successive scenes. The reliefs, commonly spoken of as 'bas-reliefs', are, as a matter of fact, more often in high relief.

Infinite variety of subjects.

The statues and small groups represent Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, or saints on the way to become Buddhas, besides minor deities of the populous Buddhist pantheon. The stone pictures, like the later painted pictures at Ajantā, deal with the infinite variety of subjects presented by the scriptures, legends, and traditions of the developed system of Buddhism, known as the *Mahāyāna*, or 'Great Vehicle'. That system practically deified Gautama the Buddha, as well as other Buddhas, and surrounded them with a crowd of attendant deities, including Indra or Sakra, Brahmā, and other members of the Brahmanical heavenly host, besides a multitude of attendant sprites, male and female, of diverse kinds and varying rank, in addition to human worshippers.

All the elements making up this motley retinue appear in the reliefs, and offer infinite opportunities for the exercise of fancy by the artists, who did not feel bound by strict rules, such as those of the *Silpa-śāstras.* Although the accessible sculptures amount to only a small fraction of those which once existed, or even of those known to exist, they are thousands in number, and so varied in subject and treatment that several bulky volumes would be required for their adequate description and illustration. In this work it is not possible to give more than a small selection, representative so far as practicable.

Historical interest of the sculptures.

The Gandhāra sculptures suggest problems and speculations of many kinds. Regarded as an authentic expression of early religious tradition, they control and illustrate the testimony of the Buddhist scriptures, throwing much fresh light upon the beliefs and practices of the early followers of the Great Vehicle. Viewed as a collection of sacred effigies they serve as a guide to the iconography of Buddhism, an aspect of the study specially attractive to Dr. Burgess and M. Foucher, which must be almost ignored in this volume.

Considered as pictures of human life, they present as in a mirror a vivid image of almost every phase of the life of Northern India, lay and clerical, during several centuries. The artists cause to pass before our eyes landscapes, towns, domestic interiors, streets, fields, trees, and animals, with unlimited realistic detail. All the material objects of the civilization of the times—furniture, vehicles, arms, tools, and the rest, are depicted as they were used by the ancients, and numberless illustrations of the manners and customs of the times bring clearly before our imagination the way in which those ancients passed their days. Every class of the population from prince to pariah is represented, and, in short, no subject of human interest was regarded as material unsuitable for the sculptor's chisel. There can be no question concerning



PLATE XXV. Modified Corinthian capitals from Gandhāra.
(Photo. by Griggs.)

the high value of the Gandhāra sculptures as documents of religious and social history, but detailed discussion of them from that point of view is foreign to the purpose of this work, which is concerned only with their worth as expressions of artistic power and technical skill. General observations on the merits and demerits of the sculptures as fine art will be deferred more conveniently until a selection of representative specimens of the best statues and reliefs shall have been reviewed.

SECTION II. DESCRIPTION OF THE SCULPTURES.

Development of Buddha type.

Just as the sculptures and paintings of the Catacombs and the writings of the early Christian Fathers prove that no trustworthy tradition concerning the person of Jesus survived in the Church, and that artists for several centuries felt themselves at liberty to give free scope to their fancy in delineating His image, even so, during the first two or three centuries of the Christian era, Buddhist sculptors had not arrived at any settled convention as to the correct way of representing the effigy of Gautama the Buddha, whose real appearance in the flesh had been utterly forgotten. A long course of experiment was needed before Buddhist orthodoxy, guided by the later sculptors of the Gandhāra school, settled down to the monotonous and insipid conventionality of the figures of Buddha now manufactured by the thousand, and adopted, with rare exceptions, in all Buddhist lands. Ultimately the conception of the Indian *yogī* ascetic as worked out in Gandhāra became dominant, and passed through Khotan to the Far East.



FIG. 59. Buddha attended by Vajrapāṇi, from Yusufzai, Dames Collection, Berlin. (Photo. 27844, V. and A. Museum.)

Buddha with moustaches.

A Buddha with long hair and moustaches, although not unknown even now in Japan, would seem strange and improper to most modern Buddhists. In Gandhāra such a presentation of the Master long continued to be legitimate, and the legend of the cutting of his locks when he dismissed the charioteer, although not absolutely unfamiliar, was usually ignored in sculpture.

The relief panel from the Dames Collection, now in Berlin (Fig. 59), offers one of the most notable examples of the Buddha standing, with long hair and moustaches. His attitude is exceptional, and in his left hand he holds a palm-leaf book and gathers up his robe. The work, although evidently early, is not of the best artistic quality.

The Thunderbolt-Bearer.

The remarkable attendant figure in this sculpture, which recurs frequently



Plate XXVI. Seated Buddha, Berlin Museum.
(Photo. by Griggs.)

in variant forms, requires explanation. His characteristic attribute is the thunderbolt (Sanskrit *vajra*, Tibetan *dorje*) held in his left hand. In this case he holds a yak-tail fly-whisk in his right hand, as a personal attendant on the princely Bodhisattva, that is to say, Buddha before his 'enlightenment', yet, nevertheless, regarded as a holy personage even at that stage of his career. The exaggerated development of the attendant's muscles suggests foreign influence akin to that of the school of Pergamum. The older writers on Buddhism wrongly identified the Thunderbolt-Bearer as Devadatta, the heresiarch enemy of Gautama Buddha; or as Māra, the Buddhist Satan; or as the god Sakra, the Indra of Brahmanical mythology. Dr. Vogel has recently started a fourth theory, ingenious but not proved, that he should be regarded as a personification of Dharma, the Law. The best-supported hypothesis is that which treats him as a Yaksha, or attendant sprite, inseparable from the person of the Buddha. Probably the sculptors intended that he should be considered invisible to spectators, in accordance with a well-understood convention. The figure occurs on one relief of the Mathurā school, a fragment of a stele found to the south of the city of Mathurā (*Catal. Archaeol. Museum, Mathurā*, No. H. 5, p. 127).

A seated Buddha in the Berlin Museum (Plate XXVI) is one of the finest examples of the early Buddha type, with coiled hair, moustaches, and the robe falling over the feet.

The visit of Indra.

One of the most elaborate and beautiful products of Gandhāra art is the relief panel from Loriyān Tangai in Swāt (3 feet 10 inches × 2 feet 8 inches), representing the visit of the god Sakra (Indra) to Buddha while seated in a cave near Bodh-Gayā (Fig. 60), which should be contrasted with the totally different presentation of the same subject in the archaic sculpture in the Mathurā Museum (*ante*, Fig. 51). Here the central figure has sweet, calm dignity, while the numerous subordinate figures and the scenery are rendered with much grace and beauty. The device of exhibiting wild beasts looking out from their dens as a conventional indication that the scene is laid in a wild mountain country is not uncommon in early Indian art, and occurs more than once in sculptures of Gupta age.

The meaning of the composition is explained by Grünwedel:—

'The Swāt sculpture represents the visit of Sakra and his retinue, with the Gandharva harper Panchasika, to the Buddha while he was living in the *Indraśaila-guhā*, a cave near Bodh-Gayā. The entrance of the cave is surrounded by flames to represent the glory of the Teacher, "resplendent with a halo of many colours, extending to a fathom's length all round his person." Above and below, the birds, beasts, and trees indicate the isolation of the place. Indra appears as a royal personage on the right, doing reverence to the ascetic, with his parasol-bearer close behind, and the Devas [minor deities] of his train beyond on both sides. His peculiar crown or head-dress is very similar to what we find also in the Mathurā sculpture. The figure of the Gandharva musician on the other side has been much damaged by the fracture of the stone, but his harp is still visible.'[1]

Sundry Buddhas.

Four various representations of Buddha are shown in Plate XXVII. In Fig. A

[1] Grünwedel-Burgess, *Buddhist Art*, p. 142.

the Master is depicted with flames issuing from his head and the water of life from his feet. A remarkable parallel occurs in the Catacombs of Rome, where we find similar representations of the water of life streaming from the feet of Christ.[1] Fig. B shows



FIG. 60. Visit of Indra to Buddha in Indraśaila Cave.
(Photo. 1058, I. M. *List.*)

Buddha seated under a tree in a manner not usual. The features and drapery are of an early type. Fig. C is a good specimen of Buddha seated on the 'diamond throne', closely resembling the Berlin figure seated on a 'lion throne' (*ante*, Plate XXVI). The remaining figure D is interesting as a later and more Hinduized Buddha type, on

[1] Roller, *Les Catacombes de Rome* (1881), vol. ii, p. 291, Pl. LXXXVII, figs. 2, 3, 4.

a 'lotus throne', and with the soles of the feet turned up in *yogī* fashion. The right shoulder is bared. The suppliants at the foot of the throne may be the donors of the sculpture.

The Emaciated Buddha.

It is impossible to omit notice of the remarkable sculpture, 2 feet 8½ inches high, representing the Emaciated Buddha, or, more accurately, Bodhisattva, in the Lahore

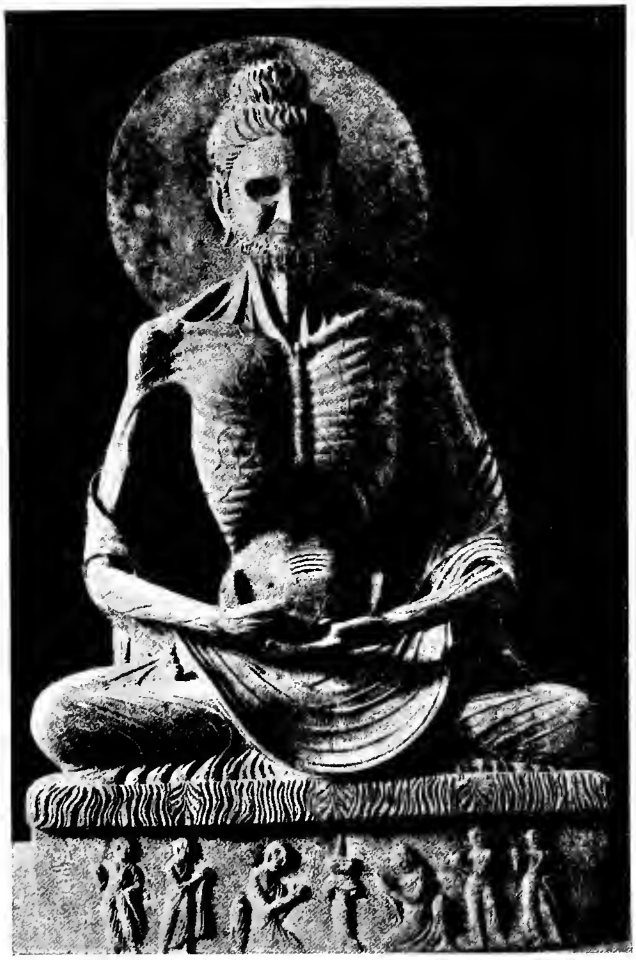


FIG. 61. Gautama as emaciated ascetic (Sīkrī).
(Photo. by Griggs.)

Museum, excavated from the ruins of a monastery at Sīkrī in 1889, which is the most notable known example of the treatment of a repulsive subject. It depicts the Master as he sat at Bodh-Gayā making the vain attempt to attain by the severest austerity that supreme knowledge which did not come to him, according to the story, until he abandoned the practice of self-torture (Fig. 61).[1] The subject is sometimes treated by Chinese and Japanese artists in another fashion, as may be seen in the South Kensington Museum and the Musée Guimet. The Brahmanical parallel is

[1] *Lahore Museum Guide*, Pl. V; Senart, 'Notes d'Épigraphie Indienne,' iii, Pl. II (*Journal As.*, 1890).



A. Buddha with fire and water issuing from him.



B. Buddha seated under tree.



C. Buddha seated, early style.



D. Buddha on lotus-seat, with attendants.

PLATE XXVII. Various Buddhas.
(Photo. by Griggs.)

Bhringi, an attendant of Siva, who 'was a model ascetic, and fasted so continuously that he became not only emaciated, but a living skeleton. He is so represented in the sculptures of the caves of Elephanta near Bombay.'[1]

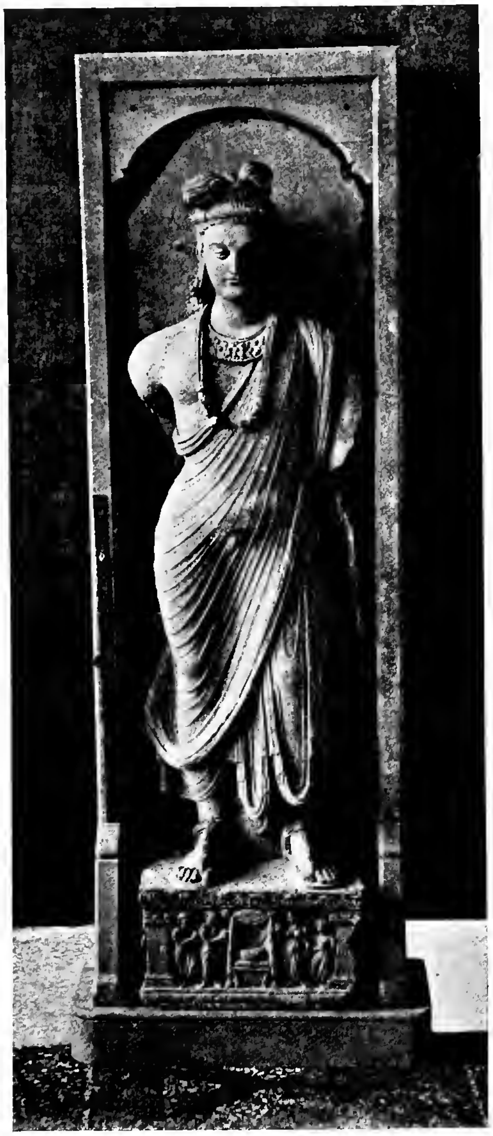


FIG. 62. Bodhisattva, Lahore Museum. (A. S. photo., supplied by Prof. Macdonell.)



FIG. 63. Bodhisattva from Yūsufzai (L. Dames, Berlin.) (Photo. 27847, V. and A. Museum.)

Bodhisattvas.

We cannot linger over the Buddha figures, or attempt to follow the personal history of Gautama from his conception and infancy to the funeral pyre and the

[1] Monier Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India*, p. 441. 'A *muni* or sage—perhaps *Bringi* [sic]—very lean, with a long beard, and an offering in his left hand' (Burgess, *The Rock Temples of Elephanta or Ghārāpurī*, Bombay (1871), p. 23).



Plate XXVIII. Kuvera in form of Zeus.
(Photo. by Griggs.)

distribution of his relics, as depicted in a long series of reliefs; but must pass on to another class of images, formerly described as 'kings' or 'royal personages', but now recognized as Bodhisattvas, or saints destined to become Buddhas. All considerable collections include specimens, and many have been published. The general character of the class is well illustrated by the fine statue in the Dames collection at Berlin (Fig. 63), which is one of the masterpieces of Gandhāran art, and appears to me to



FIG. 64. Kuvera and Hārītī; from Sahrī-Bahlol.
(A. S. photo., No. 85 of 1906–7.)

be a worthy presentation of the ideal lay saint. All the details are exquisitely wrought, and the drapery is admirable.

Another image in the Lahore Museum (No. 0239), in a different style and with finely sculptured drapery of another kind, is a beautiful work, of equal or possibly superior merit (Fig. 62). The small relief on the pedestal follows the tradition of the Early School in the interior by abstaining from all attempt to image the dead Master, his presence being symbolized by the empty seat. I should think that this charming sculpture must be of early date.

Kuvera. A larger statuette found near Peshāwar, and generally regarded as the most striking piece in the large collection of sculptures in the Central Museum, Lahore,

represents a royal personage seated in European fashion on a throne, with his left foot on a footstool and his left hand grasping a spear, his attitude being obviously reminiscent of that of the Zeus of Phidias (Plate XXVIII). This notable figure, at one time believed to be the portrait of an Indo-Scythian monarch, is now recognized as Kuvera or Vaisravana, god of riches and king of the Yakshas, who played a very



FIG. 65. Hārītī; from Sikri.
(Photo. by Griggs.)

important part in Indian Buddhism, and will be met with again in mediaeval times. The image is free from the tinge of effeminacy which mars some of the best finished works of the school, and must always command admiration for its virility and dignity.[1]

The recent excavations at Sahrī-Bahlol have yielded another figure of the throned Kuvera with the goddess Hārītī as his consort seated beside him (Fig. 64), Kuvera and Hārītī.

[1] Found at Tahkal on the old road from Peshāwar to the Khyber Pass. A cast is in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, vol. lviii (1889), p. 122, Pl. VIII; *Lahore Museum Guide*, Pl. III; Vogel, 'Note sur une Statue du Gandhāra conservée au Musée de Lahore' (*B. E. F. E. O.*, Avril-Juin, 1903).

which is one of the most delicately modelled works of the Gandhāra school, and is presumably of early date. Hārītī, in one of her aspects, was the protector of children from the dangers of epidemics. A standing figure from Sikri (Fig. 65) presents her in the same aspect of her character, but posed in quite another fashion. The clever and unusual treatment of the drapery may be noted.

Pallas Athene.

One of the most interesting statuettes is the well-known image of Pallas Athene in the Lahore Museum (Fig. 66). The goddess is represented standing, facing front, wearing Greek costume, chiton and himation, and holding a spear across her body. Both



Fig. 66. Pallas Athene; Lahore Museum. (Photo. by Griggs.)



Fig. 67. Woman and tree, from Yūsufzai (L. Dames, Berlin). (Photo. 27849, V. and A. Museum.)



Fig. 68. Woman holding mirror, from Yūsufzai (L. Dames, Berlin). (Photo. 27843, V. and A. Museum.)

hands have been lost. Probably the right hand grasping the spear was raised to her head, as was the right hand in the Pallas type of the coins of Azes I (? first century B.C.), while the left hand held the aegis. The late Dr. Bloch seems to have been right in interpreting the image as that of a foreign female guard set over the women's apartments of a palace, and forming part of a court scene. It is possible that the figure may be as old as the time of Azes, and so contemporary with the Ionic temple at Taxila, but it may be of later date. Although the type is clearly that of Pallas Athene, it has been completely Indianized.[1]

[1] A cast is in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. For the coin of Azes referred to see Gardner, *B. M. Catal.*, *Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings*, Pl. XVIII, 4. The statuette has been published in *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, vol. lviii (1889), p. 121, Pl. VII; and *Lahore Museum Guide*, Pl. VI. For Bloch's remark see No. 1195 in *Indian Museum List of Negatives*.

A panel from Mr. Dames's collection, now in Berlin (Fig. 67), is an uncommon variant of the 'Woman and Tree' motive, which will be discussed in Chapter XI. The panel seems to be part of a larger composition, and is apparently of tolerably early date, although the figure is very Indian.

Panels from Dames's Collection.

Another of Mr. Dames's sculptures, representing a woman arranging her hair with the help of a hand-mirror, and standing under a tree (Fig. 68), makes a very pretty picture. The drapery is treated with such freedom and skill that the work may be



FIG. 69. Man playing lyre (*vīṇā*), from Yūsufzai (L. Dames, Berlin). (Photo. 27848, V. and A. Museum.)



FIG. 70. Garuḍa and the Nāginī, from Sanghāo. (Photo. by Griggs.)



FIG. 70 *a*. (Photo. by Griggs.)

assigned to an early date. It may be regarded as a companion picture to the last. Both panels have a reel and bead border.

Fig. 69, also from Mr. Dames's collection, is not equal in merit to the two preceding, the drapery being treated in a more formal and commonplace manner. A man stands under a tree playing the *vīṇā*, or Indian lyre. These three figures apparently formed parts of larger compositions, but I cannot offer any explanation of their meaning. The trees, necessarily treated conventionally in order to bring them within the limits of the panels, have a fine decorative effect.

One Hellenistic group, known from at least five or six specimens, is of special interest as being demonstrably adapted from a masterpiece of Leochares, a famous

Adaptation of the Rape of Ganymede.

Attic artist of the fourth century before Christ (372–330 B.C.). His bronze work, praised by Pliny (d. A.D. 79), but long since lost, inspired many later copyists, who translated the theme into marble, with variations. One of the marble copies, or imitations, is in the British Museum, another at Thessalonica, a third at Venice, and the fourth and finest is in the Museo Pio Clementino at the Vatican. The subject is the carrying off of the beautiful boy Ganymede by an eagle, represented sometimes as the messenger of Zeus, and sometimes as the god himself transformed. In the



FIG. 71. Vatican Rape of Ganymede.
(From a cast in the University Galleries, Oxford).

Vatican copy the eagle is shown as supported by the trunk of a tree in the background, with wings expanded and neck stretched upwards, grasping with tender firmness the nude youth, whose feet have just ceased to touch the receding earth. His robe, disclosing the nude figure, is so disposed as to protect his back from injury caused by the bird's talons. A dog, seated below, howls piteously for his vanishing master, as described by Vergil.[1] Nobody can look at Fig. 70, reproducing the best of the Buddhist adapta-

[1] 'Puer . . . quem praepes ab Ida
Sublimem pedibus rapuit Iovis armiger uncis;
Longaevi palmas nequiquam ad sidera tendunt
Custodes, saevitque canum latratus in auras.'
(*Aen.* v. 252–7.)

tions, obtained from the monastery at Sanghāo in the Yūsufzai country, and compare it with Fig. 71, representing the Vatican copy of the Attic artist's composition, without perceiving that the composition is essentially the same as that of Leochares, made familiar to the Hellenistic world in marble replicas. A variant is shown in Fig. 70 *a*. All the Buddhist adaptations omit the dog, and so agree with the groups preserved at Venice, Thessalonica, and in the British Museum, while in the pose of the eagle



FIG. 72. Boys armed as soldiers. (Photo. by Griggs.)



FIG. 73. Old man, ? Hindu ascetic. (Photo. by Griggs.)

and the introduction of the trunk of the tree they resemble the Vatican example. The subject, although retaining the essentials of the Greek myth, has been thoroughly Indianized, both in general treatment and by the substitution of a heavily draped female for the nude boy. The notion once held that the woman should be regarded as Māyā, the mother of Buddha, is erroneous. The better opinion is that the group was intended to represent to Indian minds the carrying off of a female Nāga, or snake sprite, by a monstrous Garuda, the implacable enemy of the snake tribe. As in all

the Gandhāra sculptures, the subject is absolutely Indian, no matter how foreign the presentation of it may be in outward form.[1]

Fig. 72 is a remarkable panel in the Lahore Museum (*Catal.*, Pl. VII, 3), probably of very early date, showing two boys of Greek appearance armed with the old Indian broadsword, as described by Megasthenes and represented in the Bharhut and Sānchī sculptures. The work is artistic and attractive, and, as Professor Gardner reminds me, recalls the Pergamene style. The old bearded man of Fig. 73 is, I think, unique. Grünwedel calls him a Brahman.

The Nativity.

I now proceed to illustrate a few representative relief scenic pictures of high quality, beginning with Mr. Dames's specimen of the Nativity, unpublished, and



FIG. 74. The Great Renunciation; Chandaka leading out the horse Kanthaka. (Photo. by Griggs.)



FIG. 75. Gautama riding away; Lahore Museum. (Arch. S. photo., supplied by Prof. Macdonell.)

the finest example known to me of that favourite subject (Plate XXIX). According to the legend, Gautama Buddha was born in a pure fashion by springing from his mother's side as she stood under a tree in the Lumbini Garden, the modern Rummindēī, to the east of Kapilavastu. The composition is arranged in a perfectly symmetrical manner. On the left of the picture the god Indra, or Sakra, with his characteristic high head-dress, receives the child, behind him stands Brahmā, and two other unnamed gods complete the divine party. The woman who supports the mother is her sister, and three attendants balance the gods on the other side. The

[1] Full references to the marble groups will be found in *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, vol. lviii (1889), p. 134. The Vatican group is reproduced in Visconti, *Museo Pio-Clementino*, vol. iii, p. 149, in the histories of sculpture by Winckelmann, Lübke, and Perry, and *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed. 'Greek Art', Pl. I, Fig. 53.



Plate XXIX. The Nativity of Buddha, from Yūsufzai (L. Dames, Berlin).
(Photo. 27845, V. and A. Museum.)

figures are thoroughly naturalistic men and women, cleverly modelled, and ingeniously arranged so as not to interfere one with the other. The draperies are treated with freedom and variety. On the whole, I am disposed to regard this group as the finest of the more complex stone pictures produced by the school of Gandhāra.

The 'Great Renunciation'.

The story of the 'Great Renunciation' of domestic joys and the splendours of princely life by the young Gautama or Siddhārtha when he went forth from his father's palace to take up the career of an ascetic, as told in both the books and the sculptures, comprises many incidents, which were treated in art with much freedom and variety of detail. Some aspects of the artistic presentation will be discussed in Chapter XI. Here I select for reproduction a rare representation of the groom Chandaka leading out the horse Kanthaka ready saddled for his master's use (Fig. 74). The modelling of the horse is better than that of the animal in Indian sculpture generally, which often fails with the horse, while almost always successful with the elephant. This minor incident is intended to serve as a symbol of the whole story. Another rendering, a relief in the Lahore Museum (No. 122), is shown in Fig. 75. The earth-spirits holding up the feet of the horse, who often appear, are wanting in this case.



FIG. 76. Worship of *trisūl* symbol by monks. (Photo. by Griggs.)

Symbol worship.

Fig. 76 represents the worship, by shaven monks, of the *trisūl* symbol, signifying Buddha, the Law, and the Church. It closely resembles the representation of the adoration of the *labarum* in the Catacombs.[1]

Maskers and soldiers.

The well-known unique relief representing a group of figures with demoniac faces attended by three soldiers (Plate XXX) has puzzled the interpreters, who usually assume the demons to be a part of the host by which Buddha was assailed in the Temptation. But that explanation takes no account of the soldiers. I do not believe that the picture has anything to do with the Temptation. I think it was Dr. Leitner who perceived that the so-called demons are simply monks wearing masks for a 'devil dance', such as those now worn by Tibetan Lamas. The soldiers are merely the escort of the performers' procession. The equipment of the soldiers has been described sometimes as Greek and sometimes as Roman. But it is neither. The men evidently belong to the Himalayan region, and wear the dress and armour used in that region about the time of Kanishka, say A.D. 100. The arrangement of the scales of the armour, probably made of either leather or horn, with the curved ends uppermost, is explained by Dr. Stein's discoveries of similar scales at Dandān-Uiliq in Khotan, and by a suit of Tibetan mail preserved in the British Museum.

[1] Roller, *Les Catacombes de Rome*, Pl. LXXXVII. The Christian work, assigned to the fifth century, is certainly much later than the Indian.



Plate XXX. Procession of maskers and soldiers.
(Photo. by Griggs.)

The scales found by Dr. Stein date from the seventh or eighth century, but there is no difficulty in believing that the fashion of armour may have remained unchanged for ages.[1]

Frieze of marine deities.

An imperfect frieze in the British Museum, about 16 inches long by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high (Fig. 77), which puzzled Dr. Burgess, has been convincingly interpreted by M. Foucher as a representation of marine deities in a quasi-Greek fashion. The character of the personages as tritons or marine deities of some kind is established by the paddles which they carry and their kilts of fins cut in the shape of vine-leaves. The object borne in the right hand of the figure the second from the right end appears to be a dolphin, indicating that the holder was intended for Poseidon. The

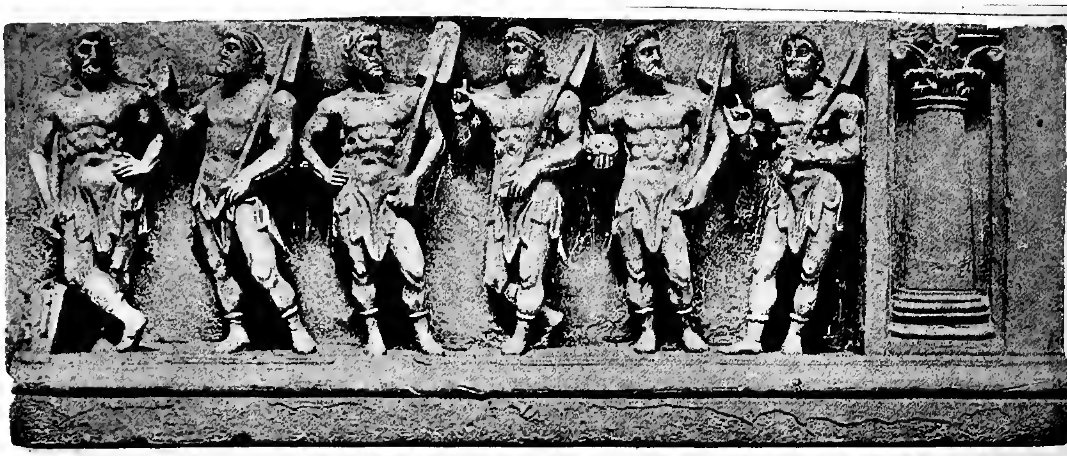


FIG. 77. Frieze of marine deities: B. M.
(Burgess, *The Gandhāra Sculptures*, Pl. 15, Fig. 1.)

figure on the extreme left is in the familiar pose of Herakles. The Corinthian pillar on the right is in the style of Palmyrene work of the second or third century. The modelling of the forms would deserve praise but for the disfiguring exaggeration of the abdominal muscles. The bearded faces resemble that of an unmistakable triton, also in the British Museum, who has a fin and a curly tail (Foucher, Fig. 123).[2]

Four-armed goddess.

A striking, and at present unique, illustration of the progressive Indianization of the foreign types is afforded by the recent discovery, near Shabkadar on the Momand frontier, of a standing headless female figure, with four arms, executed more or less in Gandhāra style, with drapery described by Dr. Spooner as being especially Greek in character. The upper arms have been lost; the two lower ones hold respectively a spear and a wheel (Fig. 78).[3] The drapery seems to me to be treated in an extremely formal manner, and I think the work is of late date.

[1] Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 252, 411, Pl. II, and Addenda, p. xvi. The stucco relief statue of a warrior in similar scale armour shown in Plate II may be as old as the second or third century, and approximately contemporary with the Gandhāra relief.

[2] Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, p. 244, Fig. 126.

[3] *Ann. Rep. A. S., Frontier Circle*, 1908–9, p. 4.

The British Museum (Gem Room) possesses a deep silver bowl, about five inches in diameter, said to come from Sogdiana, to the north of the Oxus, adorned with the figure of a four-armed goddess. It is supposed to date from Sassanian times, subsequent to A.D. 226.[1] I am disposed to think that the stone sculpture is not earlier.



FIG. 78. Four-armed image, from Momand Frontier. (Arch. S. photo. No. 397.)

SECTION III. CRITICISM.

Limit of illustration.

The productions of the Gandhāra school, good, bad, and indifferent, are so numerous that it would be easy to fill the whole of this volume with interesting illustrations of them, without exhausting the material available; but it is hoped that the reproductions in this chapter may be considered sufficient to give an adequate notion of the best work of the school, and to indicate the steps in the process of gradual Indianization of the style. Students who desire to follow out in detail the evolution of the Buddha type, or any of the many other fascinating problems suggested by these strangely composite works—so Greek or Graeco-Roman from one point of view, and so Indian from another—will find abundant material for reflection and discussion in the collections of numerous museums and the publications devoted to the exposition of different aspects of the many-sided subject.

We now pass on from description to critical and historical comment, as brief as possible.

Apartness of Gandhāran art.

The general impression produced by study of the Gandhāra sculptures is that they form a class standing to a considerable extent apart from the main current of the evolution of art within the limits of India. M. Foucher has succeeded, I think, in demonstrating that the Gandhāra school has no direct filial relations with the earlier art of Maurya and Sunga times dealt with in Chapter III of this work, notwithstanding the appearance in both of certain elements common to the Hellenistic art of Western Asia. The artists of the north-west, who were masters of the technique of Asia Minor, had no need to copy tritons, centaurs, and so forth, from the works of their humbler predecessors in the interior. The true view seems to be that, whatever may be the sources and extent of foreign influence on the work of early

[1] Described by Aspelin, *Antiquités du Nord Finno-Ougrien*, p. 147.

Indian sculptors, the rapid development of the Gandhāra school during the first century of the Christian era was the direct result of a fresh importation into the frontier regions, by accomplished artists introduced from outside, of Hellenistic ideas expressed in the forms then current throughout the Roman Empire.

Association with the Kushān dynasty.

Such importation of artists and ideas appears to have been closely associated with and dependent on the extension of the foreign Kushān or Indo-Scythian empire, as it gradually advanced its borders from the Oxus to the Ganges, and possibly as far as the Narbadā.[1] Unfortunately, as already observed, the chronology of those times is uncertain; and until the chronological question, summed up as the problem of the date of Kanishka, shall be definitely solved, the exact relations of the art of Gandhāra with that of the Graeco-Roman world and India proper cannot be elucidated with all the precision desirable.

It is, however, safe to affirm both that the Kushān kings had become lords of Kābul, with at all events part of the Panjāb, before A.D. 100, and that by that date the character of the Gandhāra style was already fixed. Much of the better sculpture of the Gandhāra school undoubtedly was produced during the reigns of Kanishka and his colleague and successor, Huvishka.

Early Indo-Hellenistic work.

No doubt, Hellenistic work adapted to Indian requirements had been done on the frontier in earlier times. The execution of such work during the reign of Azes I at some time in the first century B.C. is established by the Bīmarān casket (*post*, Chap. X, Sec. 4), the Ionic temples of Taxila (*ante*, p. 101), and the Pallas Athene statuette (*ante*, p. 116, Fig. 66). Although, so far as I know, it is not possible at present to refer any given work in the Gandhāra style to an earlier period, there is no apparent reason why Indo-Hellenistic sculpture should not have been produced from at least the age of Demetrius, 'King of the Indians', at the beginning of the second century B.C.,[2] and it is possible that certain extant examples may be as early. But the admission of the probable existence of Indo-Hellenistic sculpture from about 200 B.C. does not involve an admission that the origin of the Gandhāra school long preceded the Christian era. The earlier Hellenistic works differed from it in style. The Ionic temples of Taxila apparently had no successors, and the Bīmarān casket, while agreeing with the Gandhāra sculptures in the arrangement of the figures in compartments separated by pilasters with sunken panels, differs in the form of the arches and the absence of Corinthian capitals. The Pallas Athene, too, is more distinctly Greek than the true Gandhāra work. The characteristic of that work is the modified Corinthian capital, similar in style to the capitals fashionable throughout the Roman empire in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Origin of the Gandhāra school.

The appearance in sculpture of that specially Graeco-Roman form coincides with the introduction of the Kushān gold coinage, agreeing in weight with the Roman *aureus*, though somewhat debased in standard.[3] All the evidence, in my judgement, leads to the inference that the rapid development and extension of the distinct Gandhāra

[1] This was the view taken by Sir A. Cunningham, which I hesitated to accept at one time, but now admit to be correct.

[2] *Early Hist. of India*, 2nd ed., p. 210.

[3] For details see Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 16.

school, with its characteristic Indo-Corinthian capitals, were effected under the patronage of the great Kushān kings, who must have imported foreign artists, and through their agency have carried the application of Hellenistic technique to Indian subjects much farther than had ever been done before. Such foreign artists, accredited by royal authority and the fashion of the court, would have been readily accepted as teachers by the local Indian sculptors, who, after their accustomed manner, would have proceeded to adapt the new methods to their own purposes, sometimes, perhaps, bettering the instructions of their masters.

Parallel case of Indo-Persian painting.

The sudden introduction of the Persian style of painting into India by order of Akbar in the sixteenth century, and the immediate development of a prolific Indo-Persian school, surpassing its prototype in certain respects, while inferior in others, offer an almost exact parallel to the events which happened, as I believe, in the kingdom of Gandhāra during the first century of the Christian era. The parallel fails in so far that the Persian style of painting, being congenial to Indian taste, readily admitted of certain modifications which may be reasonably regarded as improvements, whereas the ultimate models of the Gandhāra sculptors having been the masterpieces of Attic and Ionic art, alien in spirit to the art of India, were usually susceptible of modification by Indian craftsmen only in the direction of degradation.

Indianization as a test of age.

It is obvious that the foreign elements in the art of Gandhāra tended to diminish as time went on, and that, generally speaking, the sculptures with most clearly marked Greek character should be considered early, and those most Indianized as comparatively late. But, as already pointed out (*ante*, p. 98), this criterion affords no infallible test of age. Some of the best finished works in Hellenistic style may have been executed by clever Indian imitators long after the introduction of the style, just as among the Mughal paintings we find close imitations of Persian models side by side and contemporary with paintings profoundly Indianized.

Decadence or improvement?

Most European critics, rightly convinced of the unapproachable excellence of the highest type of Greek art, the model of the less excellent Hellenistic art, see in the process of gradual Indianization a decadence. But the critics of the new 'nationalist' school are persuaded that this view is erroneous, and that the process of Indianization is in itself an artistic improvement. Mr. Havell, in general agreement with Dr. Coomaraswamy, teaches that the earliest Gandhāra sculptors were no better than mechanical craftsmen, hirelings following more or less impure Hellenistic traditions, engaged by the frontier kings in the manufacture of inferior objects of handicraft, which are mere 'soulless puppets, debased types of the Greek and Roman pantheon posing uncomfortably in the attitudes of Indian asceticism', and tarred with the vices of commercialism, insincerity, and want of spirituality, most conspicuous in the earliest examples. The indictment continues:—

'The insincerity and want of spirituality typical of nearly all the art of Gandhāra are, as I have said, most conspicuous in the earliest examples, or those which are attributed to the first century of our era, when the Roman influence was strongest. Two centuries later, in the sculptures of the Loriyān Tangai Monastery, which Professor Grünwedel

describes as belonging to the best period of Gandhāra,[1] the art has become more Indian, more national, and more spiritual, but it has not yet achieved the true ideal of Indian art. Since, however, it is Indian influence, Indian thought, which has so far perfected the style, it is surely incorrect to say that the ideal of Indian Buddhist art has been created by foreigners. Foreign hands may have held the tools, but the influences which have dominated the art have been throughout Indian. . . . The perfected ideal of Indian art is as far in advance of the Gandhāran type as the art of the Parthenon surpasses the art of Gandhāra. Neither artistically nor technically is it possible to place the best Gandhāran sculpture in the same plane with that of Borobodūr, Elephanta, or Ellora, or even with the best modern Nepalese metal-work, such as the Buddha in Plate VI.'[2]

Alleged faults.

The critic then proceeds to liken Gandhāran art to 'cheap, modern Italian plaster work', and to extol the later mediaeval sculpture and bronzes as exhibiting 'quiet restrained dignity, calm conviction, and effacement of physical detail . . . the embodiment of a great national tradition, a synthesis of Eastern philosophy and religious art'. We are further told that the Brahmanical art of the eighth and ninth centuries expresses 'the true Indian conception of divinity in a superhuman, spiritualized body', or, as elsewhere phrased, 'the idea of a purified, transcendental body formed by the practice of Dhyāna [meditation] and Yoga [ascetic restraint].' So Dr. Coomaraswamy declares that

'just as through all Indian schools of thought there runs like a golden thread the fundamental idealism of the Upanishads—the Vedānta—so in all Indian art there is a unity that underlies all its bewildering variety. This unifying principle is here also Idealism, and this must of necessity have been so, for the synthesis of Indian thought is one, not many'.[3]

The spirit of early Buddhist art.

The substance of these criticisms seems to mean that all high-class Indian sculpture must be an expression of Brahmanical metaphysics, nothing else being truly Indian or national. But the Gandhāra artists, who certainly did not worry about a 'superhuman, transcendental body', or take any interest in the Upanishads, agreed in those respects with the artists of all the early Buddhist schools, who were, nevertheless, just as Indian and national as any ninth-century Brahman could be. Although the technique of Gandhāra differed widely from that of Bharhut, Sānchī, and the rest, all the early Buddhist schools alike, that of Gandhāra included, were animated by the Buddhist kindly humanistic spirit, as different as possible from the Tantric notions dominating mediaeval art, both Brahmanical and Buddhist, but equally Indian. We are not entitled to denounce Gandhāran art as 'lacking in spirituality', and so forth, merely because it does not express the ideas of Elūra and Elephanta. As a matter of fact, many of the good Gandhāra sculptures may be fairly held to express with admirable feeling and sincerity the ideal of a saintly Indian man, and to be not lacking in 'restrained dignity'. For instance, the beautiful Berlin Bodhisattva (*ante*, Fig. 63) is very far from being a 'soulless puppet'; the Lahore Museum Kuvera (Plate XXVIII)

[1] Now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. See *ante*, p. 109, Fig. 60, the visit of Indra to Buddha. The date of the sculptures is not by any means certain.

[2] *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, pp. 45–50.

[3] *The Aims of Indian Art* (Essex House Press), 1908.

has a good share of 'restrained dignity'; and many of the Buddhas are quite equal to any of the Javanese or Ceylonese images. Much credit is given by the new school of critics to the achievements of mediaeval sculptors in the representation of gesture and strenuous action; but, without depreciating their work, it is permissible to insist on the similar merits of the Gandhāran heads and Atlantes (*ante*, p. 100; *post*, Chap. XI).

Merits of Gandhāran art.

The best works of the Gandhāra school are deserving of high commendation for their aesthetic, technical, and phonetic qualities, to use Fergusson's terminology; or, in other words, because they are intrinsically beautiful, skilfully executed, and well adapted to express both the ideal of the artist and the religious sentiment of his patrons. The great defect of the later mediaeval sculpture is that it is so often ugly and repulsive, even when entitled to praise for power, technical skill, or vigorous expression—or even for all those three qualities. The Gandhāran work is rarely either ugly or repulsive, and that in India is no small merit.

Alleged Chinese influence.

A Japanese author has come to the strange conclusions that 'a deeper and more informed study of the works of Gandhāra itself will reveal a greater prominence of Chinese than of so-called Greek influence', and that the sculptures 'follow in the main, so far as we know, the Hâng [*i. e.* Han dynasty of China] style in features, drapery, and decoration'. No evidence is adduced in support of these bold propositions, which are demonstrably opposed to the facts. The two Han dynasties were comprised between the years 206 B.C. and 220 A.D., during which period no considerable peaceful intercourse between India and China is recorded, nor is there reason to believe that any such unrecorded intercourse worth mentioning took place. It is impossible to imagine how Chinese art could have influenced India at that time. Sculptures of the Han period are very rare, being nearly confined to two localities in the province of Shantung, and ascribed, some to the first century before, and others to the first century after Christ. The ten specimens reproduced by Dr. Bushell have not the remotest resemblance to the work of the Gandhāran or any Indian school. How, then, can the sculptures of Gandhāra follow the 'Han style in features, drapery, and decoration'? No painting of the Han period is known to exist. The most ancient Chinese painting extant is the now well-known picture executed by Ku K'ai-chih in the fourth century and preserved in the British Museum. It does not show the slightest trace of any connexion with Indian art. What does Mr. Okakura mean by referring to the 'so-called Greek influence' on the art of Gandhāra? Innuendo is not argument, and the palpable fact of the Hellenistic origin of the Gandhāran sculptures, so far as their form and technique are concerned, is not affected by dubbing it 'so-called'. It would not be worth while to notice Mr. Okakura's rash assertions, but for the attention that his book has received in certain quarters for its attempted vindication of the claims of Asiatic as against European art ideals.[1]

Within the limits of India the art of Gandhāra was not widely propagated.

[1] Kakasu Okakura, *The Ideals of the East, with special reference to the Art of Japan* (Murray, 1903), pp. 78, 92. The author, with equal disregard of easily ascertainable facts, declares (p. 76) that the Iron Pillar of Delhi is a work of Asoka's time, calling it 'the lofty iron pillar of Asoka at Delhi—strange marvel of casting!', and further (p. 5) that Asoka's edicts 'dictated terms to the sovereigns of Antioch

Restricted influence of Gandhāran art in India.

Perhaps the only places where its influence can be traced clearly are Mathurā, Amarāvatī, and Ajantā. The Buddhas on the pillars in Cave X of Ajantā (*post*, Chap. VIII, Sec. 3) are clearly related in type to Gandhāra work. Political conditions seem to have been responsible to a great extent for the failure of the art of the north-western frontier to penetrate deeply into the interior. The Kushān empire apparently broke up in the time of Vāsudeva I, the successor of Huvishka, and was followed probably by a time of unrecorded anarchy. The next empire, that of the Guptas, who completed the conquest of the Gangetic valley about the middle of the fourth century, did not include the Panjāb, and so was separated from Gandhāra by foreign territory.

Gandhāra the parent of Buddhist art in the Far East.

But outside India the Gandhāra school achieved a grand success by becoming the parent of the Buddhist art of Eastern or Chinese Turkistan, Mongolia, China, Korea, and Japan. The stages of the transmission of the style to the Far East have been clearly disclosed by the abundant discoveries of sculptures and paintings in the manner of Gandhāra throughout Chinese Turkistan, both to the north and south of the Taklamakān (Gobi) Desert. Through China the imported forms of Buddhist art passed to Korea, and thence to Japan. Pious pilgrims, like Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang, played a large part in determining the course of Buddhist art in China by bringing back from the Indian Holy Land multitudes of images and pictures which became the authoritative models for Chinese monastic artists. The Indian influence, it must be clearly understood, affected the art of China and Japan only in its application to Buddhist uses. In other departments Chinese art, and its daughter in Japan, developed independently of Indian teaching.

The pursuit of the eastern ramifications of Indian Buddhist art lies beyond the scope of this work, but a slight sketch in outline of the process by which the Gandhāra style became the basis of the art devoted to the service of Buddhism in the Far East is an almost indispensable supplement to an account of the Gandhāra school, and may be presented in few words.

The progress of Indian Buddhist art eastwards.

Communications between China and the western countries were first opened up during the time of the Early Han Dynasty (226 B.C. to A.D. 25) [1] by means of the mission of Chang-Kien, who was sent as envoy to the Oxus region, and died about 114 B.C. That mission resulted in the establishment of regular intercourse between China and the Scythian powers, but did not involve contact with India. In the year A.D. 8 the official relations of the Chinese government with the western states came to an end, and when the first Han dynasty ceased to exist in A.D. 25 Chinese influence in those countries had vanished. But in A.D. 73 a great general named Pan-chao reduced the King of Khotan to subjection, and from that date continued his victorious

and Alexandria'. This latter statement could hardly be made by anybody who had read the edicts. The Iron Pillar was erected early in the fifth century after Christ, about six centuries and a half after Asoka's death (*J. R. A. S.*, 1897, pp. 1–18). For the Han sculptures, see Bushell, *Chinese Art*, figures 8–17. For Ku-K'ai-chih's picture, see Fig. 125 in the same work, or Mr. Binyon's article in *Burlington Magazine*, Jan. 1904, or the same author's *Painting in the Far East*; or Giles's *An Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art* (Shanghai, 1905), p. 16 and Plate. I have seen the original painting in the Print Room of the British Museum.

[1] Chinese dynastic dates are given according to Tchang, le Père Mathias—*Synchronismes chinois* (Chang-hai, 1905).

career until his death in A.D. 102, when the power of China attained its greatest western extension. In the last decade of the first century Pan-chao inflicted a severe defeat on the Kushān king of Kābul somewhere beyond the Pāmīrs in the Yārkand or Kāshgar country. Most probably that king was Kanishka. After Pan-chao's death the Kushān king retrieved his defeat and occupied Khotan, at some time between A.D. 102 and 123. To that Indo-Scythian conquest of Khotan I would attribute the rapid spread of Indian languages, scripts, religion, and art in Chinese Turkistan, as disclosed by the discoveries of recent years. I do not mean that Indian influence then first began to be felt, for there is reason to believe that it crossed the passes more than three hundred years earlier, in the age of Asoka, but its great extension appears not to go back further than the first quarter of the second century of the Christian era, the very time when the art of Gandhāra was at its best. Kanishka's defeat of the Chinese and conquest of Khotan afford an adequate explanation of the archaeological facts. Probably the Indo-Scythian occupation of Khotan did not last very long, but no documentary evidence on the subject has yet been discovered. During the third century Buddhism effected considerable progress in China, and from the beginning of the fifth century to the eighth a constant stream of learned pilgrims devoted themselves to the task of saturating Chinese Buddhism with Indian ideas and Indian art. Early in the seventh century Bajna and his son, Wei-tschü I-song, distinguished painters from Khotan, visited the Chinese court, and founded an Indo-Chinese school of painting. China transmitted the Indian forms of Buddhist art to Korea, whence they passed to Japan. That is the outline of the facts.[1] During all the centuries mentioned there is no indication of a reflex action of Chinese on Indian art, the supposed Chinese influence on the Ajantā paintings a little before or after A.D. 600 being very doubtful.

The fact that the prevalent existing forms of Buddhist art in the Far East originated in Gandhāra has been fully proved in detail by Professor Grünwedel and other authors, whose finding on that point is generally accepted.

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[1] Hirth, F.—*Ueber fremde Einflüsse in der chinesischen Kunst* (München und Leipzig, 1896), p. 83. For art of Gandhāra style in Turkistan, see Dr. Stein's works, and the German publications giving the results of the first German expedition to Turfan, as enumerated by Dr. v. Le Coq in *J. R. A. S*, 1909, p. 301.

CHAPTER V

SCULPTURE OF THE KUSHĀN PERIOD, OTHER THAN THE GANDHĀRA SCHOOL

Section I. General Observations.

Subject of this chapter.

In Chapter IV our attention was confined to the prolific Hellenistic school of sculpture which flourished during the first three centuries of the Christian era in the regions of the north-western frontier constituting the home provinces of the Kushān empire, and known by the name of Gandhāra.[1] In this chapter we propose to study certain schools of sculpture, partially contemporary with the Gandhāra school, and to some extent related to it, but distinct in style, and located in interior India.

The Kushān dynasty.

As I have occasion to observe more than once, the chronology of the Kushān dynasty is still unsettled, and decisive proof is lacking for any one of the many rival theories on the subject. Six sovereigns of the dynasty are of importance for the history of India and of Indian art. The first two are most conveniently cited as Kadphises I and II. The next four kings, Kanishka, Vāsishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva I, certainly reigned in that order for a century in round numbers.[2] As a working hypothesis I revert to Professor Oldenberg's old theory, and assume that Kanishka came to the throne in A.D. 78. Thus the first and second centuries after Christ are approximately filled by the rule of the leading kings of the dynasty, the name of which may be given to the period up to about A. D. 300, because the next principal dynasty, the Gupta, did not begin until A. D. 320. The sculpture at Amarāvatī, although in a southern locality, is closely related to that of the north, and may be conveniently treated under a classification based on the reigns of a northern dynasty. From the far south we have no certain sculpture of the period, and there is little, if any, in Ceylon which can be assigned to it. I have doubtfully inserted the Jain images from the Cuddapah District, Madras, in this chapter.

Three leading localities.

The art of the sculptors of the Kushān period, as thus defined, may be sufficiently illustrated by study of the remains in three notable localities, namely Mathurā (Muttra) on the Jumna, Sārnāth, near Benares, and Amarāvatī on the bank of the Krishna (Kistna) river, in the Guntūr District, Madras. Of course, contemporary sculptures occur elsewhere, but it is not necessary for the purposes of this history to consider the remains in minor localities.

[1] The name is written *Kushaṇa* in the Kharoshthī script, which ordinarily does not mark long vowels; but the long *ā* is justified by Chinese transcriptions and the legends of certain Sassanian coins.

[2] Inscribed pillar of Mahārāja Shāhi Vāsishka dated in 24th year (Mathurā Museum, Q 13, *Catal.*, p. 189). In India the reigns of Kanishka, Vāsishka, and Huvishka overlap. Probably Vāsishka reigned in India only, and Huvishka succeeded to the whole empire on Kanishka's death about A.D. 123.

In the early centuries of the Christian era Mathurā on the Jumna (27° 30′ N., 77° 41′ E.), a city of immemorial antiquity, and prosperous to this day in spite of many disasters, was sacred in the eyes of the adherents of all the three indigenous Indian religions—Jainism, Buddhism, and Brahmanical Hinduism. The abundant supply of excellent red sandstone at Rūpbās and other quarries in the neighbourhood favoured the development of an active school of sculptors, whose workshops supplied all parts of Northern India with idols, much as Jaipur does now. The craftsmen, of course, were prepared to supply whatever was wanted by their patrons of any religion. The character of the local stone is so distinct that the products of the Mathurā studios are easily recognized wherever they may be found. Wealthy worshippers did not hesitate to undertake the cost of transporting heavy, even colossal, statues for hundreds of miles. For instance, unmistakable Mathurā images of large size occur at Sārnāth, some four hundred miles distant. Mathurā.

Geographically Mathurā occupies a central position intermediate between Gandhāra to the north-west, Amarāvatī to the south-east, and Sārnāth to the east. It is therefore not surprising that the local school of art should display intermediate characters, linking it on the one hand with the Hellenistic art of Gandhāra, and on the other with the more purely Indian schools of the interior. At one time I believed the Hellenizing sculptures of Mathurā to be earlier than those of Gandhāra, but that view has been proved to be erroneous. The Mathurā sculptors continued to turn out creditable work during the Gupta period, as will appear in the next chapter.

Sārnāth, like Mathurā, was holy ground to the Jains as well as the Buddhists. The richly adorned buildings of both religions, crowded with sculpture, were involved in common ruin by the violence of the fierce hosts of Islam at the close of the twelfth century. The Brahmanical Hindus lavished their devotion on the neighbouring city of Benares, and shared the misfortunes of their rivals. The sculptors of Sārnāth ordinarily used the excellent pale sandstone from the quarries of Chanār (Chunar) in the Mirzāpur District, which had supplied the blocks for Asoka's pillars. But, as already observed, wealthy donors sometimes preferred to import red sandstone images from Mathurā. During the last few years much progress has been made in unearthing the buried treasures of Sārnāth, but much more remains to be found. Sārnāth.

Far away to the east of south the ruins of a vanished Buddhist *stūpa* at Amarāvatī (16° 35′ N., 80° 24′ E.) have furnished a multitude of marble sculptures in relief, certainly assignable to the Kushān age, and of such excellence that competent critics have held them to mark the culminating point of Indian art. Their style connects them in certain respects with both Mathurā and Gandhāra. While Indian elements predominate, traces of Hellenistic or Western Asiatic influence may be recognized without difficulty. Amarāvatī.

I now proceed to discuss characteristic examples of the three chief localities.

Section II. Mathurā and Sārnāth.

Herakles and the Nemean lion.

The most distinctly Hellenistic sculpture from Mathurā is the mutilated group, 2 feet 5 inches high, known as 'Herakles (Hercules) and the Nemean lion', discovered by Cunningham serving a lowly purpose as the side of a cattle-trough, and now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Fig. 79).

The hero grasps the beast with his left arm, and presumably threatened it with a club in the missing right hand. He is nude, except for a skin hung behind his back, and fastened by the paws round his neck. He is fairly well modelled in a way that suggests Greek reminiscences, but the lion, so far as can be seen, is a poor, feeble creature.



Fig. 79. Herakles and the Nemean lion, from Mathurā. (Photo. 842, I. M. *List*.)

The only other Indian work of art resembling this group is a corroded bronze or copper statuette, $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet high, treating of the same subject, which was discovered in a mound at Quetta in Balūchistan.

The motive is of great antiquity, going back to Assyrian art, which represented Gistubar, the 'Assyrian Hercules', clubbing and strangling a lion in the same way. India, however, probably borrowed the idea from some Hellenistic work of Asia Minor. The Mathurā group was believed by Sir A. Cunningham, whose skilled judgement on the point may be accepted, to date from the time of either Kanishka or Huvishka. But his notion that the sculpture might have been executed on behalf of a hypothetical Greek colony at Mathurā may be dismissed as fanciful, although at present it is not possible to explain the meaning of the group from an Indian point of view. The popular Buddhism of Mathurā indulged in some queer manifestations, and most likely the composition should be classed as Buddhist. The Indian version of the story called by the Greeks the struggle of Herakles with the Nemean lion may turn up somewhere.[1]

'Bacchanalian' images.

Certain groups and statuettes from Mathurā or the neighbourhood, all dealing with strong drink and intoxication, which may be classed together as 'Bacchanalian', have excited much interest and discussion, in spite of which their interpretation is still far from clear. The supposed Greek character of the composition first discovered was much exaggerated by the early commentators, and some of the connected sculptures have nothing Hellenistic about them. All of them, like the Gandhāra

[1] The Mathurā group is M. 17 in Indian Museum, Calcutta: Anderson, *Catal.*, Part I, p. 190; Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. xvii, p. 139, Pl. XXX. For the 'Assyrian Hercules' see Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, 2nd ed., p. 136, Fig. 36; Maspéro, *Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, transl. Morton (London, 1892), p. 302, Fig. 152. The Quetta statuette is described in *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, vol. lvi, p. 163, Pl. X; and vol. lviii (1889), p. 141. It seems to be more ancient than the Mathurā group, and the treatment differs.



Plate XXXI. Bacchanalian scene; front group of the Stacy block, Mathurā.
(*J. A. S. B.*, xliv, Pl. XII, Group 1.)

figures, demand explanation as representations of Indian, not Greek subjects, even though certain details may be foreign.

The Stacy 'Silenus'.

The block discovered in 1836 by Colonel Stacy, somewhere at Mathurā, and now marked M. 1 in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, was at first supposed to represent Silenus, and so became known as the 'Stacy Silenus'. But everybody now acknowledges that the subject is Indian, although the sculptor was influenced by the Silenus model. The stone is 3 feet 8 inches high, 3 feet broad, and 1 foot 4 inches thick, with a circular basin on the top 16 inches in diameter and 8 in depth, seemingly intended to serve as the socket for a column. Both this block and its replica, to be described presently, were carved on back as well as front, and were evidently designed to be viewed from both directions. Apparently they were the bases of columns, which may have stood at an entrance, or entrances, the proper position for Yakshas. But the difference of dimensions suggests that the two blocks may have belonged to distinct buildings.

The front group (Plate XXXI) comprises four persons in two pairs, each consisting of a man and woman standing under an *asoka* tree in flower. The stout man on the right has his left arm round the waist of his female companion, who holds his right hand in hers, thus giving him the support rendered necessary by his intoxicated condition, due to the liquor, pots of which stand on the ground. The couple on the left stand facing, in attitudes apparently indifferent, but their countenances have been destroyed, so that their expression is lost. Traces of chaplets may be discerned on the heads of all.

The reeling man wears nothing except a pair of short bathing-drawers, and a scarf or cloak (? chlamys) hanging behind his back and fastened round his neck by a knot. The slighter and perfectly sober man on the left is decently dressed in long drawers extending to his ankles, and a close-fitting tunic reaching below his knees. Both of the women are clad in a short tunic coming down a little below the waist, and possibly also in a long skirt. Each holds a piece of loose drapery across her legs. The woman on the left has it thrown over her left arm in the fashion adopted by some of the Gandhāra Bodhisattvas. Both women are adorned with heavy Indian anklets, armlets, and collars.

The reverse group, much mutilated, comprises five figures, of whom the principal is a fat elderly man sitting on a stone seat with his left leg tucked up, and so drunk that he has to be supported on his left side by a man and a boy, and on his right by a woman dressed like the females in the front group. The drunkard does not wear drawers like the merry fellow in that composition, but has a waistcloth loosely fastened. In style both reliefs are similar, the modelling being life-like, and the action clearly expressed.

The Pālī Khera block.

The companion block of nearly the same dimensions, but somewhat larger, was discovered many years later by the late Mr. F. S. Growse at Pālī Khera, a suburb of modern Mathurā included within the limits of the ancient city. The reverse group, exhibiting the effects of deep potations, being almost identical with the reverse of the Stacy block, need not be further described. The front group, however, differs from

its companion. Five figures under an *asoka* tree again appear. The principal is a fat man, seemingly nude, seated on a low stool made of stones laid in courses, with his left leg tucked up. The stone seat apparently is intended as a symbol of Mount Kailās, the abode of Kuvera. He is drinking from a noggin, apparently of wood, which a male attendant is ready to replenish. The proceedings are watched by another man, a woman, and a small boy (Fig. 80).

Bacchanalian Kuvera.

Two other Bacchanalian groups, found among the sculptures in the Mathurā Museum by Dr. Vogel and described by him, throw welcome light upon the date and meaning of the earlier discoveries described above. One of these groups, 1 foot 2 inches high (Fig. 81), represents a corpulent, coarse-looking man, apparently nude,



Fig. 80. Pālī Khera block, front group.
(Photo. 227, I. M. *List*: Mathurā Museum, C. 2, *Catal.*, p. 83, Pl. XIII.)

squatted, and holding in his right hand a cup, which a female attendant is about to fill from a jar. His left hand grasps a long object, presumed to be a money-bag. This last attribute and the physique of the obese drinker permit of little doubt that the personage represented is Kuvera, the god of riches, whose podgy form has become familiar from the many images collected of late years in connexion with Buddhist monasteries from the Panjāb to Ceylon. Kuvera (also called Vaisravana and Jambhala) was king of the Yaksha demi-gods or sprites, and forms of his effigy are closely related to certain images from Gandhāra, such as Fig. 1 in Pl. XI of *The Gandhāra Sculptures*. Dr. Vogel probably is right in associating all the Bacchanalian sculptures of Mathurā with Yaksha worship.[1] But the exact meaning of the Stacy and Pālī Khera reliefs is

[1] 'Études de Sculpture bouddhique' (*Bull. de l'École française d'Extrême Or.*, t. viii (1908), Nos. 3, 4, Fig. 2); *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1906–7, 'The Mathurā School of Sculpture,' pp. 137–60. The second group in the Mathurā Museum differs little from the one figured.

far from clear. Whatever it may be, those sculptures have considerable merits as works of art.

Statuette of youth drinking.

Mr. Growse published a Mathurā statuette in his collection, 2 feet 8 inches in height, representing a pot-bellied youth with both hands raised, the right holding a bunch of grapes and the left grasping a goblet of calabash shape (Fig. 82).

Nāga youth drinking.

The same scholar also published a mutilated statue, 3 feet 1 inch high, lying at Kūkargrāma in the Saadābād *pargana* of the Mathurā District (Fig. 83)—a singularly graceful figure of a Nāga youth with a canopy of seven cobra heads, holding his right



FIG. 81. Bacchanalian image, ? Kuvera, from Huvishka's monastery, Jamālpur mound. (A. S. photo., No. 33: Mathurā Museum, C. 5, *Catal.*, p. 85.)

hand above his head, while his left grasps a cup similar in shape to that seen on the Pālī Khera block, but apparently without the curved handle. A garland of wild flowers is twined round his body, and he wears a high head-dress of ancient pattern. The pose of the youth is essentially the same as that of the female in the Woman and Tree motive, the garland taking the place of the stem of the tree. The worship of the Nāgas, the spirits of the waters, was much favoured by the ancient inhabitants of the Mathurā region.

Nāga statue.

The drinking Nāga is related to another fine life-size statue of a Nāga water-sprite from Chhargaon, near Mathurā, now in the Mathurā Museum, the approximate

date of which is fixed by an inscription on the back, recorded in the fortieth year during the reign of Huvishka. According to the chronology provisionally adopted in this work, the statue (Fig. 84), which is 5 feet high, may be ascribed to the year A. D. 117 or 118. The modelling is good. The arrangement of the waistcloth in a twisted roll is found in other cases. The broken left hand probably held a cup.[1]

'Bacchanalian' Buddhism.

These so-called 'Bacchanalian' sculptures of Mathurā cannot be at all understood if considered by themselves. They evidently belong to a large class of Buddhist works of art, represented by the 'scènes bacchiques' of Gandhāra, which fill two plates of M. Foucher's book,[2] several reliefs on railing pillars at Mathurā, the 'Indian



FIG. 82. Bacchanalian statuette. (*J. A. S. B.*, Part I, vol. xliv, Pl. XIV, 2: Mathurā Museum, C. 6, *Catal.*, p. 87.)



FIG. 83. Bacchanalian Nāga, from Kūkargrāma. (*J. A. S. B.*, Part I, vol. xliv, Pl. XIV, 1: Mathurā Museum, C. 15, *Catal.*, p. 90.)

Bacchus' of the Tank silver dish (*post*, Chap. X, Sec. 5), and the festive scenes depicted in the Aurangabad and Bāgh Caves. All such works appear to be expressive, as Mr. Growse suggested, of a little understood sensual form of popular Buddhism, not indicated by literature until a time seemingly much later than the second century. But when the true history of Indian Buddhism comes to be written it must be based on the evidence of the sculptures and pictures as much as on the books. M. Roller's question, addressed to Christian ecclesiastical archaeologists with reference to the art of the Catacombs, may be repeated to Indianists: 'La pierre ne servirait-elle pas à contrôler le manuscrit?'[3]

[1] Vogel in *Prog. Rep. A. S., N. Circle*, 1907–8, p. 38; *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 1313 note.

[2] Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, Figs. 127–33 *b*.

[3] *Les Catacombes de Rome* (1881), Preface, p. ii.

Sculptures on railings.

The excavations at Mathurā have yielded numerous specimens of pillars of stone railings associated with *stūpas*, both Jain and Buddhist. Most of the Buddhist ones were, I think, found on the site of Huvishka's monastery in the Old Jail or Jamālpur mound, now entirely removed. The Jain specimens came from the Kankāli mound, which included the remains of an early *stūpa* and two temples belonging to the Jains. The pillars have high-relief statuettes, usually of females, on the front, and other



FIG. 84. Nāga statue, with inscription of Huvishka's reign, from Chhargaon.
(A. S. photo., No. 47 : Mathurā Museum, C. 13, *Catal.*, p. 88.)



FIG. 85. Yakshī on dwarf; Mathurā Museum.
(A. S. photo., No. 47, 1908–9.)

panelled scenes, one above the other, or floral patterns on the back. The style of art is much the same, whether the work was intended for Jain or Buddhist use.

The rather immodest females adorning many of the pillars were supposed by Cunningham to be dancing-girls, an opinion certainly erroneous. They appear rather, as argued by Dr. Vogel, to belong to the Yakshī class, like the somewhat similar figures of the Bharhut rail (*ante*, p. 74). Some of the figures are really meant to be naked, but in others the apparent nudity is merely an artistic convention. The female



FIG. 86. Two Yakshīs (?); Indian Museum. (Photo. 835, I. M. *List.*)



FIG. 87. Female, half-back view; Mathurā Museum. (A. S. photo., No. 47, 1908–9.)



FIG. 88. Female with right arm bent; Mathurā Museum. (Photo., No. 47, A. S.)



FIG. 89. Female with right leg bent; Mathurā Museum. (Photo., No. 47, A. S.)

is frequently posed in what I call the Woman and Tree arrangement. A few examples may be given. Many more have been published by Cunningham and other authors.

Sundry examples.

Fig. 85 represents a variant of the common Woman and Tree motive. The female stands on a prostrate dwarf, a male Yaksha. The pose, as in many other cases, is easy and graceful. Here the lady is draped.

A sculpture in Calcutta shows two females together, unmistakably nude, but for the bead girdle (Fig. 86).

A pillar in the Mathurā Museum (Fig. 87) presents a half-back view of a female with singular want of success. The difficulties of the pose seem to have been too much for the sculptor.



Fig. 90. Female and child; Mathurā Museum. (Photo., No. 47, A. S.)



Fig. 91. A soldier; Mathurā Museum. (Photo., No. 47, A. S.)



Fig. 92. Lion and rider; Indian Museum. (Photo. 844, I. M. *List.*)

The unusual attitudes shown in Figs. 88 and 89 are treated much more skilfully.

A child is introduced into Fig. 90.

The male figure, seemingly of a soldier, in Fig. 91 is quite exceptional and effectively designed.

A well-executed sculpture in the Indian Museum (Fig. 92) represents a youth riding a conventional lion, and may be of earlier date.

Dr. Vogel describes a mutilated statue (height 3 feet 10 inches or 1 m. 17) of a male deity standing with his left hand resting on his hip (Mathurā Museum, E. 12, *Catal.*, p. 108), which evidently had three heads, of which that on the proper right

has been lost. The style indicates that the image belongs to the Kushān period. 'It is of interest as the only polycephalic image which can be attributed to that epoch.' Another sculpture in the Mathurā Museum (J. 7, *Catal.*, p. 143, Pl. XXII), 2 feet 7½ inches high, described by the same author, seems to date from the time of Kanishka. The subject of the alto-rilievo, which is on the front of a railing pillar, is 'a male figure of Faun-like appearance with elaborate turban, necklace of beads, and other ornaments. He is standing under a mango-tree in blossom, with his right hand raised to his lips, and with his left placed against his thigh.' This is a very artistic and well-modelled composition.



FIG. 93. A Bodhisattva, from the Katra; Mathurā Museum. (A. S. photo., No. 37 of 1908–9: Mathurā Museum, A. 1, *Catal.*, p. 47, Pl. VII.)

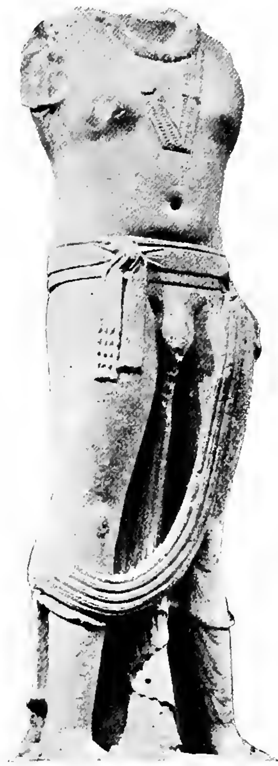


FIG. 94. Bodhisattva from Mathurā. (Photo. 843, I. M. *List.*)

A seated Bodhisattva (Fig. 93) in the Mathurā Museum, bearing a dedicatory inscription, 'for the welfare and happiness of all beings,' incised in script not later than the first or second century after Christ, is of special interest as exhibiting at that early date the saint seated in the traditional *yogī* attitude, which became general subsequently, and with his right shoulder bare. But for the inscription the principal figure might well be supposed to be of much later date. His drapery is excessively formal in its folds. The attendant figures are more ancient in appearance and well modelled. The simple foliage decoration is in good taste, and the flying spirits above are fairly successful. 'Palaeographical evidence,' Dr. Vogel observes, 'points to the sculpture belonging to

A Bodhisattva.

the early Kushaṇa period. It is, with the Buddha image of Anyor (No. A 2), the oldest image of Sākyamuni of which the date can approximately be fixed by an inscription, and must be one of the first Buddhist images made in Mathurā. On account of its artistic merit and excellent preservation also, this Bodhisattva is one of the most remarkable sculptures preserved in the Museum.' It is called a Bodhisattva in the inscription, and must represent Gautama Sākyamuni before he became a Buddha, because the tree shown over the image is the *pīpal* (*Ficus religiosa*), the tree of Gautama.

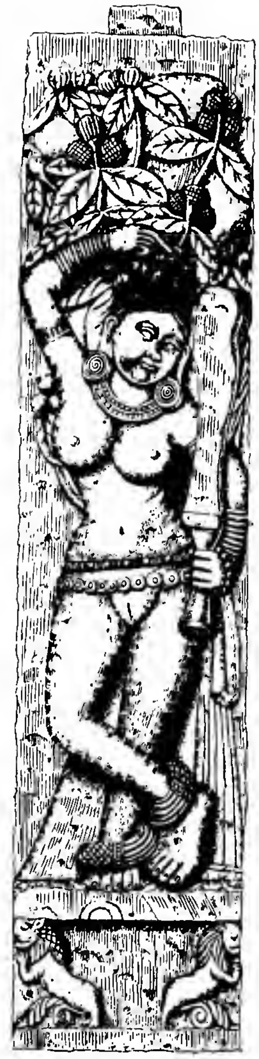


Fig. 95. Nude female on Jain railing pillar, Mathurā. (*Jain Stūpa*, Pl. LXII, front.)

A Bodhisattva in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Fig. 94), is a good sample of the more usual Mathurā type of the Buddhist saint, akin to the 'royal personages' of Gandhāra art, and very different in spirit from the seated image. It is almost a duplicate of an image found at Sārnāth.[1] No attempt is made to idealize the human form, which is treated naturalistically and without exaggeration.

Relief of Jain *stūpa*.

A 'tablet of homage' (Plate XXXII), with a relief sculpture of a Jain *stūpa* (2 feet 4 inches high, 1 foot $9\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide), now in the Mathurā Museum, was found embedded in a wall near the Holi gate, but is said to have come from a field near the village of Maholī. It was dedicated by a certain courtesan named Lonasobhikā to the Arahat Vardhamāna or Mahāvīra, and gives a good picture of an ancient Jain *stūpa*, which was constructed and decorated on exactly the same lines as the Buddhist edifices of a similar kind. In this case the building depicted stood on a high plinth, and was approached by nine steps, leading to a *toraṇa* gateway of the Sānchī type, with a garland hanging from it. The *stūpa* was surrounded by a plain railing, and two similar railings were carried round the drum. The posturing females are unmistakably nude. The side columns are modified Persepolitan of poor design. The script of the inscription is of about the first century B.C.[2]

One example of the nude female, or Yakshī, on the pillar of an actual Jain railing, may be given (Fig. 95). She holds a weapon, which may be a broadsword of the old Indian kind.

A draped bracket figure for the side of a *toraṇa* (Fig. 96) may be compared with the similar, but superior, figure at Sānchī (*ante*, Fig. 46).

Medallions.

The cleverly drawn and executed bas-reliefs on the medallions of railing bars, probably Jain, representing animals, real or mythical, and other objects, may be com-

[1] *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1904–5, Pl. XXVI *c*.

[2] Some of the details in *Jain Stūpa*, p. 61, based on Mr. Mukharji's information, are erroneous.



PLATE XXXII. Tablet with relief sculpture of a Jain *stūpa*.
(Mathurā Museum, Q. 2, *Catal.*, p. 184, Pl. V. A. S. photo., No. 35 of 1908–9 = Pl. CIII of *Jain Stūpa.*)

pared with the more or less similar designs at Bharhut, Sānchī, and Bodh-Gayā (*ante*, Chap. III). Four specimens will suffice (Figs. 97–100).

Other decorative motives are illustrated and discussed in Chapter XI.

Discoveries at Sārnāth.

More than forty years ago Cunningham formed the opinion that it would not be advisable to undertake any further excavations at Sārnāth.[1] But happily the opinion

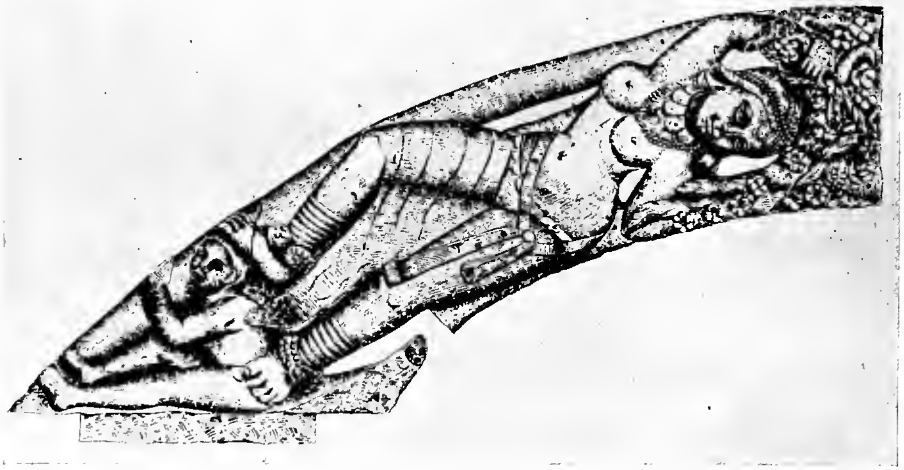


FIG. 96. Draped bracket figure.
(*Jain Stūpa*, Pl. XXXV, front.)

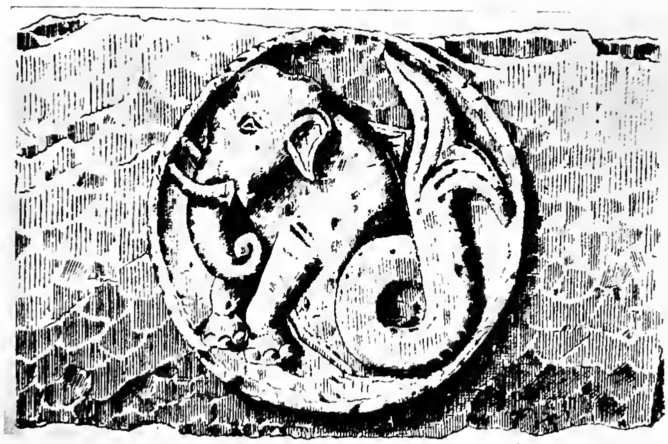


FIG. 97. Fish-tailed elephant.
(*Jain Stūpa*, Pl. LXXIII, 1.)

expressed by so high an authority has not deterred Mr. Oertel and Mr. Marshall from fruitful explorations, which have proved the superficial character of the earlier researches, and have revealed an astonishing wealth of sculptures extending from the age of Asoka to the twelfth century. During that long period of about fourteen

[1] *A. S. Rep.* i. 129.

centuries, Sārnāth, the scene of the first preaching of the Law, continued to be regarded by Buddhists as one of the four most sacred spots in the world, and to be visited by myriads of pilgrims. Pious kings and monks lavished their wealth and devotion on the adornment of the numerous buildings which sprang up on the holy



FIG. 98. Bull.
(*Jain Stūpa*, Pl. LXXV, 3, front.)

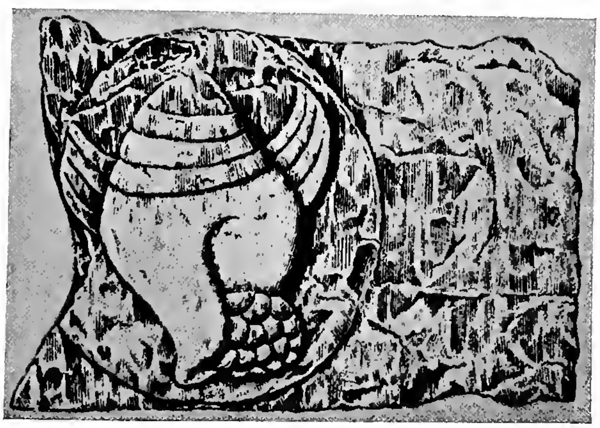


FIG. 99. Shell.
(*Jain Stūpa*, Pl. LXXI, 7.)



FIG. 100. Modified vine-leaf.
(*Jain Stūpa*, Pl. LXXI, 3.)

ground, and from age to age renewed or replaced the monuments fallen to decay. When the armies of the idol-hating Muslims sacked Benares in the closing years of the twelfth century, the rich and splendid establishments at Sārnāth were ruthlessly burnt and reduced to irretrievable ruin. But in these latter days the pick of the patient excavator has brought to light the remains of the ancient monasteries, temples,

and statuary in such abundance that the history of Indian sculpture from Asoka to the Muhammadan conquest might be illustrated with fair completeness from the finds at Sārnāth alone.

Bodhisattvas and bas-relief.

The discoveries include many works of art dating from the Kushān period, all executed in sandstone, generally of the Chanār kind, but often of the red variety imported from Mathurā and wrought in the style favoured by the sculptors of that city. Several statues of Bodhisattvas, executed in the round on a large scale, are almost identical with the Mathurā specimen reproduced above (Fig. 94), and one of these is dated in the third year of the reign of Kanishka, which may be regarded provisionally as equivalent to A. D. 80. The Kushān age of such works is thus definitely determined. Halos, when present, are plain, not highly decorated as in the Gupta period.

A finely executed bas-relief, which once decorated a doorway and exhibits artistic lotus and vine patterns, besides a picture of an elephant worshipping a *stūpa*, is quite in the Mathurā style, and may be assigned with some confidence to the first century of the Christian era.[1] The style of the Sārnāth works is so closely related to that of Mathurā that illustrations may be dispensed with.

SECTION III. AMARĀVATĪ.

Amarāvatī sculptures well known.

The sculptures from the *stūpa* of Amarāvatī and its surrounding railing or screen of marble may claim the distinction of being the best known specimens of early Indian art. No visitor to the British Museum, however indifferent to Indian curiosities, can help seeing the spoils of the *stūpa* and railing displayed on the walls of the grand staircase, and everybody at all interested in Indian antiquities is more or less familiar with Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship* and other works treating of the sculptures. Objects so comparatively hackneyed and familiar do not call for prolonged discussion or extensive illustration in this volume.

Destruction of the *stūpa*.

The small town of Amarāvatī (16° 35′ N., 80° 24′ E.) on the south bank of the Krishnā (Kistna) river, in the Guntūr District, Madras, represents a more important ancient city called Dharanikota, a place of considerable note from at least 200 B.C. A richly decorated *stūpa*, known to have been in good repair and still venerated in the twelfth century, continued to exist to the south of the town up to the close of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century, when it was utterly destroyed by a greedy local landholder, eager to obtain cheap building material and convinced that marble slabs, plain or carved, formed excellent food for a lime-kiln. About a century ago Colonel Mackenzie visited the place and had drawings made of numerous slabs, now no longer in existence. Various archaeological explorers have salved remnants of the sculptures, which are now mostly housed in either the British Museum or the Central Museum, Madras. Our knowledge of the extraordinary richness of the decoration of the *stūpa* and its railing is derived from the poor

[1] For these sculptures see 'Excavations at Sārnāth,' *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, pp. 59–104, with numerous illustrations, especially Pl. XXVI *a*, and XXVII, and text illustration, Fig. 12.

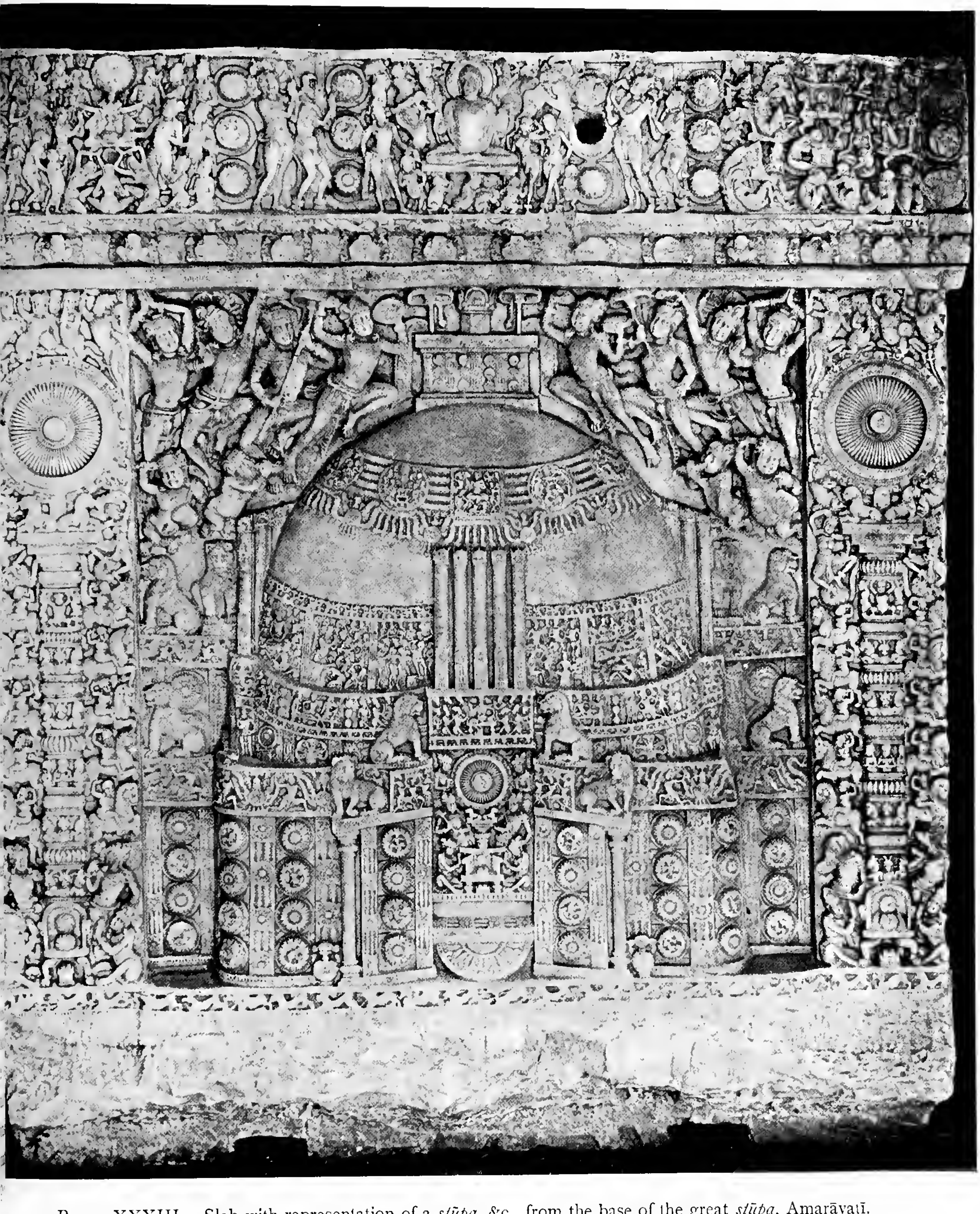


Plate XXXIII. Slab with representation of a *stūpa*, &c., from the base of the great *stūpa*, Amarāvatī.
(Photo. 743, I. O. *List.*)

remnants thus rescued and Colonel Mackenzie's drawings, which have been published fully by Mr. Fergusson and Dr. Burgess.

Date of the principal sculptures.

The *stūpa* in its earliest form was of high antiquity, dating, as inscriptions prove, from about 200 B.C., and some fragments of sculpture perhaps as old still survive. But the great mass of the sculpture is much later, and belongs to the Kushān period. The authority of the Kushān kings, however, did not extend as far south as Amarāvatī, which was then within the dominions of the powerful Āndhra dynasty of the Deccan. By the help of two inscriptions mentioning Āndhra kings, the testimony of Tāranāth the historian of Buddhism, and other evidence of various kinds, the construction of the great railing may be assigned to the half-century between 150 and 200 after Christ. The highly ornate slabs which cased the *stūpa* itself may be a little later. We are almost certainly safe in saying that all the sculptures of the railing and casing fall within the hundred years between A.D. 150 and 250. Until quite recently everybody believed that there used to be two railings, and all the printed descriptions give details of an 'outer' and an 'inner' railing. But Dr. Burgess now states that he and everybody else were mistaken, the fact being that no more than one railing, the so-called 'outer' one, ever existed. The slabs supposed to have belonged to an 'inner' railing really formed a casing applied to the body of the *stūpa*.[1]

The railing.

The railing, by far the most magnificent known example of such structures, was 192 feet in diameter, about 600 in circumference, and stood 13 or 14 feet high above the pavement. It was constructed of upright slabs connected by three cross-bars between each pair of uprights, which stood upon a plinth and supported a coping about 2 feet 9 inches in height. On the outer face each upright was adorned with a full disk in the centre and a half-disk at top and bottom, minor sculptures filling the interspaces (Fig. 102). Similar but ever-varying disks decorated the cross-bars, and the coping was ornamented with a long wavy flower-roll carried by men, numerous figures being inserted in the open spaces (Fig. 103). The plinth exhibited a frieze of animals and boys, often in comic or ludicrous attitudes. The decorations on the inner face were even more elaborate; the coping presenting a continued series of bas-reliefs, and the central disks being filled with delicate sculptures, treating every topic of Buddhist legend. Thus every part of the structure, with a surface of about 16,800 square feet (600 × 2 × 14), was covered with sculptured reliefs.

The casing.

The slabs forming the casing of the lower part of the *stūpa*, $162\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter, were carved more richly even than the inner face of the railing, if that be possible. Apparently there were twelve in each quadrant, the principal object depicted on each slab being a highly decorated *stūpa* with its railing, the rest of the surface being covered with an infinite variety of sculptures. Study of Plate XXXIII, reproducing the best preserved of such slabs, will dispense with the necessity for detailed description, and at the same time give a good notion of what the appearance of the Amarāvatī *stūpa* must have been in the days of its glory. When fresh and perfect the structure must have produced an effect unrivalled in the world. However much severe taste

[1] Fergusson, *Hist. of Ind. and E. Archit.*, 2nd ed. (1910), vol. i, p. 119.

may condemn the characteristic Indian lavishness of decoration which scorned to leave an inch of plain surface, the vast expanse of sculpture in white marble gleaming in the brilliant sunshine of India by day, or the light of myriads of lamps fixed on the surface of the dome by night, cannot have failed to exhibit a scene of unequalled splendour.

While abstaining from minute description of Plate XXXIII, which serves as a synopsis of the sculptures generally, I may invite the attention of the reader to a few points. In the relief picture the sculptured decoration is carried high up the dome, but the extant slabs seem to have been attached only to the lower part of the Amarāvatī Details.



FIG. 101. Slab with representation of a *stūpa*, from votive *stūpa*, Amarāvatī.
(A. S., Madras, photo.)

stūpa. It is possible that higher bands of decoration may have existed and been wholly destroyed. The railing in the relief has four cross-bars, and not only three as in the real monument. The 'moonstone' at the entrance agrees in form, though not in design, with the Ceylonese examples. The lions and some of the architectural forms are survivals of the Assyrio-Persian patterns of the Asokan age. The meaning of the five *stelae* or pilasters on the face of the *stūpa* is not known. The worshippers in the central scene adoring the chair occupied only by an object which may be a turban, might have appeared in a Sānchī or Bharhut relief, where images of Buddha are unknown; but here, at the top of the picture, we also find Buddha seated in the conventional *yogī* attitude. The flying figures are not quite successful, having too much the appearance of resting upon solid support. The frieze at the top of the

slab contains nearly fifty figures, and the general effect, like that of nearly all the reliefs, is marred by excessive elaboration. But the skill of the artist in design and drawing, and his technical powers of execution, are beyond dispute.

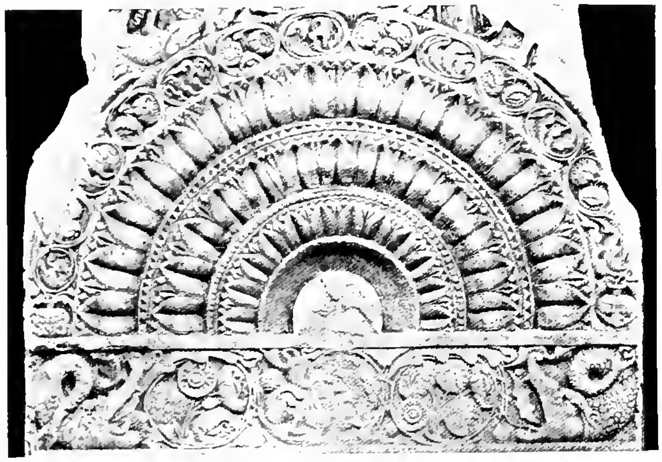


FIG. 102. Basal medallion on pillar of rail, with plinth. (I. O., photo.)

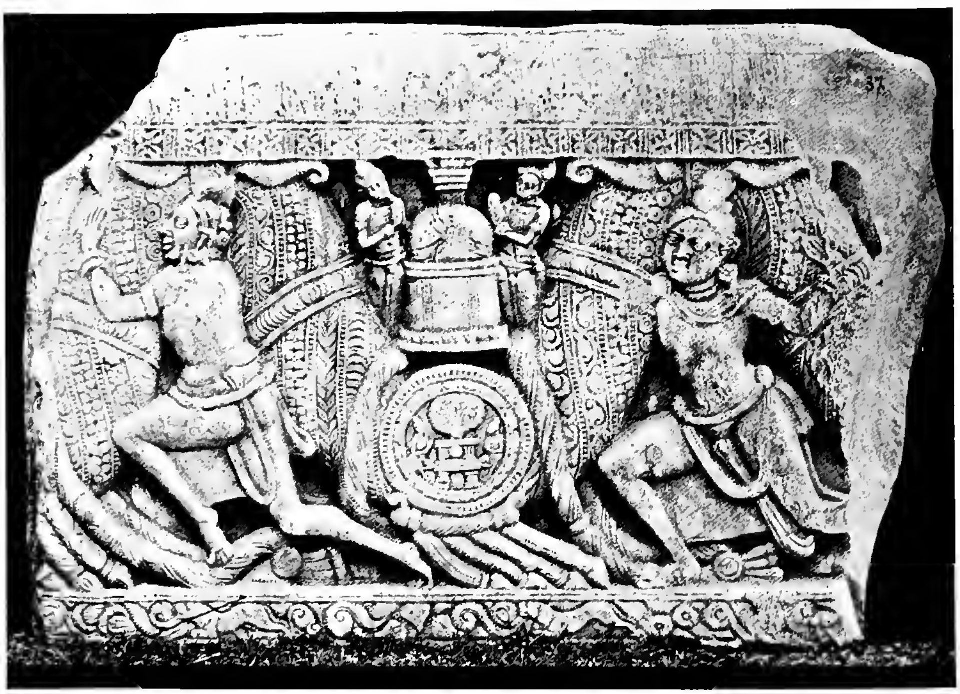


FIG. 103. Undulating roll motive on coping of rail, Amarāvatī. (Photo. 774, I. O. *List.*)

A votive *stūpa.*

Buddhists consider the multiplication of *stūpas* in any material to be a work of high merit, and accordingly the ancient Indian worshippers were in the habit of

erecting in the precincts of sacred spots multitudes of minor *stūpas*, ranging in size from considerable masonry buildings to tiny models. The drum of such a votive *stūpa*, eleven feet in diameter, was disclosed at Amarāvatī by recent supplementary excavations, and a panel of its decoration is reproduced in Fig. 101. It will be observed that sundry details differ from those on the larger slab from the great *stūpa* and that the carving is slightly less crowded. The standing man and woman at the base are natural and well executed. The lions, as usual at Amarāvatī, are stiffly and conventionally designed. The whole composition, regarded as a display of skilled craftsmanship rather than as fine art, deserves high praise.[1]



FIG. 104. Pilaster, Amarāvatī. (Photo. of Madras A. S.)

Medallions.

The infinite variety of the patterns used in the medallions and bars may be realized by study either of actual examples or of the relief pictures. Fig. 102 is an excellent and well-preserved example of a charming decorative design based on the lotus-flower motive. The beauty and delicacy of the floral devices in the border and plinth deserve special notice and admiration. They will repay minute examination with a magnifying glass.

Undulating roll on garland.

Fig. 103 gives a characteristic specimen of the Amarāvatī treatment of the wavy garland or roll motive. The Hellenistic nude Erotes have developed into full-grown Indian men in waist-cloths, and the imbricated Roman roll of Gandhāra is replaced by a much thicker roll of tinsel covered with elaborate patterns.

Pilaster.

The pilaster shown in Fig. 104 is another of the recent discoveries. It exhibits the old worship of symbols combined with the seated image of Buddha, as in the slab already described. Buddha, who has both shoulders covered, is seated in the *yogī* posture, which, as we have seen (*ante*, Fig. 93), was already adopted at Mathurā at about the same date, probably not later than the middle of the second century after Christ. The four-petalled flower often occurs in Gandhāran art, and in Khotan, and is still a traditional pattern in Western Tibet. The horse's head is good. I cannot identify the legend.

Decorative motives.

The treatment of floral and animal decorative motives has been illustrated above by photographs on a small scale. Three specimens may be added from Mr. Rea's drawings on a larger scale, which have not been published except in his book (Figs. 105–7).

Buddhas.

A few separate images have been found at Amarāvatī. Two large marble statues, 6 feet 4 inches in height, discovered during the recent supplemental excavations, are illustrated in Fig. 108. The opaque drapery is treated in a formalized

[1] *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1905–6, Pl. LI, LII.

style, quite different from the smooth transparent robes of the Gupta period, to be discussed in the next chapter, but to a certain extent resembling Gandhāra work, and

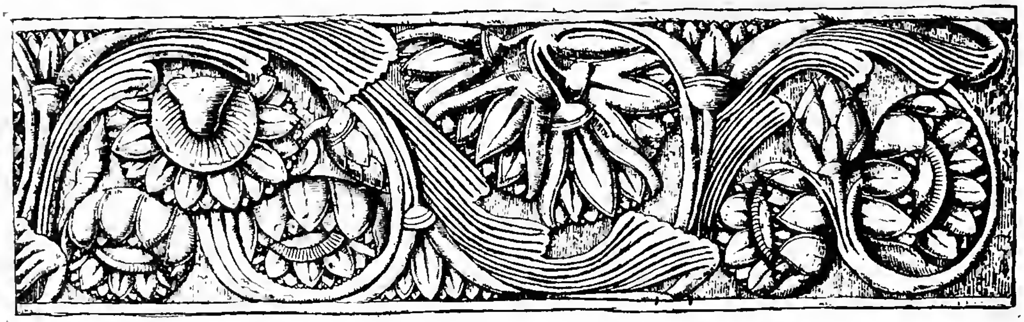


FIG. 105. Lotus forms.
(Rea, *S. Ind. Buddhist Antiq.*, Pl. XLII, 2.)

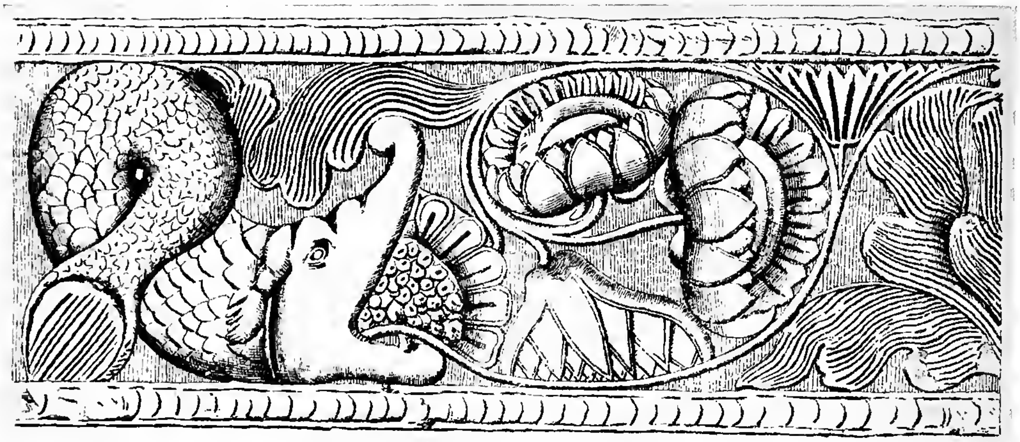


FIG. 106. Lotus and *makara*.
(Ibid., Pl. XLIII, 1.)

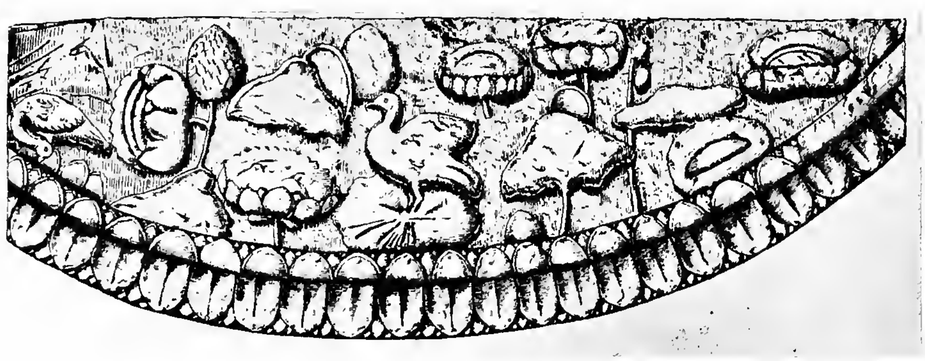


FIG. 107. A pond.
(Ibid., Pl. XLVII, 1.)

the paintings on the columns in Cave X, Ajantā. These images may date from the third or fourth century.

Fergusson's opinion that the sculptures of the Amarāvatī school mark 'the culmination of the art of sculpture in India', which was generally accepted until recently by English writers, including myself, does not now command such ready assent. I will not presume to say which work marks the 'culminating point', but it is certainly safe to affirm that the pre-eminence claimed for the Amarāvatī reliefs may be effectively challenged by compositions of later date, at least in some respects. All critics, however, can agree with Mr. Havell that the marbles of Amarāvatī offer 'delightful studies of animal life, combined with extremely beautiful conventionalized ornament', and that 'the most varied and difficult movements of the human figure are drawn and modelled with great freedom and skill'. The obvious overcrowding of the compositions unfortunately is a defect common in Indian art. Historically, the sculptures are interesting as an academic development of the style of Sānchī and Bharhut, with a stronger tinge of Hellenistic influence, perhaps coming by sea from Alexandria and through the ports rather than from Gandhāra. Considering the geographical and political separation of the Kushān and Āndhra empires, I think the presumption is that the sculptors of Amarāvatī had not direct knowledge of the Gandhāra school, although it is possible that they may have had it. Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, in the seventh century, did not really describe the *stūpa* as being 'ornamented with all the magnificence of the palaces of Bactria (Tahia)', as Fergusson and Burgess suppose him to have done. A slight slip of the pen in the Chinese text used by Julien introduced the word mistranslated as 'Bactria'. The pilgrim really praised two monasteries in the Deccan as 'having all the artistic elegance of a great mansion and all the beauty of natural scenery'. The assumption made by Dr. Burgess and other authors that the account of *two monasteries* given by Hiuen Tsang should be applied to the *stūpa* of Amarāvatī is far from being established. Thus disappears the basis for Fergusson's argument that the school of Amarāvatī should be considered the offspring of the marriage of the art of the North—that is to say, Bactria as represented by Gandhāra—with that of interior India as represented by Sānchī and Bharhut.[1] Mr. Havell may be right in believing that origin- Criticism.



FIG. 108. Marble Buddhas.
(Photo., A. S., Madras; see *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, Pl. LI, 3.)

[1] Fergusson, *Hist. Ind. and E. Arch.*, reprint of 1899, p. 103; new ed. by Burgess (1910), vol. i, p. 123. 'Instead of the *ta-hsia*, a "great mansion", here, the B text, used by Julien, has *ta hsia*, which is a Chinese name for the country called Bactria. But this is evidently a slip of the pen, and the proper

ally the effect of the Amarāvatī marbles was heightened by colour, and in holding that technically they should be regarded as 'painted rilievos' rather than as true sculpture. But whether they were painted or not, they must have formed, when perfect, one of the most splendid exhibitions of artistic skill known in the history of the world.



FIG. 109. Sculptured and inscribed pedestal, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, in front of Jain shrine at Dānavulapāḍ, Cuddapah District.
(Photo. 535, A. S.)

SECTION IV. DĀNAVULAPĀD.

Jain images at Dānavulapāḍ.

I am disposed, although with hesitation, to refer to the Kushān period, about the second century after Christ, certain Jain sculptures excavated a few years ago at Dānavulapād in the Cuddapah District, Madras, and associated with large bricks (1′ 9″ × 9″ × 4″) of the dimensions of those found in the ruined *stūpas* of the Krishnā (Kistna) District. The images (Figs. 109–10) are carefully modelled, and their style

reading is that of the other texts which means a "great mansion"' (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* (1905), vol. ii, p. 218). This material correction and Mr. Watters's comments on the current 'identification' of the pilgrim's *monasteries* with the Amarāvatī *stūpa* have been overlooked in the revision of Fergusson's book. 'It is hard,' Mr. Watters observes, 'to understand how any one could propose to identify a large monastery among hills and streams, and having spacious chambers and great corridors, with a building which is only a remarkable tope situated on a plain.' The error concurred in by Julien, Fergusson, and Dr. Burgess will not readily disappear from books on Indian art and antiquities.

is not inconsistent with the date assumed, but they may be a century or two later. The inscription on the circular base is not dated. The material is a fine white limestone or marble.[1]



FIG. 110. Jain Tīrthankara and Yakshī; near Dānavulapāḍ, Cuddapah District. (Photo. 537, A. S.)

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Other references in footnotes.

[1] Rea, *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1905–6, pp. 120–7, with illustrations.

CHAPTER VI

SCULPTURE OF THE GUPTA PERIOD

Section I. General Observations.

Revolutions in third century.

The displacement of the Arsacidan by the Sassanian dynasty of Persia in A. D. 226, the approximately simultaneous downfall of the Āndhra kings who had ruled the Deccan for four-and-a-half centuries, and the disappearance of the Kushān or Indo-Scythian sovereigns of Northern India about the same time, unquestionably must have resulted in violent political and social disturbances on Indian soil during the third century. But hardly any record, archaeological or literary, has survived of that stormy interlude.

The Gupta empire.

The rise in A. D. 320 of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, with its capital at Pātaliputra (Patna), the ancient seat of empire, marks the beginning of a new epoch. Under a succession of able and long-lived monarchs the Gupta dominions rapidly increased, until in the first quarter of the fifth century they comprised in modern terms Central and Western Bengal, Bihār, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, part of the Central Provinces, and the whole of Mālwa and Gūjarāt, with the peninsula of Surāshtra or Kāthiāwār. We know from the contemporary testimony of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien that the compact empire thus formed was then well governed by Chandragupta II, surnamed Vikramāditya.

Hun invasions, Harsha, &c.

During the last quarter of the fifth century the Gupta empire was shattered by the inrush of swarms of fierce Huns and allied nomad tribes from Central Asia. The short-lived Hun power was broken in India by a decisive victory gained by native princes about A. D. 528, but a long time elapsed before new political combinations of any stability could be formed. In the seventh century a great king named Harsha (606–47) reduced India north of the Narbadā to obedience, while the Deccan submitted to his able contemporary Pulakesin II Chalukya, and the far south was governed by a powerful Pallava king. The Chalukya fell before the Pallava in 642, and five or six years later Harsha died childless, leaving the empire which he had won a prey to anarchy.

Limits of the Gupta period.

During the seventh and eighth centuries the foreign settlers had become Hinduized, tribes developing into castes. When the ninth century opens we find a new distribution of power among kingdoms mostly governed by so-called Rājputs, in many cases the descendants of chieftains belonging to the foreign tribes of Hūnas, Gurjaras, and the like. The Hūna or Hun invasions with the subsequent readjustments mark the division between the history of Ancient and that of Mediaeval India. For the purpose of this work it will be convenient to draw the dividing line at A. D. 650, so as to include the reigns of Harsha and Pulakesin in the Gupta Period, which will be taken as extending from A. D. 350 to 650. The Pallava works

of art, although some of them may fall between those dates, are more closely connected with the Mediaeval than with the Gupta style, and will be treated as Mediaeval Sculpture.

Gupta literature, science, and art.

All students of Indian literature now recognize the fact that during the reigns of Chandragupta II and his next two successors, from about A. D. 375 to 490, every branch of Hindu literature, science, and art was vigorously cultivated under the stimulus of liberal royal patronage; and there is general agreement that Kālidāsa, the greatest of Indian poets, graced the Gupta court and produced his masterpieces in the later years of the fifth century.[1] The plastic and pictorial arts shared in the good fortune of literature and science. In painting we have the frescoes of Ajantā and Bāgh, produced under the patronage of Chalukya and Vākātaka kings of the Deccan, and also those of Sīgiriya in Ceylon. In coinage a marked improvement took place during the reigns of the earlier Gupta kings. The paintings and coins will be discussed in other chapters, here our concern is with the sculpture only. The improved coins being obviously suggested by European models, and the drama of Kālidāsa being, as I believe, an Hindu adaptation of Greek originals, I feel a strong suspicion that the refined beauty of Gupta sculpture must be due to the same obscure Hellenic influences which stimulated the Gupta revival of numismatic art and the development of regular drama. But the facts have not been recorded, and nothing can be proved definitely.

Gupta sculpture.

Until quite recently the merits of Gupta sculpture were not generally or freely recognized. Owing to the destruction wrought by iconoclast Muslim armies and kings who overran and held in strength almost every part of the Gupta empire, few remains of the period exist above ground, except in out-of-the-way localities, and our present knowledge of Gupta art is largely the result of excavation. Sārnāth, especially, has proved to be a rich treasure-house of Gupta, as well as of Kushān and earlier art.[2] The ravages of the Huns did not wholly stop the practice of the arts of civilization, and one of the surprises of recent exploration has been the discovery of many large Buddhist monasteries at Sārnāth and other places in Hindustan dating from the fifth and sixth centuries. The sculpture of the period is mainly Buddhist and Brahmanical, the Jain works being few and of little artistic interest.

I now proceed to describe and illustrate typical productions of the Gupta age, beginning with Northern India. They include remarkable works in metal as well as in stone. The existence of numerous dated inscriptions and coins permits of an unusual degree of chronological precision.

Section II. Northern India.

Earliest Gupta works.

Except certain coins of high artistic quality, as judged by an Indian standard (*post*, Chap. X, Sec. 1), no work of art yet discovered can be referred to the reign of Samudragupta (A. D. *cir.* 335–75), the victorious general, and accomplished poet and

[1] For the history in detail see *Early Hist. India*, 2nd ed., chaps. xi–xiii.

[2] Marshall, *J. R. A. S.*, 1907, p. 1000.

musician, who has recorded his achievements on Asoka's pillar at Allahabad. The earliest known Gupta remains date from the beginning of the fifth century.

River goddess at Udayagiri.

The small cave-temples in the Udayagiri hill near Besnagar in the Bhopāl State, Central India, one of which bears an inscription dated A. D. 401, contain much vigorous sculpture, described and illustrated by Cunningham. The 'Chandragupta Cave', with the dated inscription, is entered by a portal with bell-capital pilasters, each supporting a river goddess standing on a *makara* or conventional crocodile.



FIG. 111. River goddess; Udayagiri, Bhopāl. (Photo. 1376, I. M. *List.*)



FIG. 112. The Ganges goddess, Besnagar. (A. S. photo., supplied by Prof. Macdonell.)

One of these, a well-modelled naturalistic woman, surrounded by simple ornament in good taste, is shown in Fig. 111.

Similar goddesses elsewhere.

Similar goddesses are found in many places, and are specially characteristic of the Gupta style. Often the Jumna on one side is personified by the female standing on a tortoise, while the corresponding figure, representing the Ganges, stands on a *makara*; but at Udayagiri both the figures alike are on *makaras*. In the earlier examples the goddesses are placed at the top and in the later at the bottom of the jambs.



PLATE XXXIV. Siva as an ascetic (*mahāyogī*); Dēogarh temple.
(Photo. 752, I. M. *List*.)

At the Tigawā temple in the Jabalpur District (*ante*, p. 32) the Ganges goddess is represented with attendants, in a composition more elaborate than that at Udayagiri, and, like it, deserving of praise for good naturalistic modelling, free from the exaggerations of the female form so common in Hindu art and so disagreeable to good taste.[1] River goddesses in the same style are to be seen on the tops of the jambs at the entrance to Cave XXII at Ajantā, dating from somewhere about A. D. 500, and approximately contemporary with the Tigawā temple.[2] But the best image of Gangā known to me is that on a panel at Besnagar, which may be fairly called beautiful, and must be of about the same age as the Tigawā and Ajantā images (Fig. 112). It is, perhaps, worth noting that the Indian conception of a river goddess has nothing in common with the recumbent Greek river god.

Siva and Pārvatī.

Although in the matter of style no distinctions based on the religious destination of particular images can be drawn, it will be convenient to finish the description of selected Brahmanical stone sculptures before proceeding to the discussion of the Jain and Buddhist works and the metal castings.

The Indian Museum, Calcutta, possesses a remarkable group of Siva and Pārvatī (Km. 40) from Kosam in the Allahabad District, bearing an inscription dated A. D. 458–9. The consorts stand side by side, each with the right hand raised and the open palm turned to the front. The head-dress of the goddess is described as a most elaborate construction, which recalls that 'of some Dutch women, and consists of a huge, transverse, comb-like ornament projecting beyond the side of the head, and terminating on both sides in large wheel-like ornaments, from the centre of which depends a large tassel. There are huge ear-ornaments and very massive bangles.'[3]

Siva as *mahāyogī*.

A temple at Dēogarh, in the Lalitpur subdivision of the Jhānsī District, U. P., is adorned with sculptures of exceptionally good quality in panels inserted in the plinth and walls, which may date from the first half of the sixth century. That region probably escaped the Hun troubles owing to its remote situation. A panel on the eastern façade, representing Siva in the garb of an ascetic (*mahāyogī*), attended by another *yogī* and various heavenly beings hovering in the air (Plate XXXIV), may claim a place among the best efforts of Indian sculpture. The principal image is so beautifully modelled and so tastefully posed that we almost forget the inartistic excrescence of the extra pair of arms. The flying figures are admirably designed so as to give the appearance of aerial flight. The modelling of the feet and hands deserves particular notice, and the decorative carvings are in good taste. The close-fitting garments of all the figures and the wigs of some of the attendants are characteristic of the period.

Vishnu on Ananta.

Another panel from the south façade of the same temple is equally good (Plate XXXV). The subject is Vishnu as the Eternal, reclining on the serpent

[1] Udayagiri is described by Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. x, pp. 48–56, Pl. XVI, XVIII, XIX. For Tigawā see ibid., vol. ix, pp. 42–6, Pl. IX–XI; Bloch, *Progr. Rep. A. S., Eastern Circle*, 1907–8, p. 9; Cousens, *Progr. Rep. A. S., Western India*, 1903–4, p. 34.

[2] *A. S. W. I.*, vol. iv, Pl. XXXII, Fig. 2.

[3] Anderson, *Catal.*, Part II, p. 286; Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. x, p. 3; photo. 669 in I. M. *List*.

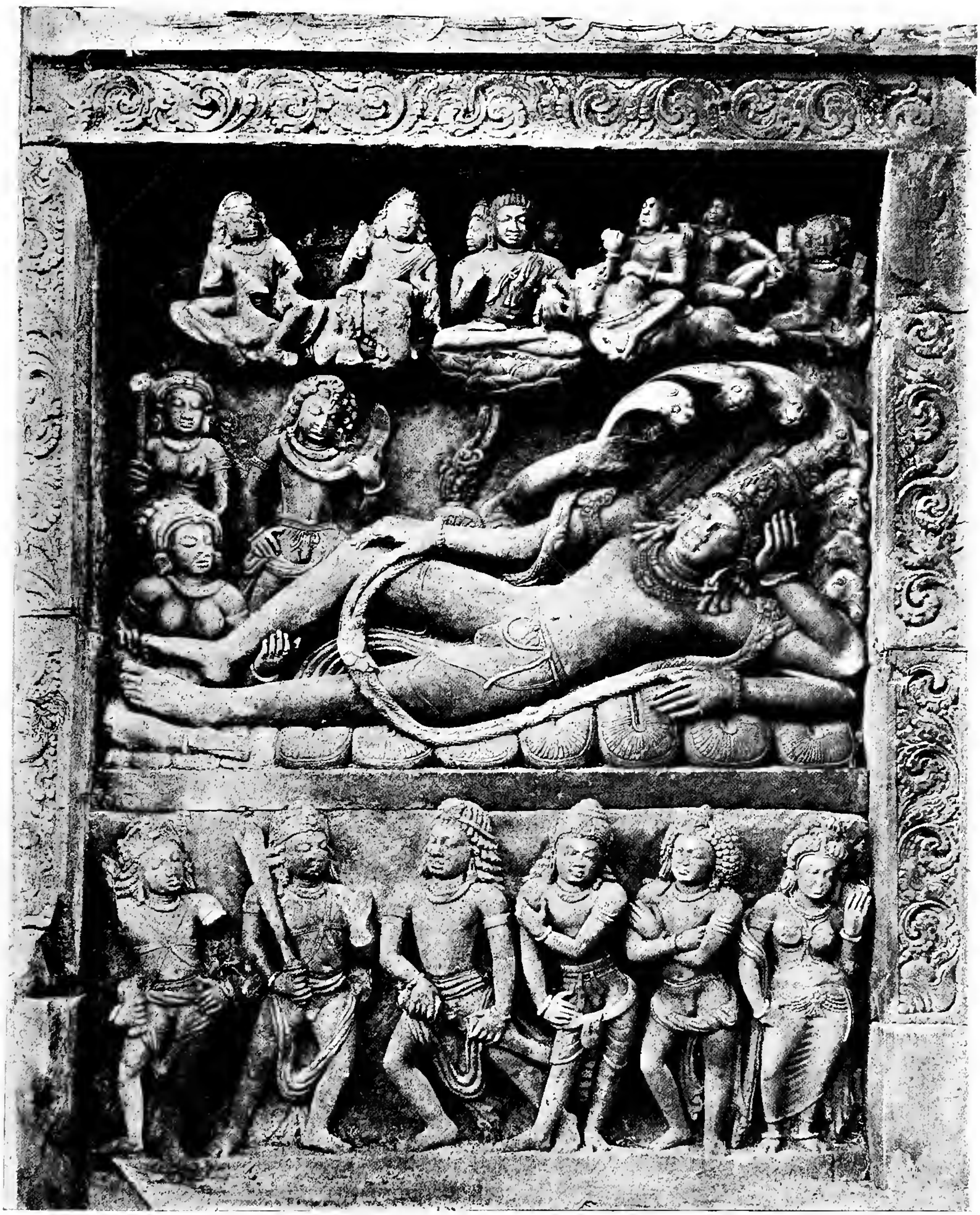


Plate XXXV. Vishnu on Ananta; Dēogarh temple.
(Photo. 751, I. M. *List.*)

Ananta, the symbol of eternity, with the other gods watching from above. The principal image is beautifully posed, and the extra arms most dexterously arranged. The wigs are very prominent in this fine group.[1]

Krishna and his mother.

A composition, nearly life-size, at Pathārī in the Bhopāl Agency, believed to represent the new-born Krishna lying by the side of his mother, who is watched by five attendants (Plate XXXVI), was rather extravagantly praised by Mr. Beglar as being 'the finest and largest piece of Indian sculpture'. But if that judgement be considered too enthusiastic, we may accept the more sober view of Colonel Waterhouse, himself an artist, who commends the 'beauty and artistic grace of the composition'. The style is much the same as that of the Dēogarh panels, and the group must be of nearly the same age. Several monuments bear testimony to the prevalence of Krishna worship in the Gupta period.[2] Interesting Brahmanical sculptures exist at many places, which cannot be noticed in detail.[3]

A Rājgir sculpture.

The little-known ruins at Rājgir, the ancient capital of Magadha, include a relief of a female, facing front, which, to judge from its style, must be of Gupta age (Fig. 113).



FIG. 113. Female image, Rājgir.
(A. S. photo., supplied by Prof. Macdonell.)

Fifth century Garhwā sculptures.

Several ancient sites in the south-western part of the Allahabad District have yielded to slight excavation many remarkable Buddhist sculptures in stone, proved by dated inscriptions to be assignable to the reigns of Chandragupta II, his son Kumāragupta I, and his grandson Skandagupta in the fifth century.

[1] For Dēogarh antiquities see Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. x, pp. 100–4, Pl. XXXIII–VI. The groups of sculpture have not been published previously.

[2] Pathārī is in 23° 56′ N., 78° 13′ E. Mr. Beglar and Rājendralāla Mitra erroneously supposed the group to be Buddhist (Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. vii, p. 70; Waterhouse, *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1878, p. 122, with photozincograph; Cousens, *Progr. Rep. A. S., W. India*, 1893–4, p. 17). For Krishna worship see Skandagupta's inscription on Bhitarī pillar (Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 13); and the remarkable reliefs at Mandōr near Jodhpur (*Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1905–6, pp. 135–140, fig. 1, 2).

[3] E. g. Sirpur in Rāipur District, C. P. (Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. vii, p. 168; vol. xvii, p. 23, with plates): Bilsar, in Etah District, U. P. (ibid., xi. 17): Pālī, N. W. of Gayā (ibid., xiv, p. 52): Pāroli, N. of Gwālior (ibid., xx. 105). See also Cousens (*Progr. Rep. A. S., W. India*, 1903–4). The sculptures at Nāchnā or Kūtharā in the Ajaygaṛh State, Bundelkhand, approximately contemporary with those of Dēogarh, are described by Cunningham (*Rep.*, xxi, 96) as 'being much superior to all mediaeval sculptures, both in the ease and gracefulness of their attitudes as well as in the real beauty of the forms'. Photographs are not available.



Plate XXXVI. Krishna and his mother; Pathārī.
(Photo. 1324, I. M. *List.*)

The vigorous, and at the same time refined, sculpture adorning the ruins of a Buddhist temple at Garhwā, twenty-five miles south-west of Allahabad, is illustrated by Figs. 114 and 115, giving back and side views of one pillar. The panels on the front (Fig. 114) are arranged according to the ancient Indian fashion, and the style is related to the art of Sānchī and Bharhut much more closely than to mediaeval art. There is no trace whatever of Gandhāran influence. The figures are well drawn, and modelled on purely naturalistic principles.



FIG. 114. Buddhist pillar, front; Gaṛhwā. (Photo. 666, I. M. *List.*)



FIG. 115. Buddhist pillar, side; Gaṛhwā. (Photo. 667, I. M. *List.*)

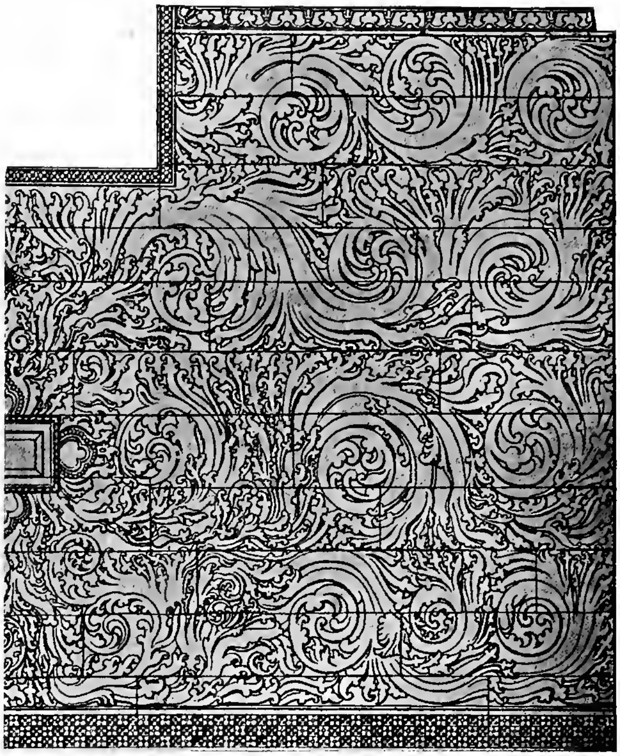
The beautiful ornament on the side (Fig. 115), is described by Cunningham as consisting of

'the undulating stem of a creeper, with large curling and intertwining leaves, and small human figures, both male and female, climbing up the stem, or sitting on the leaves in various attitudes. The whole scroll is deeply sunk and very clearly and carefully carved; and . . . is one of the most pleasing and graceful specimens of Indian architectural ornament.'[1]

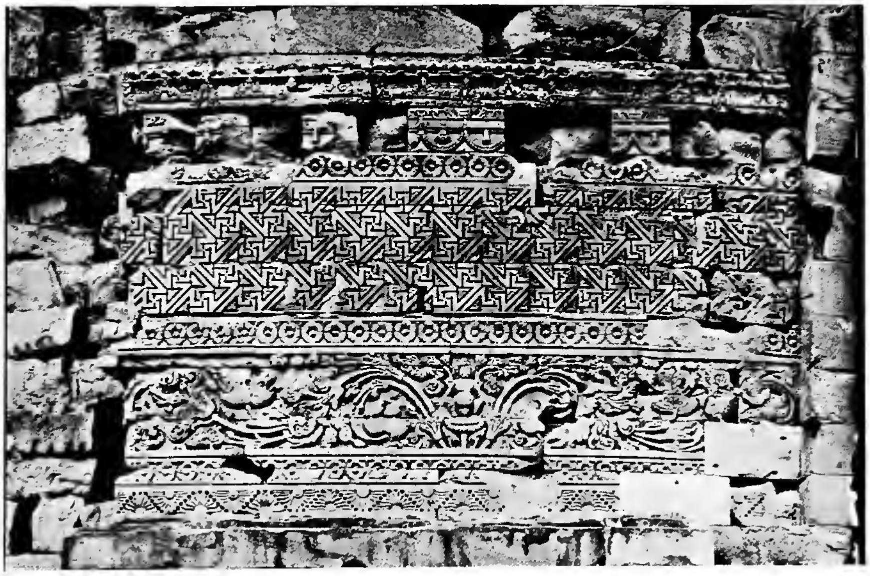
[1] The Gaṛhwā remains are fully described and illustrated by Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. iii, pp. 53–61; vol. x, pp. 9–15, with plates.



A. *Tiringi talai* pattern, Ceylon.
(From the *Ceylon Natl. Review*, 1907, p. 304. By permission.)



B. Dhamēkh *stūpa*; decoration on west face, right-hand half.
(From *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1904–5, Pl. XXIII.)



C. Decoration south-east side. (A. S. photo.)

PLATE XXXVII. Decoration of Dhamēkh *stūpa*.

The commendation is fully justified; nothing better can be found in the earlier work at Mathurā, and the Garhwā design would do credit to an Italian fifteenth-century artist.

Later Gupta ornament.

The later Gupta style of ornament, a century or more posterior in date, although pretty enough, is not at all equal in merit to the work at Garhwā. An example from a monastery at Sārnāth is here reproduced in Fig. 116 with Mr. Marshall's comment:—

'Pilaster (Pl. XXVI, 7) 3′–2″ high, decorated in the style of the later Gupta period, of which the treatment of these designs is peculiarly characteristic. The imitative jewel work, the garland-bearing birds, the *makara*, the flower vase with palmettes at the corners, the rosette border, and the little figure in the niche below are all *motifs* well worth noticing.'



FIG. 116. Pilaster; Sārnāth. (*Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1906–7, Pl. XXVI, 7.)

Decoration of Dhamēkh *stūpa*.

Recent investigation has proved that the celebrated Dhamēkh *stūpa* at Sārnāth is of Gupta age, and that Cunningham was about right long ago when he referred the building to the sixth century.[1] The intricate scroll-work on the western face is one of the most successful examples of the decoration of a large wall surface to be found in India. The pattern is essentially identical with that called *tiringi talai* in Ceylon, where the design is used by the artistic craftsmen in the native drawing schools as a test of a pupil's power in the freehand execution of curves, and is also applied with suitable modifications to a variety of decorative objects, that is to say, that although the circular *tiringi talai* as a whole is not used for ornamental purposes, its motives, or component parts, are. The artist who traced the wonderfully complex spirals on the western stone facing of the Dhamēkh *stūpa* must have undergone prolonged and rigorous training on the Ceylonese lines. The different pattern on the south-eastern side is equally excellent. Plate XXXVII exhibits the two Dhamēkh designs with the *tiringi talai* for comparison.

Seated Buddha from Sārnāth.

Among the numerous excellent sculptures of Gupta age, disclosed by recent excavations at Sārnāth, the most pleasing, perhaps, is the seated Buddha in white sandstone, $5\frac{1}{4}$ feet in height (Plate XXXVIII).

The deer-park at Sārnāth having been the place where the Wheel of the Law was first turned, or, in other words, the doctrine of the Buddhist way of salvation was first publicly preached by Gautama Buddha, his effigy is naturally represented with

[1] Marshall, *J. R. A. S.*, 1907, p. 1000. The remarks in the new edition of Fergusson, *Hist. Ind. and E. Archit.*, vol. i, p. 75, are not up to date. Dhamēkh (from *dharmekshā*) is the correct spelling.

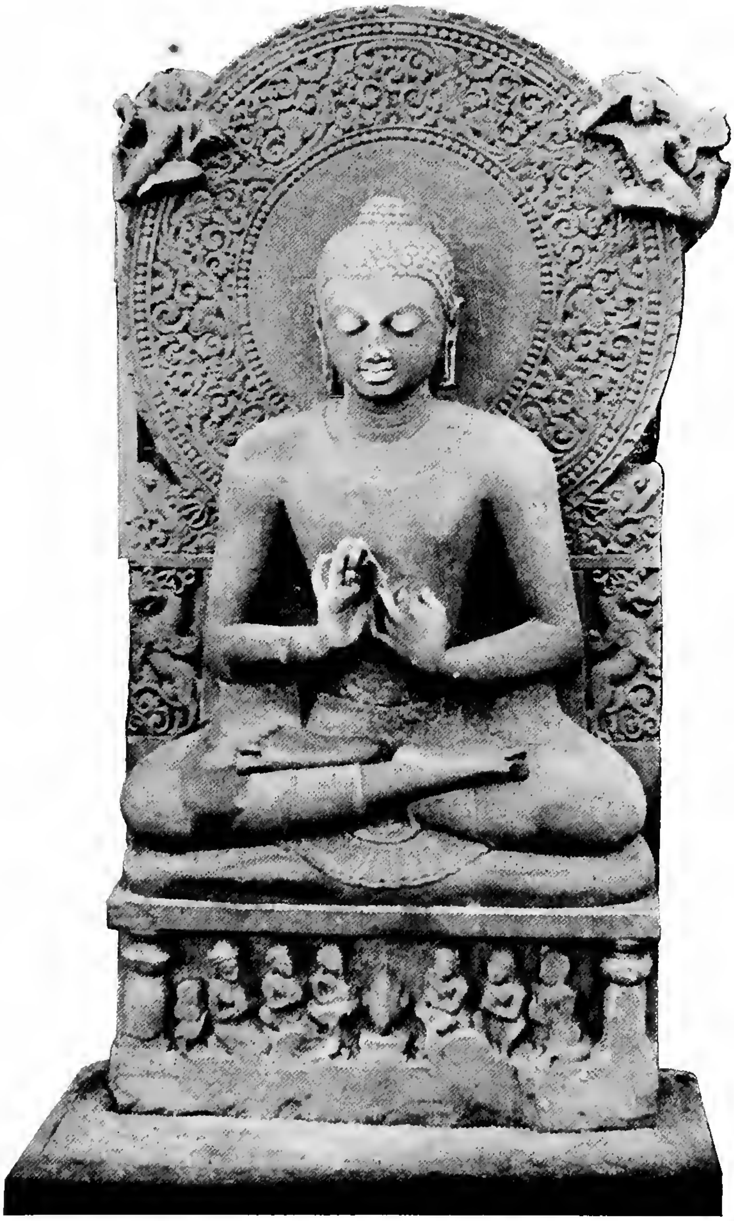


Plate XXXVIII. Seated Buddha, Sārnāth.
(A. S. photo.)

the fingers in the position (*mudrā*) associated by canonical rule with the act commemorated. The wheel symbolizing the Law and the five adoring disciples to whom it was first preached are depicted on the pedestal. The woman with a child on the left probably is intended for the pious donor of the image. The beautifully decorated halo characteristic of the period is in marked contrast with the severely plain halos of the Kushān age. The style, marked by refined restraint, is absolutely free from all extravagance or monstrosity. Allowance being made for the Hindu canon prohibiting the display of muscular detail, the modelling must be allowed to display high artistic skill. The angels hovering above may be compared with the similar figures at Dēogarh (*ante*, p. 162). The close-fitting smooth robe is one of the most distinctive marks of the style, which is singularly original and absolutely independent of the Gandhāra school. The composition is so pictorial that it may have been designed after the model of a painted fresco.

The Gupta style.

It is very difficult, as already hinted, to discover any plausible explanation of the rise of the distinct Gupta style of sculpture, which is reflected in the figure types of a few coins dating from a little before and after 400 A.D. (*post*, Chap. X, Sec 1), and showing clear evidence of Western, chiefly Roman, influence. The statuary, however, presents nothing distinctly Roman or Hellenic, unless it be the 'refined restraint' above mentioned, which is not quite Indian. Can it be that in the Gupta age some forgotten sculptor of genius succeeded in absorbing the Greek spirit of beauty from study of the best Hellenic models, and founded a school by transfusing that spirit into Indian forms? Who can tell? The conquest of Western India by Chandragupta Vikramāditya about 390 A.D. undoubtedly brought the north into renewed touch with the Western world through the ports, and I entertain a strong belief that the efflorescence of Indian literature, science, and art during the Gupta period was largely due to the clash of ideas resulting from the extension of the northern empire to the shores of the Arabian Sea, and the active intercourse with foreign countries both to the east and west, which unquestionably characterized the times [1].

Standing Buddha at Mathurā.

An excellently inscribed standing Buddha of the fifth century in the Mathurā Museum, height 7 feet $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches = 0·81 m. (Fig. 117), while clearly related to the Sārnāth seated image in several respects, differs widely in the treatment of the drapery, which at Mathurā shows a reminiscence of Hellenistic forms. The skill with which the body is shown through the transparent garments is characteristic of the best Gupta sculpture. No doubt careful study of an adequate number of examples would disclose the existence of several well-marked local schools of sculpture during the Gupta period, as in other ages; but it would be premature at present to attempt such refinement in the treatment of a subject which needs to be first sketched on broader lines.

[1] 'The period when mathematics flourished in India commenced about 400 A.D. and ended about 650 A.D., after which deterioration set in. This period is characterized by quite an extraordinary amount of intercourse between India and foreign countries' (Kaye, *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 759). Many Indian 'embassies' to China and the Roman empire are recorded during this period. All that is of value in the Hindu mathematics of the time, according to Mr. Kaye, is Greek.

Colossal copper Buddha.

The unique copper colossus of Buddha, about $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, now in the Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham (Fig. 118), is, perhaps, more closely akin to the Sārnāth than to the Mathurā image, the robes being almost smooth, with the folds marked very faintly. The transparency of the garments is clearly marked. This remarkable work, which I had some difficulty in tracing, deserves further notice. The statue was



FIG. 117. Buddha; Mathurā Museum, A. 5, *Catal.*, p. 49, Pl. IX. (Photo. 846, I. M. *List*; also publ. by Growse, *Mathurā*, 3rd ed., p. 172.)



FIG. 118. Colossal copper statue of Buddha, Sultānganj; Birmingham Museum. (Photo. supplied by Curator.)

excavated by certain railway engineers in 1862 from the hall of a ruined monastery situated between the modern mart and the railway station at Sultānganj (25° 18′ N., 86° 45′ E.), on the Ganges, in the Bhāgalpur District, Bengal. One of the discoverers brought it home, and some years later presented it to the Birmingham Museum. The image was found lying on the ground, having been wrenched from its massive granite pedestal; but was practically perfect, except that the left foot was broken off above

the ankle. The approximate date is fixed by the style and the discovery in an adjoining *stūpa* of a coin of the last Western Satrap of Surāshtra, accompanied by one of his conqueror, Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya, who annexed his dominions about A. D. 390. The statue, therefore, may be dated approximately in A. D. 400, and is among the earliest known Gupta works of art.

Technique of the colossus.

According to Rājendralāla Mitra, the material is 'very pure copper', cast in two distinct layers, the inner of which was moulded on an earthy, cinder-like core, composed of a mixture of sand, clay, charcoal, and paddy (rice) husks. The segments of this inner layer were held together by much corroded iron bands, originally three-quarters of an inch thick. The outer layer of copper seems to have been cast over the inner one, presumably by the *cire perdue* process. It was made in several sections, one of which consisted of the face and connected parts down to the breast.

Lumps of copper ore found close by indicate that the smelting and casting were done on the spot. The hand of another large copper statue was picked up, and three small Buddhas of the same metal were discovered. One, nearly destroyed by rust, was seated, the three others were standing, with halos broken and detached. Small basalt images of Buddha, in the style of the big statue and found near it, are shown in the lithograph published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. The smooth transparent robe and the object held in the left hand (? a palm-leaf book) connect the colossus with the tiny gold image in the British Museum (*post*, Chap. X, Sec. 4), which I am disposed to assign to the sixth century.[1]

The Iron Pillar of Delhi.

The existence of such a colossal statue, weighing nearly a ton, is good evidence of Indian proficiency in metallurgy at the beginning of the fifth century. Still stronger testimony to that skill is borne by the celebrated Iron Pillar of Delhi, set up about A. D. 415 by Kumāragupta I in honour of his father, Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya, which originally stood on an eminence elsewhere, probably at Mathurā (Chap. XII, *post*). The total length of the pillar from the top of the bell capital to the bottom of the base is 23 feet 8 inches, and the diameter diminishes from 16·4 inches below to 12·05 inches above. The material is pure malleable iron of 7·66 specific gravity welded together, and the weight is estimated to exceed six tons. 'It is not many years since the production of such a pillar would have been an impossibility in the largest foundries of the world, and even now there are comparatively few where a similar mass of metal could be turned out.' The statue originally surmounting the pillar having disappeared, the marvellous metallurgical triumph does not further concern a history of fine art.[2]

[1] The Sultānganj discoveries are described in *J. A. S. B.*, vol. xxxiii (1864), pp. 361 seqq. with lithograph: Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. x, p. 127; xv, p. 126: Anderson, *Catalogue*, *I. M.*, Part II, p. 481. In the draft *Illustrated Handbook* of the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery the statue is erroneously described as 'bronze' and is wrongly dated. The modern *cire perdue* process of casting bronze over a core made of modelling clay mixed with pounded brick and plaster of Paris is described, ibid., p. 85. The Sultānganj process seems to have been essentially the same, with the addition of a second layer of copper. I am indebted to Mr. Whitworth Wallis, Curator of the Birmingham Museum, for a photograph of the colossus and a copy of the *Illustrated Handbook*.

[2] V. A. Smith, 'The Iron Pillar of Delhi (Mihrauli)' (*J. R. A. S.*, 1907, pp. 1–18). The passage quoted

Among the Buddhist sculptures found at Bithā and Deoriyā, ten miles south south-west of Allahabad, the most noticeable is a portion of a twelve-spoked wheel with the felloes completely covered by mango foliage and fruit. The presence of a tenon at the top proves that the wheel must have stood upright.[1]

The Mankuwār Buddha.

At the adjoining village of Mankuwār a very perfect seated Buddha of unusual type was found (Fig. 119), bearing a dedicatory inscription dated in the year 129 G. E. = A. D. 448–9. The peculiar head-dress, if it be a head-dress, is, as Cunningham



Fig. 119. The Mankuwār Buddha. (Photo. 670, I. M. *List.*)



Fig. 120. Brass Buddha from Kāngrā District. (From a photograph.)

remarked, like that now worn by the Abbots of Bhutān, and the image may be the work of a northern artist.[2] The webbed hand was one of the traditional marks of a Buddha, according to some schools. The wheel below symbolizes the turning of the Wheel of the Law, that is to say, the preaching of the doctrine destined to traverse the world like the chariot wheels of a conquering monarch. The expression of the face differs from that of most images, and the work undoubtedly is a notable

is from V. Ball, *Economic Geology of India*, p. 338, 1st ed., 1881.

[1] Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, x. 6.

[2] According to Dr. Bloch (*J. A. S. B.*, vol. lxvi, Part I, p. 283), what looks like a close-fitting cap really is a conventional arrangement of the hair.

example of fifth-century sculpture. The clothing is merely the Indian waist-cloth, quite different from the robe of the ordinary Buddha.

Brass Buddha from the Kāngrā District.

A remarkable brass Buddha, obtained at a rest-house (*dharmsālā*) at a village named Fathpur, in the Kāngrā District, Panjāb, is one of the most valued possessions of the Lahore Museum (Fig. 120). The height of the image is 30 cm. = 11·8 inches. While the drapery shows a faint reminiscence of ancient Gandhāran models, the head-dress, or hair-arrangement, like that of the Mankuwār statue, suggests a connexion with Tibet or Bhutān. The technical workmanship is exquisite, but the style decadent. The script of the dedicatory inscription indicates the date as being the sixth century. The open-work pedestal is of elaborate, if rather barbaric, design. The eyes of the image and the minor figures are inserted in silver, as is the *ūrṇā*, or protuberance, on the forehead, one of the traditional Buddha marks; while certain other details are picked out in red copper.[1] A statuette of four-armed Vishnu, obtained at the same time and place, is of later date and inferior workmanship.

Gupta monolithic columns.

The old Asokan practice of erecting isolated monumental columns, usually monolithic, was revived in Gupta times. Samudragupta, perhaps the most brilliant of an able dynasty, does not seem to have erected pillars of his own, and was content to record the history of his reign on a pillar of Asoka, now at Allahabad (Prayāga), which, apparently, has been removed from Kausāmbī. The Delhi Iron Pillar of about A. D. 415 has been already noticed (*ante*, p. 172). The earliest extant stone pillar of Gupta age is that erected at Bhitarī in the Ghāzīpur District, U. P., by Skandagupta about A. D. 456 to commemorate his wars with the Huns and Pushyamitras. The next, set up at Kahāon in the Gorakhpur District, U. P., in A. D. 460–1, early in the reign of the same king, by a private member of the Jain community, is adorned with the images of five Jain saints, one in a niche at the base, and four on the summit. The statues, as usual with the Jains, are conventional and of little artistic interest.

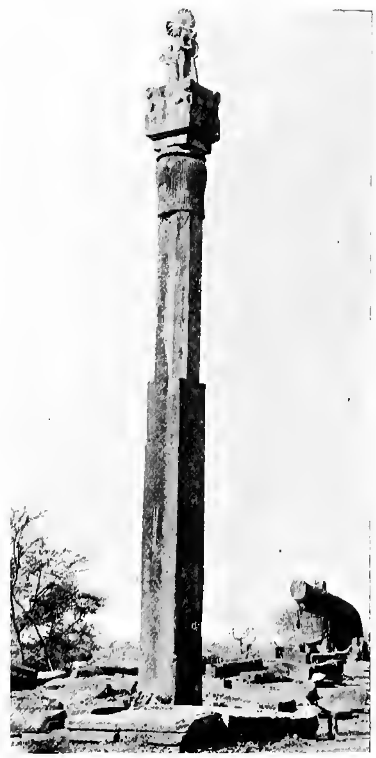


FIG. 121. Budhagupta pillar; Eran, Sāgar District. (Photo. A. S.)

The third in date is the fine monolithic pillar, 43 feet high, set up at Eran in the Sāgar District, C.P., as 'the flag-staff of *four-armed* Vishnu', in A.D. 484–5 (Fig. 121). The statue now on the top is a *two-armed* male figure with two faces and a radiated halo—a form not easy of interpretation.

[1] *Guide to Lahore Museum*, 1908, p. 19: special article, with Plate XXXV, back and front views, by Dr. Vogel in *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1904–5, pp. 107–9.

Two great monolithic columns, the better preserved of which is 39 feet 5 inches long, excluding the detached abacus, lie at Sondanī or Songnī, near Mandasōr in Sindhia's Dominions, and bear inscriptions recording the decisive defeat of the Huns by King Yasodharman about A. D. 528. Several specimens of good contemporary sculpture adjoin.



FIG. 122. Manjuśrī; from Sārnāth.
(*Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1904–5, Pl. XXVIII *c*.)

Another great monolithic column, with a worn inscription of late Gupta age, and 47 feet high, stands at Pathārī (*ante*, p. 164), about thirteen miles to the south-west of Eran.

Gupta forms of capital.

The Gupta form of capital is generally characterized by a large square abacus of twice the breadth of the shaft, surmounted by two lions sitting back to back, sometimes with a tree or human figure between them. The Budhagupta column has four lions, one at each corner. The process by which the mediaeval capital was

evolved from the Persepolitan through the Gupta forms is explained by Cunningham as follows:—

'The old bell-capital of the Asoka period has now been considerably altered by bands of ornament and the addition of foliated turn-overs. In later times these turn-overs were greatly increased in size, while the body of the bell was lessened until it resembled a water-vessel or *kumbhā*, which eventually became its well-known designation. This curious change from the old bell-capital of Asoka to the water-vessel of the mediaeval temples is very clearly traceable in the different examples of the Gupta period.'[1]

A transition sculpture.

The foregoing select illustrations will, it is hoped, be considered sufficient to establish the claims of the Gupta sculpture of Northern India to favourable consideration on its merits as art. It is, as Mr. Marshall observes, endowed with 'freshness and vitality', while the designs are singularly refined and the technical execution of the best pieces is exquisite. The series may be closed with a delicately wrought figure of the Bodhisattva Manjusrī from Sārnāth (Fig. 122), bearing an inscription of the sixth or seventh century, which serves to mark the transition from Gupta to mediaeval art. Students who desire to pursue the subject farther will find more material in the publications noted below.[2]

Section III. Western and Southern India.

Ajantā sculptures.

While the most characteristic and distinctive sculptures of Gupta age occur in Northern India, the rock-cut shrines and monasteries of the west are adorned with numerous sculptures more or less closely related to those of the north. At Ajantā, interest having been concentrated chiefly on the paintings (Chap. VIII, Sec. 3), the accounts of the sculptures are meagre and good photographs are scarce.

One of the most notable groups is that of a Buddha with attendants, at the left-hand side of the front gateway of Cave IX, dating from the sixth or seventh century (Fig. 123). The river goddesses on the top of the jambs of the entrances of Caves XVI and XXII have been already noticed (*ante*, p. 162).

The Temptation.

The numerous sculptures in Cave XXVI include a gigantic recumbent Dying Buddha, $23\frac{1}{4}$ feet in length, bearing a general resemblance to the fifth-century image at Kasiā in the Gorakhpur District, U. P. The most notable sculpture on the walls is the large and crowded composition representing the Temptation of Buddha, which Dr. Burgess describes as 'beautiful', adding that 'several of the faces are beautifully cut'. It is reproduced in Plate XXXIX from a drawing. The subject is also treated at

[1] *A. S. Rep.*, x. 88. References for the pillars are:—*Bhitarī*—Cunningham, *A.S. Rep.*, vol. i, p. 38, Pl. XXIX, XXX: Fleet, *Gupta Inscr.*, No. 13. *Kahāon*—Cunningham, *Rep.*, vol. i, p. 92, Pl. XXX: Fleet, *op. cit.*, No. 15. *Eran*—Cunningham, *Rep.*, vol. vii, p. 88; x, p. 81, Pl. XXVI: Fleet, *op. cit.*, No. 19. *Sondanī*—*Ind. Ant.*, 1908, p. 107, with plates: Fleet, *op. cit.*, Nos. 33–5. *Pathārī*—Cunningham, *Rep.*, vol. vii, p. 67; x, p. 70: not in Fleet. Smaller pillars or *stelae* of Gupta age exist at several places.

[2] *J. R. A. S.*, 1907, pp. 996–1000: *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1903–4, pp. 213–26; 1904–5, pp. 43–58 and 59–104; 1905–6, pp. 61–85 and 135–40; 1906–7, pp. 44–67 and 68–101.

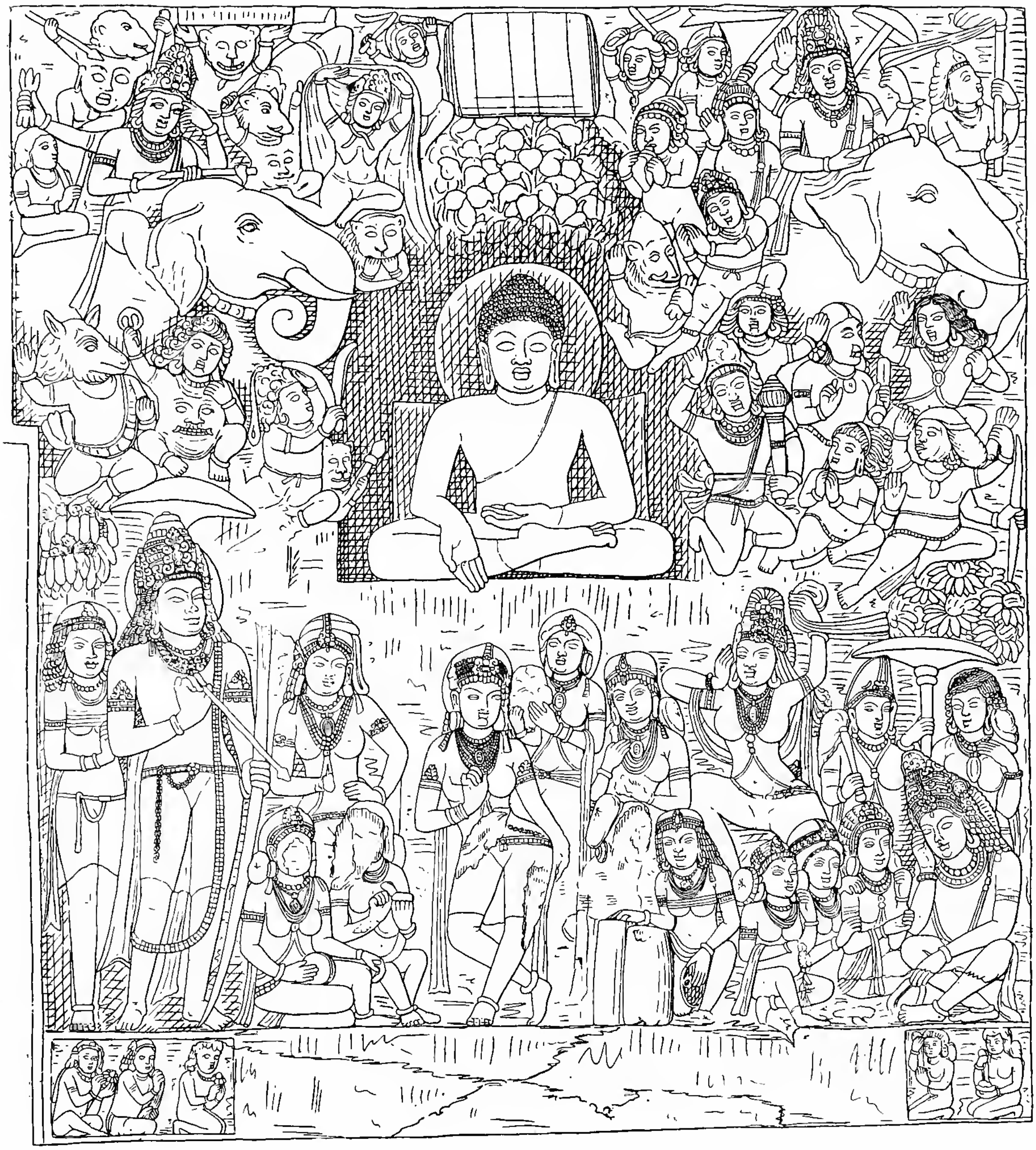


PLATE XXXIX. The Temptation of Buddha, Cave XXVI, Ajantā.
(Photo. 630, I. O. *List.*)

Ajantā in fresco and at Bōrō Būdūr, Java, in sculpture. The wigs, characteristic of the period, worn by several of the figures in the Ajantā sculpture should be noted. The elephants are well drawn, as usual. The kneeling figures at the base may represent the donors.

Chase of wild bull.

In Cave I, supposed to be the latest of the completed excavations, a great quantity of rich sculpture exists, dealing chiefly with incidents in the lives of Buddha. A scene depicting the chase of the wild bull is praised as being 'spiritedly carved', but I cannot find photographs or drawings of the sculptures in this cave.

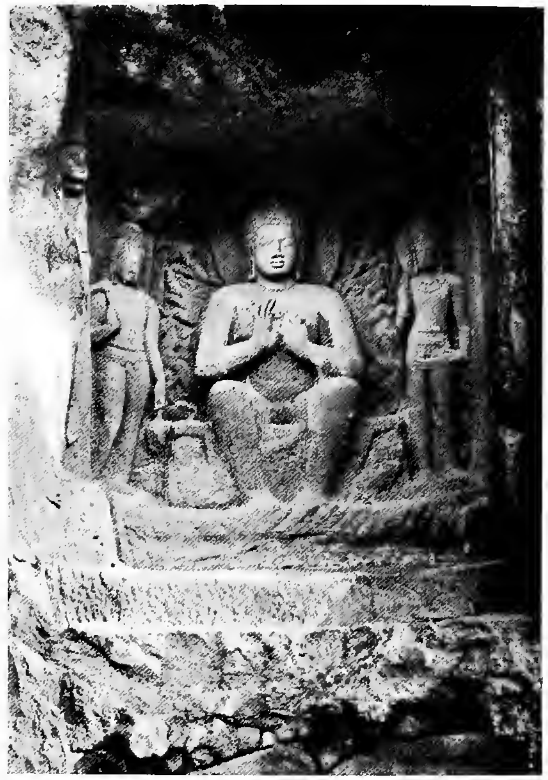


Fig. 123. Buddha, &c., Cave IX, Ajantā. (A. S. photo., supplied by Prof. Macdonell.)

Sculptures of the Bāgh caves.

The sculptures in the Bāgh caves, Gwālior State, until recently known only through drawings prepared for Dr. Burgess, have now been photographed by Major Luard. The best images, representing Buddha, or possibly a Bodhisattva, with two attendants, are the south-western group in the Gosāin's Cave, No. II. The style connects them with the Gupta rather than the mediaeval period, and especially with the sculptures in Cave IX, Ajantā (Fig. 123). They may have been executed in the seventh century. The pose is easy and the modelling good.[1]

Aurangābād caves.

The late Buddhist caves at Aurangābād in the Nizam's dominions, not far from Elūra, are supposed to date from the 'seventh century of our era, and perhaps towards the end of it'.[2] Whatever their exact date may be, the sculptures are related more closely to those of the Gupta age than to the Tantric works of the mediaeval period, and so are noticed in this chapter.

The 'Drunkard's Progress'.

The principal cave, No. III, contains many columns most elaborately decorated with figure sculpture as well as complex patterns. On certain of these columns a sixteen-sided portion is

'carved with sixteen scenes which may be an anticipation of Cruikshank or John Adam, for they seem intended to picture the "Drunkard's Progress". The number of figures varies from two to four in each. Two persons are represented sitting

[1] *Arch. S. W. I.*, vol. v, Pl. XVIII, 4, from a drawing; *Ind. Ant.*, Aug. 1910, Pl. III, 2, collotype. They are hardly worth reproduction. The frescoes in the caves will be described in Chap. VIII, Sec. 3.

[2] Burgess, in *Hist. Ind. and E. Archit.*, 2nd ed. (1910), vol. i, p. 205.

together, apparently drinking in the most friendly way, then staggering along, then dancing with their backs to each other, then quarrelling; one is being dragged along helpless between two men, and so on in successive panels.'[1]

It is a pity that no reproductions of these lively stone pictures are to be had. The subjects recall the much earlier 'Bacchanalian' sculptures of Mathurā (*ante*, p. 134), and suggest speculations concerning certain varieties of Buddhism in practice.

A frieze.

In the same cave an architrave bears on the front a long frieze of fourteen scenes of the *Jātaka* kind in relief, including an impalement, a battle in a forest, and other incidents, the meaning of which is not known. The drawing in Dr. Burgess's



FIG. 124. Male and female busts; Cave III, Aurangābād.
(*A. S. W. I.*, vol. iii, Pl. XLIX, 2. 4; from a drawing.)

volume is on such a small scale that it is impossible to judge fairly the quality of the art, but, so far as can be seen, the action is vigorously depicted.

Egyptian-like heads.

Certain groups of kneeling worshippers in the same excavation are extremely curious. The heads seem to be those of foreigners, and have quite an Egyptian appearance. The males wear wigs (Fig. 124).

The Buddhavāni bronzes

A rich collection of Buddhist bronze statuettes, each from 1 foot to 2 feet in height, standing on pedestals, was found during excavations for a canal at Buddhavāni in the Kistna (Krishnā) District, Madras, prior to 1870. Owing to scandalous neglect the statuettes were treated as old metal and allowed to go to ruin. Some years later, when Mr. R. Sewell saw them, he found none perfect, but did all that was possible to save what was left, and published a good account of them, sending the objects

[1] Burgess, *A. S. W. I.*, vol. iii, p. 67.

to the Secretary of State for India, by whom they were made over in 1905 to the British Museum, where they are now exhibited. Mr. Sewell regards as 'the gem of the collection' the forearm illustrated in Fig. 126, and claims that 'it is hardly too much to say that the modelling of this little right hand is almost perfect, and for grace and delicacy can hardly be surpassed'. The praise is, I think, deserved. We



Fig. 125. Bronze Buddha, ? 6th cent.; from Buddhavāni, Kistna Dist.; B. M. (*J. R. A. S.*, 1895, Pl. I, Fig. 1.)



Fig. 126. Bronze forearm in three positions; ? 6th cent.; from Buddhavāni, Kistna Dist.; B. M. (*J. R. A. S.*, 1895, Pl. IV.)

have had occasion often to note the skill shown by Indian artists in modelling the flexible, feminine hands characteristic of the higher Hindu castes. The smooth, tight-fitting robe of the Buddha (Fig. 125) resembles that seen in the Sārnāth stone sculptures of the Gupta period, and I am disposed to assign the objects illustrated to either the fifth or the sixth century.[1]

[1] Sewell, 'Some Buddhist Bronzes, and Relics of Buddha' (*J. R. A. S.*, 1895, pp. 617–37, Pl. I–V).

CHAPTER VII

MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN SCULPTURE

Section I. General Observations.

Contrast between early and mediaeval sculpture.

The Gupta period, discussed in Chapter VI, may be regarded as one of transition between ancient and mediaeval art, as it was between the polities of ancient and mediaeval India. From the seventh century we find in sculpture few traces of the kindly, human spirit and naturalistic treatment which distinguished the ancient schools, mainly devoted to the service of Buddhism; and we pass into a world of art which scorns to represent the daily life of men and women, concerning itself almost exclusively with either asceticism of the self-contained *yogī* type or the weird imaginings of the later Hindu mythology, including that of the Mahāyānist Buddhists, almost indistinguishable from that of the Brahmans. The beautiful story-telling reliefs of Boro-Būdūr in Java form a delightful exception to this generalization, and carry on the spirit of the old Bharhut and Sānchī artists with a delicacy and refinement of style peculiar to themselves. The Jain sculpture is so strictly conventional that it may be almost left out of consideration. The spirit of mediaeval sculpture is chiefly expressed in Brahmanical and Buddhist works, which alike exalt the ascetic ideal and reflect the teachings of Puranic and Tantric literature.

The ascetic ideal.

Buddha no longer appears as the sympathetic human teacher moving about among his disciples and instructing them in the Good Law. His image is now generally made to conform to the ideal of the passionless *yogī*, as described in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*:—

> 'Who fixed in faith on Me,
> Dotes upon none, scorns none; rejoices not,
> And grieves not, letting good or evil hap
> Light when it will, and when it will depart,
> That man I love! Who, unto friend and foe
> Keeping an equal heart, with equal mind
> Bears shame and glory; with an equal peace
> Takes heat and cold, pleasure and pain; abides
> Quit of desires, hears praise or calumny
> In passionless restraint, unmoved by each;
> Linked by no ties to earth, steadfast in Me,
> That man I love!'[1]

The representation of 'passionless restraint', however true to Hindu nature, affords a strictly limited field for the exercise of the sculptor's powers, and there is necessarily much monotony in the images, whether of Buddha or other personages, which are devoted to the expression of the ascetic ideal.

[1] *Bhagavad-Gītā*, Bk. XII, transl. Edwin Arnold.

Expression of passion.

Another dominant note in mediaeval sculpture is struck by the endeavour of the artists to express violent superhuman emotion or demoniac passion, as represented by the whirling dances of Siva, the strivings of Mārīchī, the struggling of Rāvana beneath his mountain load, and many other compositions, both Brahmanical and Buddhist.

Deities.

Multitudes of sculptures are simply the formal images of innumerable gods and goddesses, adorned with all the attributes and accessories prescribed by various scriptures.

Monstrous forms.

The artists undertake to reproduce literally in stone or bronze the descriptions of the deities as given in the books, with little regard to aesthetic considerations, and no form is regarded as too monstrous for plastic representation. The result too often is merely grotesque and absurd, when looked at by anybody who is not steeped in the notions of Hindu symbolism, but occasionally is horrible. Additional limbs and heads are put on as prescribed, whether or not they disturb the balance of the composition or excite a feeling of disgust at monstrous growths which call loudly for amputation. Such forms, of course, have their meaning for the Hindu or Mahāyānist Buddhist instructed in the mysteries of his faith, and may be used by him as aids to devotion, but from the artistic point of view they are, as stated in the Introduction, in my judgement, indefensible.

Qualities of mediaeval sculpture.

Mediaeval sculpture, consequently, often arouses a feeling of repulsion, and seldom even attempts to be beautiful. It has, however, undeniable merits. The works of the artists frequently display high technical skill, great mastery over intractable material, and in the larger compositions, especially those of the western caves, bold imagination and a knowledge of the effects of light and shade. The best specimens of the ascetic type are endowed with serene dignity and convey the impression of perfect repose with extraordinary skill. In the modelling, although realistic representation of the muscles is deliberately avoided, the capacity of the artists to give details, if they were so minded, is attested by the hands, which in many cases are shaped with the utmost delicacy and expressiveness. The energy of passion is sometimes rendered with masterly power, and occasionally, but rarely, facial expression is vividly exhibited. The Purī group of the mother and child (Fig. 137) is an almost unique example of a representation of ordinary human sentiment.[1]

Mediaeval sculpture peculiarly Hindu.

The sculpture of the early Indian schools makes an appeal far more universal than that of mediaeval times, which demands from the spectator a certain amount of recondite knowledge of the ideas underlying the later mythology. Its enthusiastic admirers never weary of extolling its 'idealism', and of glorying in the fact that it is so peculiarly and exclusively Hindu as to be often unintelligible to the ordinary well-educated critic. The feelings which prompt such eulogies appear to be largely influenced by the desire now much in fashion to exalt everything Hindu beyond measure—a desire which recently found its extreme expression in an absurd octavo volume entitled *The Superiority of the Hindu*. But the mediaeval sculpture of India, in so far as it fails to appeal to critics who are not saturated with the peculiar notions

[1] Compare the Ajantā picture in Chap. VIII, Sec. 3.

of Hindu metaphysics and religion, confesses itself to rank below the highest art, which, whether in literature or sculpture, is able to touch the emotions and win the sympathy of cultivated students of every age and clime.

While resisting the extravagant claims put forward by some recent writers on behalf of Indian mediaeval art, I gladly recognize the fact that the authors alluded to have constrained everybody interested in the subject to reconsider current opinions and have proved that form of art to deserve on its merits a place higher than European critics had been wont to allow it.

Modern art continuous with mediaeval.

The Brahmanical (including later Buddhist) art, as evolved during the seventh, eighth, and subsequent centuries, continues to this day. No clear line of demarcation can be drawn between mediaeval and modern sculpture, although, unfortunately, modern work of any considerable degree of excellence is very rare. This chapter, therefore, deals with both mediaeval and modern art as being essentially one, the outcome of the Brahmanical reaction by which Buddhism was slowly strangled.

Admirers of Hinduism regard the change from the old sympathetic humanist Buddhist art to the 'idealist' representations of Puranic and Tantric mythology as pure progress. I am not able to agree with that view. But nothing would be gained from emphasizing this difference of opinion by prolonged controversial argument, which fails to touch the fundamental divergence of sentiment.

Decorative designs.

In order to prevent any possible misapprehension, it may be well to add that the contrast between early and mediaeval sculpture discussed in the preceding pages relates to the figure sculpture only. In the more purely decorative elements no such contrast is to be observed, the main difference between the early and the later decorative designs being that the foreign factors gradually diminished in importance. Much of the mediaeval decorative work is supremely good, and can be admired frankly and unreservedly by anybody.

Arrangement of subject.

The selection of mediaeval sculptures reproduced in this long chapter will, it is hoped, be adequate to enable every reader to form his own judgement concerning the merits of the compositions as works of art. Their merits as aids to Hindu or Buddhist devotion are quite another matter. The subject is treated in nine sections, and within each section the examples are given in the order of time. The bronzes and brasses of Southern India and Ceylon being numerous and important are discussed apart from the stone sculptures. The section on Java is necessarily very brief, but could not be omitted with propriety.

SECTION II. NORTH-EASTERN INDIA.

Two art provinces, Bihār, &c., and Orissa.

The mediaeval sculpture of the north-eastern provinces naturally falls into two main territorial divisions, namely, (1) Bihār, both North and South, with certain adjoining districts of Bengal and the Agra Provinces, which collectively formed the dominions of the Pāla dynasty for more than four centuries from about A.D. 775 to 1193, the date of the Muhammadan conquest; and (2) Orissa, on the coast of the Bay of Bengal, which never was included in the Pāla realm.

The Pāla kings having been devout Buddhists to the last, Buddhism continued to be the dominant religion in their territories long after it had become either extinct or moribund in most parts of India; and the Buddhist monasteries of Bihār, especially the wealthy foundation at Nālandā (modern Bargāon), were crowded with thousands of monks, who cultivated with success the arts required for the decoration of the sacred buildings. In consequence, a large proportion of the sculpture in Bihār and the neighbouring regions is Buddhist. The later Buddhism, as we have occasion to remark more than once, was of the Mahāyāna or 'Great Vehicle' kind, delighting in the use of images, and closely related to Hinduism. The Brahmanical faiths, of course, never died out, and their votaries contributed their share to the art production.

During the first half of the seventh century, when the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang recorded his invaluable notes, the Buddhists of Orissa outnumbered the Brahmanical Hindus, but notwithstanding that fact, Buddhist sculpture is rare in the province, and the extant specimens, often of a high class, are mainly Brahmanical. From the point of view of the historian of art, as already observed, religious distinctions in the mediaeval period are unimportant, sculptors making use of the style of their own age and country, irrespective of the creed to the service of which their works were dedicated.

In Bihār the Muslim onslaught at the close of the twelfth century overthrew Buddhism suddenly, and scattered all over India those few monks who survived the indiscriminate massacres committed by the iconoclast armies of Islam. The rich monasteries of Sārnāth near Benares soon shared the fate of the communities in Bihār, and layers of ashes in the ruins testify to this day the violence of the conquerors. Hindu art of all kinds, Buddhist included, was practically stamped out in the north-eastern provinces by the Muhammadan conquest. It lingered, however, in Orissa longer than in Bihār, and some of the best Orissan work dates from the thirteenth century. The conquest of Orissa was not completed until Akbar's time, in the sixteenth century, but it may be said that from the fourteenth century the history of art in all the north-eastern provinces is concerned only with Muslim forms.

In quite recent days a slight revival of Hindu art may be discerned. Practically the history of Hindu sculpture in Bengal, Bihār, and Orissa closes with the thirteenth century. Room can be found for only a few examples to illustrate the schools of both Bihār and Orissa.

The innumerable ancient sites in Magadha or South Bihār and the neighbouring districts, a region much of which is familiar to me, are full of well-executed images, mostly dating from the times of Pāla rule, between the eighth and twelfth centuries. The destruction due to Muhammadan hatred of images has been less complete than in the upper provinces. Mediaeval Buddhism in its Tantric forms approximated so closely to the Brahmanical Hinduism that even a skilled observer may sometimes hesitate to decide as to the religion for the service of which the image was destined—the Buddhist Tārā, for instance, is not easily distinguishable from the Hindu Lakshmī. Although the style of the sculptures is always dominated by the formalism of ritual prescription, artists of exceptional ability and skill could make their powers more or

less clearly apparent, and so raise compositions mainly conventional to the rank of works of art. A few specimens which possess merit greater than ordinary have been selected from the mass.

A basalt image of the Buddhist Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara or Lokanātha, from somewhere near Gayā, is of special interest because of its early age, as indicated by the script of the so-called 'Buddhist creed' engraved upon it, which is assigned to the



FIG. 127. Avalokitesvara; ? 8th cent., from near Gayā; Lucknow Museum. (Arch. S. photo., No. 33; *Ann. Rep. A. S., India,* 1903-4, Pl. LXII, 3.)

eighth century. The extravagance of the representation with six arms proves the influence of Tantric notions, while the treatment of the drapery and the minor worshipping figures connects the work with the art of the Gupta period (Fig. 127). The sculpture is of only moderate quality, but the mechanical execution is excellent.

An elaborately decorated seated Buddha, of like material, from Kurkihār in the same region, similarly proved by its inscription to date from the ninth century, carries on the history. The folds of the drapery are marked by formal lines, and the resemblance to work of the Gupta period has disappeared (Fig. 128). The details are

wrought with the highest possible finish, but the type was too rigidly determined by rule to allow the sculptor much scope for the exercise of his taste.

The Tantric image of Mārīchī, goddess of dawn, a weird form with three heads and six arms (Fig. 129), offers greater opportunities to an artist in the delineation of active exertion. The goddess is supposed to be standing in a chariot drawn by seven boars, but the chariot and team are treated merely as formal accessories, the



Fig. 128. Buddha from Kurkihār; Lucknow Museum.
(A. S. photo., No. 30; *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1903–4, Pl. LXII, 3.)

spectator's attention being invited solely to the sculptor's attempt to express the idea of radiant energy in the person of the goddess. If the critic can bring himself to tolerate multiple heads and arms, the composition may be allowed praise for the fine modelling of the principal figure, and for considerable success in the representation of tense strain. The pose is that technically called the 'archer' attitude.

One of the best and most characteristic examples of Bihār sculpture is the large group of the Sun-god and his attendants now exhibited in Room II of the Indian

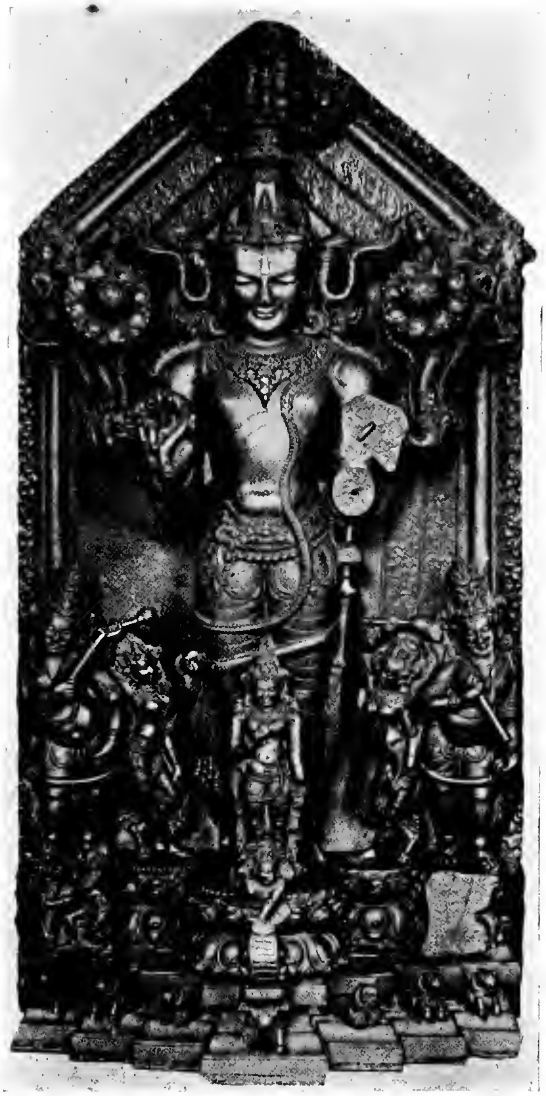


PLATE XL. Sūrya, the Sun, driven in 7-horsed lotus-car by the legless Aruṇa, the Dawn; $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high; in black carboniferous shale or clay slate; excavated in Rājmahāl Hills, Santāl Parganas, Bengal, about 1840; probably of 12th cent.: No. 929, Ind. Sec., V. & A. Museum (dimensions are: group, $5\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ feet; central figure, 3 feet $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height). Publ. No. 1020, Pl. CXLIII, vol. xiii, *J. I. A. I.*

Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, which stands $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and is in nearly perfect preservation (Plate XL). The god is represented standing in a lotus-shaped chariot drawn by seven horses, and driven by the legless Aruna, the Dawn.



FIG. 129. Mārīchī, goddess of Dawn; from Kurkihār; Lucknow Museum.
(A. S. photo., No. 27; *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1903–4, Pl. LXII, 4.)

The artist, like the sculptor of Mārīchī, has concentrated his attention on the effigy of the god, reducing the chariot, horses, and charioteer to the position of minor accessories, in such a way that a casual spectator might fail to perceive their significance. The body of the principal figure is carefully modelled with considerable

regard to realism, and the same commendation may be bestowed on the two female attendants with fly-whisks. The decorative framework is skilfully treated, and the whole composition produces an imposing and pleasing effect to which a small photograph cannot do full justice. The mechanical execution of the carving is perfect, and the design is more restrained than that of much Hindu sculpture of the same



FIG. 130. Buddha; from near Rājgir; ? 12th cent.
(*J. A. S. B.*, Part I, vol. lxiii (1894), Pl. II.)

period. The material is a black carboniferous shale, or clay slate, well adapted to the sculptor's purpose, and the twelfth century may be assigned as an approximate date. The Rājmahāl Hills, where this remarkable work was excavated, lie to the south of Monghyr, and, although outside the limits of Bihār, were doubtless subject to the Pāla rulers of that province.

A Rājgir Buddha.

One more illustration of the mediaevàl art of Bihār may suffice—a beautifully modelled and exquisitely finished seated Buddha in black Monghyr stone found by Mr. Grierson near Rājgir (Fig. 130). The standing figures are the Bodhisattvas Avalokitesvara and Vajrapāni. The seated goddesses are the two forms of Tārā, the Green and the White. The composition as a whole is a compendium of the symbolism of Mahāyānist Buddhism. As a work of art its interest lies chiefly in the careful modelling of the principal figure. The script of the inscription, the usual 'Buddhist creed', indicates that the work is approximately contemporary with the Rājmahāl Sun-god.

Other good images.

It may be well to mention the existence of other excellent specimens of the mediaeval Bihār style, without detailed description or illustration. (1) Mr. Marshall notes as the most beautiful of the later finds at Sārnāth, dating from the eleventh or twelfth century, a tiny figure of Avalokitesvara, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, the carving of which, though somewhat stereotyped in character, is said to be executed with a delicacy and refinement which would do credit to a Chinese artist [1]; (2) the large Buddha called Mātā Kunwar at the famous site near Kasiā, Gorakhpur District [2]; (3) a fine Vishnu at Devathala, Dinājpur District, Bengal [3]; and (4) sundry Buddhist sculptures from Kurkihār and Bishanpur, especially a remarkable relief of a Bodhisattva teaching, as described and illustrated by Dr. Stein [4]. The list might be largely extended from the collections in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, and at other places.

Localities of Orissan sculptures.

The mediaeval sculptures of Orissa are chiefly associated with the Brahmanical temples of three localities—Bhuvanesvar, Konārak, and Purī—all in the Purī District, and ranging in date from perhaps the ninth century to the thirteenth. The peculiarities of the architecture have been noticed in Chapter II. The oldest sculptures, usually in sandstone, are at Bhuvanesvar; the best statues, mostly in chlorite, are at Konārak.

Sculptures at Bhuvanesvar.

The temples and shrines at Bhuvanesvar, said to be five or six hundred in number, are usually richly decorated, and so offer a wide field for selection, limited to some extent by the fact that many of the sculptures are grossly obscene, constituting, it is said, a complete set of illustrations of the Sanskrit *Kāmaśāstra*, or erotic treatises.[5] The few decent examples for which space is available are selected for their purely aesthetic merits.

The sculptures, both decorative and statuary, are well represented in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, by a series of 128 casts taken in 1869, under the supervision of the Principal of the Calcutta School of Art at the time. 'The Orissa carver of those days,' Dr. Anderson observes, 'went direct to nature for his designs, and the results of his labours in combining groups of animals with foliage show that he must have

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1908, p. 1093, not reproduced.

[2] Martin (Buchanan-Hamilton), *Eastern India*, ii, 357, with sketch.

[3] Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. xv, Pl. XXVII.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, xxx (1901), pp. 85, 90, 91, with photographic plates.

[5] Such sculptures are supposed to be a protection against evil spirits, and so serve the purpose of lightning conductors.

been a keen observer. They are extremely pleasing pieces of art, not only on account of the beauty of their execution, but by reason of their truthfulness to nature.' [1]

Examples of decorative work.

In justification of this criticism a few examples from Rājendralāla Mitra's work may be given, beginning with a scroll on the Parasurāmesvara temple, one of the oldest, possibly dating from the eighth or ninth century (Fig. 131).

Another scroll, including birds, &c., is from the small Rājarānī temple of later date (Fig. 132).



FIG. 131. Scroll on Paraśurāmeśvara temple, Bhuvanesvar. (*Antiquities of Orissa*, No. 13, Pl. VII.)



FIG. 132. Scroll with birds, &c., Rājarānī temple, Bhuvanesvar. (Ibid., No. 18.)

Minor figures.

A frieze of antelopes from the Muktesvara temple, perhaps of the ninth century, illustrates the successful realistic treatment of animal forms (Fig. 133).

The Great Temple is supposed to date from the tenth century. Some of the minor accessory figures on it are pleasing, the sculptor having more liberty for the exercise of his fancy and taste in treating them than he had when modelling the canonical images of the gods. Two specimens are given of such minor figures, one from the Great Temple, and the other from the Baitāl Dēwal, an edifice in the Dravidian style of about the same period (Figs. 134, 135).

[1] *Catal. Archaeol., Coll. I. M.*, Part II, p. 221.

A goddess.

The chlorite Bhagavatī, 7 feet high, on the tower of the Great Temple (Fig. 136), is an excellent example of the numerous elaborate and carefully carved statues of deities modelled according to strict rule. Such images are exhibitions of the skill of the stone-cutter rather than of creative sculpture.

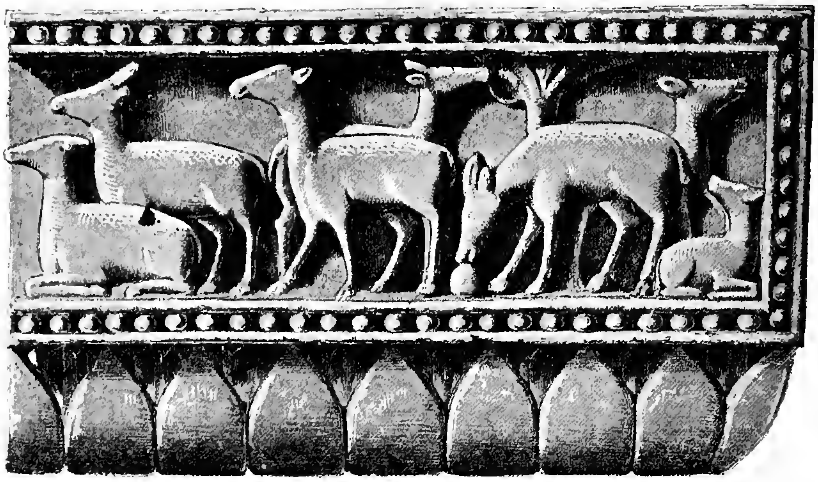


FIG. 133. Antelope frieze, Muktesvara temple, Bhuvanesvar. (*Antiquities of Orissa*, No. 55, Pl. XXVII.)

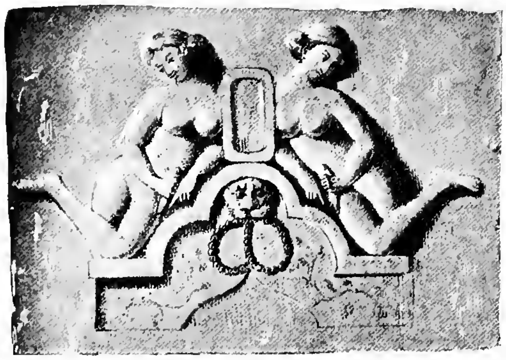


FIG. 134. Panel on tower of Great Temple, Bhuvanesvar. (Ibid., No. 46, Pl. XXVI.)

Mother and child.

At the famous temple of Jagannāth, Purī, built about A. D. 1100, a well-executed group representing a Hindu mother with her baby (Fig. 137) offers a welcome change on gods and goddesses. Human sentiment is painfully rare in Indian mediaeval sculpture. This group seems to me to be of great merit.

Wheel at Konārak.

The unfinished temple at Konārak, dedicated to the Sun, and erected between A. D. 1240 and 1280, was designed to simulate a gigantic solar car drawn by horses. Eight great wheels, each 9 feet 8 inches in diameter, accordingly are carved above the plinth, and remarkable statues of seven horses stand outside. The wheels, the most perfect of which is shown in Fig. 138, are carved with wonderful patience and admirable skill.



FIG. 135. Dancing girl on Baitāl Dēwal, Bhuvanesvar.
(Ibid., No. 59, Pl. XVIII.)



FIG. 136. Bhagavatī, Great Temple, Bhuvanesvar.
(Ibid., No. 63, Pl. XIX.)



FIG. 137. Mother and child; temple of Jagannāth, Purī.
(Photo. 383, I. M. *List.*)

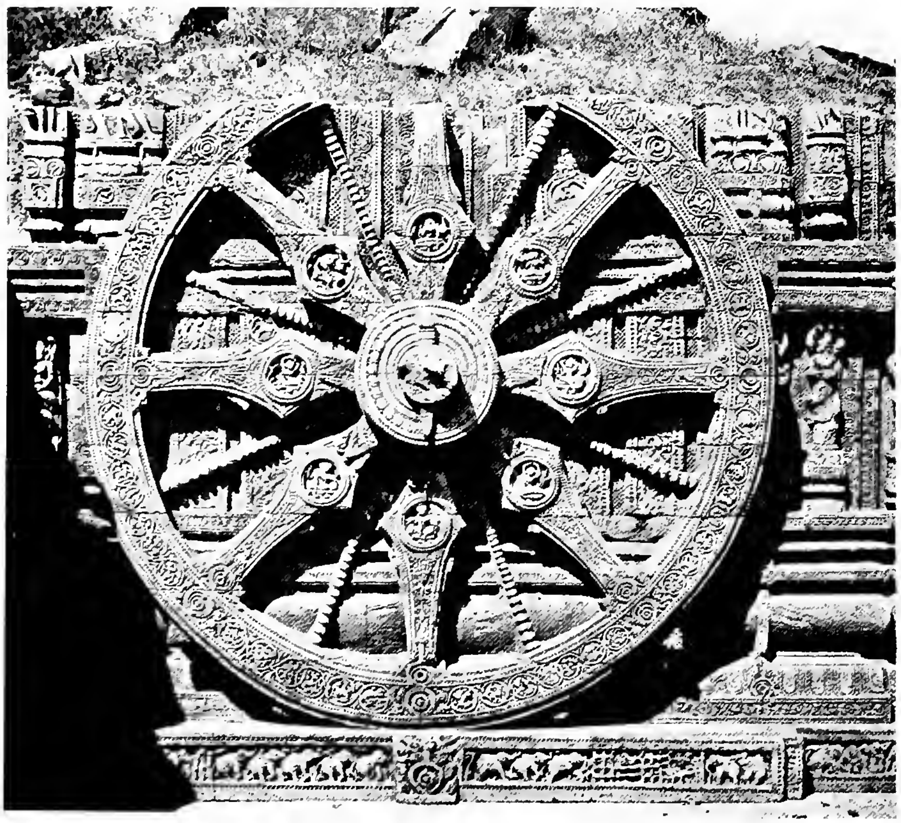


FIG. 138. A wheel, Konārak.
(A. S. photo., No. 155.)

Two of the detached colossal horses are shown in Fig. 139, and one of them on a larger scale in Fig. 140. It is the best preserved. Another, placed outside the southern façade, is described by Mr. Havell as 'one of the grandest examples of Colossal horses.



FIG. 139. Two horses; Konārak.
(Photo. 355, I. M. *List.*)



FIG. 140. A colossal horse; Konārak.
(A. S. photo., No. 158.)

Indian sculpture extant'. While the force and vigour of these remarkable works are undeniable, few critics will be able to accept fully Mr. Havell's judgement that

'here Indian sculptors have shown that they can express with as much fire and passion as the greatest European art the pride of victory and the glory of triumphant warfare; for not even the Homeric grandeur of the Elgin marbles surpasses the magnificent

movement and modelling of this Indian Achilles, and the superbly monumental horse in its massive strength and vigour is not unworthy of comparison with Verrocchio's famous masterpiece at Venice'.

Such language will be considered extravagant by most people.[1]

Elephant colossus.

The elephant colossi are much more satisfactory to my taste than the horses. One, shown in Fig. 141, renders with mastery the character of the creature.

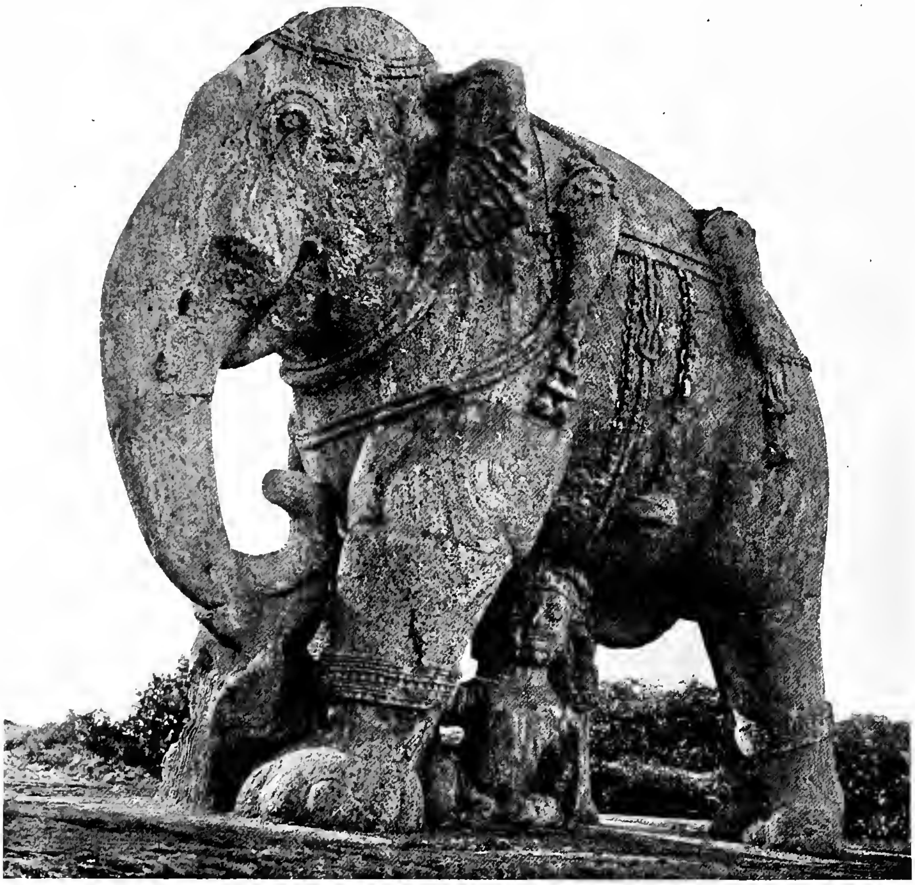


FIG. 141. Colossal elephant, Konārak.
(Photo. 351, I. M. *List.*)

Chlorītī statues.

The recent explorations carried out under Mr. Marshall's direction have revealed many finely executed chlorite statues in addition to those previously known. Two of the most noticeable of these discoveries are here reproduced. The image of Vishnu standing, equipped with all his canonical attributes, and attended by earthly and heavenly worshippers (Fig. 142), may be fairly credited with no small degree of

[1] Mr. Havell freely admits the defects of the statues in 'equine anatomy'. Verrocchio died in A.D. 1488. His masterpiece is the equestrian statue of Bartolomeo Colleoni. Mr. Fry so far agrees with Mr. Havell as to describe the horse published by that author as 'a superb colossal figure', possessing 'in the highest degree the qualities of great monumental design' (*Quart. Rev.*, 1910, p. 236).

beauty, notwithstanding the hieratic style and the four arms. The flying figures are good, and the carving is perfect.

The effigy of Bāla-Krishna, the god as a boy in a swing, on the contrary, is ugly (Fig. 143), and chiefly of interest as a *tour de force* in stone-cutting. Nobody but a Hindu would think of making such chains in stone. The trefoil arch may be noted.



FIG. 142. Vishṇu; Konārak.
(*J. R. A. S.*, 1907, Pl. VIII, 1.)



FIG. 143. Bāla-Kṛishṇa; Konārak.
(Ibid., Fig. 2.)

Modern Orissan art.

Orissan art practically ceases with Konārak, for want of encouragement. A small tract by Mr. Havell proves that the artist families have never died out altogether, nor have they wholly lost their ancient skill. The author holds, and gives reasons for holding, that 'there are carvers still to be found, whose work, in spite of all the discouraging conditions which surround them, is hardly inferior in artistic perception and technical skill to that of their predecessors'. He considers the men of Orissa to be superior to the north-western workers in sandstone, because they have 'not hampered themselves by the limitations of a wood-carver's technique, but have fully

realized the technical possibilities of their material for producing bold effects of light and shade suitable for architectural work'. I have no doubt that some of the living Orissan stone-carvers possess artistic feeling and could produce sculpture of considerable merit, if they received adequate patronage. At present their abilities are usually frittered away on pretty trifles in soapstone.[1]

SECTION III. TIBET AND NEPĀL.

Close relation of Tibetan and Nepalese art.

The plastic art of both Tibet and Nepāl is Indian in origin and essentially one. According to Tāranāth the style of the ancient Nepalese school was based on that of the 'Eastern Painters in Bengal', who may be assigned to the eighth century. Nothing at all so old seems to be now in existence. No example of either Tibetan or Nepalese artistic sculpture in stone has come to my notice. The plastic art of both countries is represented by images mostly of copper or bronze, small in size and comparatively recent in date, none, perhaps, being more than three or four centuries old. The better examples seem to come chiefly from Tibet, but the labels in collections are not always very precise. Indian civilization having reached the valley of Nepāl many centuries before it penetrated the plateau of Tibet, the presumption is that the almost complete identity of style in the two countries must be the result of Tibetan copying of Nepalese models.

M. de Milloué gives a summary account of Tibetan fine-art work in copper, which I translate for the benefit of Indian readers unacquainted with French :—

Tibetan art industry in copper.

'Copper is found both native and in the form of pyrites in Tibet, where it is wrought with uncommon perfection. Several localities are well known for their famous foundries, which supply the whole of the Buddhist East with statuettes of divinities. Lhasa has a special reputation for small figures in gilt copper, which are esteemed the more the smaller they are. Its productions are easily recognized by their graceful and somewhat arch (*mièvre*) style. The statuettes made by the monks and craftsmen of Tashilumpo are equally esteemed. Most of the bronze statuettes come from the workshops of the Tsang and Khams provinces. The bronzes from the region last named are famous for the perfection of their execution in details and their wonderful *patina*, qualities especially noticeable in the examples which go back to the sixteenth or seventeenth century, notwithstanding the impurity of the metal. Tsiamdo, Jaya, Bathang, and Lithang seem to be the principal centres of this art industry, which possesses an eminently religious character.'[2]

Portrait statuettes.

A special characteristic of Tibetan art is the abundance of realistic, highly individualized portrait statuettes of holy Lamas and other Buddhist saints. How far such reputed portraits are actual likenesses and how far merely typical forms it is impossible to say. They may be authentic portraits transmitted by tradition through contemporary paintings. The Tibetan artists are, I believe, usually Lamas.

The Apostle of the Mongols.

A good example of such a traditional portrait is the seated image of the 'Dalai

[1] E. B. Havell, *Stone Carving in Bengal*, thin quarto, 16 pp., 5 plates (Bengal Secretariat Dépôt, Calcutta, 1906).

[2] *Bod-Youl ou Tibet* (Paris, 1906), p. 130. Tsang and Khams lie to the east.

Lama of the Third Rebirth', also known as the 'Apostle of the Mongols', whom he converted to Buddhism in the sixteenth century (1543–89). The original is in the large collection formed by Prince E. Ukhtomskij, now in the Museum of H.I.M. Alexander III, St. Petersburg, which has been carefully catalogued by Professor Grünwedel, to whom I am indebted for the photograph of the Apostle reproduced in Fig. 144.[1] The presentment is thoroughly realistic, and possibly may be from the life. No criterion seems to exist by which the age of such images can be determined.



FIG. 144. The Apostle of the Mongols; bronze in Ukhtomskij Collection. (From a photo. supplied by Prof. Grünwedel = *Guide*, Abb. 54.)

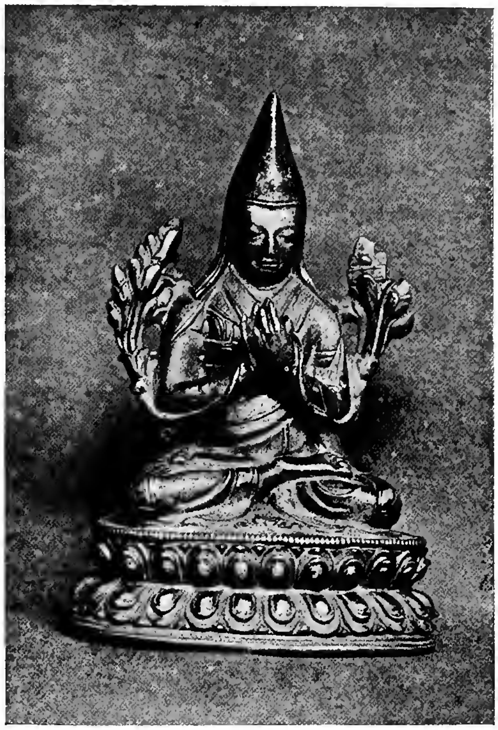


FIG. 145. Gilt bronze statuette of Tsong-kapa, about 5 inches high; Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford. (From a photo. by permission of H. Balfour, Esq., Curator.)

Other portraits.

The Prince's collection contains many equally good portrait statuettes. One notable portrait is that of the Lama reproduced in *Guide*, Abb. 72. An ancient image in Chinese crackled porcelain vividly represents in Indian pose a follower of the teacher known as Bhaisajya-guru, or Man-la, the 'Buddha of Medicine' (*Guide*, Abb. 94).

Other artistic examples of the same portrait class are in the Musée Guimet,

[1] See Prof. Grünwedel's *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei, Führer durch die Sammlung des Fürsten E. Ukhtomskij* (Leipzig, 1900), cited as *Guide*; and his illustrated *Catalogue* of the collection in Russian (Bibliotheca Buddhica, No. vi, 2 fasc., St. Petersburg, 1905). The terrible Tibetan name of the Apostle is *mK'as-grub-bSod-nams-rgya-mtso*.

among which may be specially noted the bronze images of Padmasambhava and Tsong-kapa, the founder of 'Yellow Lamaism' (*Petit Guide Illustré*, pp. 143, 144).[1] A reproduction of a statuette of Tsong-kapa from an original in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, is here given (Fig. 145). Portraits of this kind do not come from Nepāl, so far as I know.

Images of deities.

The effigies of Buddhas and deities, although similar in style to the human portrait statuettes, are necessarily more conventional. They are often gilt and decorated with turquoises. The goddess Tārā in her various forms is, perhaps, the favourite, but many deities are represented.[2] In Plate XLI illustrations are given of three—an unnamed teacher; the Bodhisattva Manjusrī; and his consort, Sarasvatī, goddess of music and poetry. The last-named object, which is gracefully and freely modelled, closely resembles the best Nepalese work.

It would be easy to multiply similar examples. The British Museum collection includes several specimens of good quality, which have not been utilized because the collection awaits arrangement and at present is not conveniently placed for study. The illustrations given are fairly representative of the style, and enable the reader to form a good idea of the Lamas' remarkable skill in modelling, portraiture, and finish.

Nepalese images.

Nepalese bronze statuettes of any considerable artistic excellence seem to be much less numerous than the Tibetan. The coppersmiths in Nepāl are more inclined to exercise their craft upon elaborate utensils used in worship than on images, and it is not easy to find Nepalese statuettes deserving of notice. Berlin has none, and it cannot be said with certainty that any of the Pitt-Rivers specimens come from Nepāl. Mr. Havell has reproduced (his Plate XLIV) a cleverly modelled four-armed figure, supposed, rightly or wrongly, to be Kuvera or Jambhala, the god of riches, which is an effective, though ugly, 'personification of materialism and the worldly life.' A Tibetan gilt bronze image of the same deity, fairly well executed, is in the Pitt-Rivers Museum. It has only two arms, and is about 5 inches high. The wasp-waisted Tārās, which Mr. Havell admires vastly, present mere parodies of the human form which can be described as idealized superhuman bodies only by extremely enthusiastic critics. More or less similar specimens are described and illustrated by Dr. Coomaraswamy in the *Burlington Magazine*, May, 1910.

Many of the Tibetan and Nepalese images are purely commercial products of no artistic value. Others, although elaborately executed, are too monstrous and grotesque to deserve rank as works of art.

Section IV. North-Western India and Rājputāna.

Destruction of temples in upper provinces.

In the Panjāb and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh thousands of Hindu temples and other edifices must have been destroyed by the Muslim conquerors during the seven centuries intervening between the raids of Mahmūd of Ghaznī and

[1] The illustrations in Prof. Grünwedel's publications and the *Petit Guide Illustré* of the Musée Guimet being executed by the half-tone process it is not possible to utilize the permission to reproduce them kindly granted.

[2] The well-executed nearly black bronze Tārā in the Pitt-Rivers Museum holds in her left hand a *phallus* of amethyst-colour glass.



A. A teacher, gilt bronze, about 4 inches high; Pitt-Rivers Museum.
(From a photo., by permission of H. Balfour, Esq., Curator.)



B. The Bodhisattva Manjuśrī, patinated bronze, about 6 inches high; Pitt-Rivers Museum.
(From a photo., by permission of H. Balfour, Esq., Curator.)



C. The goddess Sarasvatī, Ukhtomskij Collection.
(From a photo. supplied by Prof. Grünwedel.)

PLATE XLI. Bronze images of Tibetan deities and saints.

the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. The detailed records of the devastation wrought at Kanauj, Mathurā, Benares, and many other notable cities fully justify the assertion that the buildings and monuments destroyed must have been numbered by thousands. Mediaeval sculpture, consequently, is scarce in the territories strongly held by the Musalman powers.[1] The more considerable remains are to be found only in regions lying remote from the track of the Muslim armies, such as Khajurāho in the Chhatarpur State of the Central India Agency, and the more inaccessible parts of Rājputāna and the Central Provinces.

Sculpture at Khajurāho.

Plate X (*ante*) gives some slight indication of the sculptured wealth of the greater temples at Khajurāho erected during the tenth and eleventh centuries by the kings of the Chandēl dynasty. I visited the temples many years ago and can testify that the crowd of figures is far more numerous than would appear from the photograph. But this 'peuple de pierre', as M. Le Bon calls it, was designed for the purpose of architectural decoration in the mass, not as an assemblage of individual works of fine art; and it is doubtful if any single image or group could be excerpted which would deserve illustration on its own aesthetic merits. Very many of the figures, like those in Orissa (*ante*, p. 190), are disgustingly indecent. Nobody having thought it worth while to photograph the sculptures in detail, it is impossible to reproduce examples, even of the decent ones.

Sculptures at Mount Ābū.

The group of mediaeval temples at Khajurāho is the largest and most important in Upper India. At minor sites we find the same lack of individual works of artistic distinction and, as a rule, the same absence of detailed record. The temples of Mount Ābū in Rājputāna undoubtedly exhibit masses of sculptured decoration of the most marvellous richness and delicacy, as sufficiently exemplified in Plates VI and VII, *ante*. But there does not seem to be anything deserving of isolation from the mass for study as a separate work of art. I do not know of any detachable mediaeval sculptures of Upper India comparable in artistic interest with the Chola panels at Gangaikondapuram (Figs. 159, 160, 161, *post*), or even with the chlorite statues of Konārak (Figs. 142 and 143, *ante*), except in the less-known parts of Rājputāna, where the researches of Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar have recently disclosed an unexpected wealth of sculpture, especially between Sirōhi and Jodhpur.

Tower of Victory at Chitōr.

The Tower of Victory, over 120 feet in height, at Chitōr in Rājputāna, built in the fifteenth century to commemorate the military successes of a local chieftain, is covered from top to bottom, inside and out, with an infinite multitude of images, representing, so far as may be, all the denizens of the Hindu pantheon, with their names attached, and constituting an 'illustrated dictionary of Hindu mythology'. Besides the effigies of the more ordinary deities, there are images representing the seasons, rivers, weapons, and other things as yet unpublished. Whenever this series of sculptures shall be reproduced it will be invaluable as a key to Brahmanical

[1] The case of the Bulandshahr District, U. P. illustrates what happened. 'As might have been expected from its nearness to Delhi, the Muhammadans have made a clean sweep of the district, and razed to the ground every building, secular or religious, that had been erected by its former Hindu rulers' (Growse, *J. A. S. B.*, Pt. I, vol. lii (1883), p. 280).

iconography, but is not likely to contribute much to the history of art.[1] The better class of art in Rājputāna dates from an earlier period, ending with the twelfth century.

If the description recorded by Mr. Garrick, Sir A. Cunningham's assistant, can be depended on, certain relief sculptures at the Mokaljī temple on the famous rock of Chitōr possess high merit as works of art. The darkness of the chamber in which they are placed unfortunately frustrated attempts to photograph them. The temple, originally erected in the eleventh century, was reconstructed in the fifteenth century during the reign of Mokaljī (A. D. 1428–38). The pillars bearing the reliefs evidently belong to the earlier building.[2] The bas-reliefs, sixteen in number, are carved on octagonal bands of the eastern pair of pillars supporting the principal chamber of the temple, eight scenes on each pillar. The first scene on the southern column of the pair, according to Mr. Garrick,

'depicts five human figures, of which two are large and three small; one of the former represents a woman carrying a water-jar on her head, and a man standing before her with hands joined in an attitude of adoration. The minor figures are much broken. This sculpture, along with the others of this set, is remarkable for the elaborate detail and technical excellence of its workmanship, the woman's hair being most minutely delineated. . . . The third carving is very well modelled and proportioned, and depicts two standing figures, male and female. . . . The fifth scene is filled with vigorous action, and consists of a musical festival; six male figures play six musical instruments . . . the sixth and last figure of this interesting group is seen full to the front, blowing a flute (*mūralī* or *bansī*) in a very animated position as if he were dancing. . . .'

On the northern column of the pair—

'the seventh scene is in all probability the most interesting of the whole series, and in its half a dozen figures gives us both a duel and an execution. The upper pair of men fight with shields and sabres, and their armour, accoutrements, &c., even to the knobs and bosses on their shields, are most carefully delineated, and show that the manufacture of these articles has altered as little during the last eight centuries as that of the musical instruments figured elsewhere. The lower portion of this comprehensive and instructive scene shows a pair of kneeling figures bound hand and foot, while an executioner holds his knife to the neck of the male figure to our left; but the female with him may possibly be a mere witness, though it is pretty clear from the general distribution of action in this trio that she awaits her turn for immolation.'[3]

I cannot attempt to interpret these curious scenes. Perhaps the Archaeological Department may be able to arrange for their reproduction with the help of modern appliances for the use of artificial light.

Mokaljī's temple, as a whole, is decorated with an extraordinary wealth of sculpture, very effective in the mass, but not of quality sufficiently high to permit of small excerpts appearing to advantage. In order to give some notion of the powers of

[1] Cousens, *Progr. Rep. A. S. W. I.*, 1900–1, p. 9.

[2] Ibid., 1903–4, p. 38.

[3] Garrick, in Cunningham's *Archaeol. Survey Reports*, vol. xxiii, pp. 120–3. Mr. Garrick's tour took place in 1883–4.

Rājputāna sculptors in the first half of the fifteenth century, two specimens from the later sculptures of the temple, one in high relief, with the images almost detached, and the other, a frieze in lower relief (Figs. 146, 147), are presented. The elephants



FIG. 146. Sculptures on a wall of Mokaljī's temple, Chitōr. (Photo. 2278, A. S.)

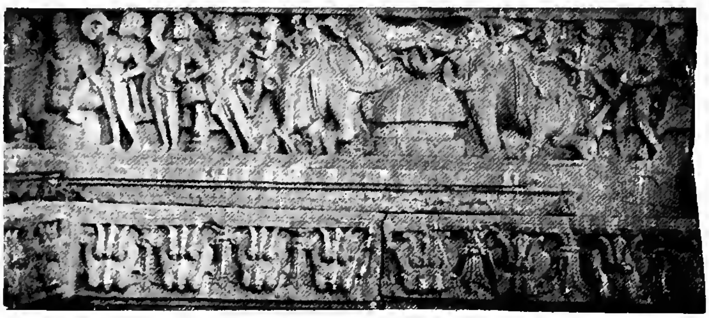


FIG. 147. Elephant-fight frieze from same temple. (A. S. photo. 2281.)

have been set to fight with a barrier between them. The earlier sculptures described by Mr. Garrick seem to be far superior in quality.

The most artistic object discovered by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar during his rambles

in Rājputāna—so fruitful in additions to historical knowledge—is the face looking out from a stone window in a wall of an old temple of the Sun at Vasantgarh in the Sirohi State (Fig. 148). Mr. Bhandarkar supposes it to date from the seventh century,[1] but, whatever its exact age, it is a beautiful work, and unique, to the best of my knowledge. The surrounding ornament is in an excellent style. This sculpture may be accepted with considerable confidence as an example of the work of the

Face in a window.



FIG. 148. Face in wall of temple, Vasantgaṛh.
(A. S. photo. 2671.)

school of the 'Ancient West' founded by Sringadhara of Mārwār (Jodhpur). In Chapter IX, Section I, reasons will be given for believing that Sringadhara lived in the middle of the seventh century.

Image of Kuvera.

An ancient town called Osia in the Jodhpur or Mārwār State possesses no less than twelve old temples, mostly referred by Mr. Bhandarkar to the eighth century. In one of these, No. 9, known as the shrine of Devī, is the image of Kuvera, the god of riches, which may be compared with the effigies of the same deity in Gandhāra and elsewhere (Fig. 149). As a work of art it does not rank high.[2]

[1] *Progr. Rep. A. S. W. I.*, 1905–6, pp. 51, 52.

[2] Ibid., 1906–7, p. 36.

Vishnu at Mathurā.

A beautifully wrought figure of Vishnu in the Mathurā Museum, about 26 inches in height, and presumably produced in the local workshops (Fig. 150), may be compared with the Konārak Vishnu (*ante*, Fig. 142). The two images, while largely in agreement, differ in a multitude of details.[1] The Mathurā figure, which evidently is ancient, is not likely to be later than the tenth century, the temples of the city having been burnt by Mahmūd of Ghaznī at the close of A.D. 1018.

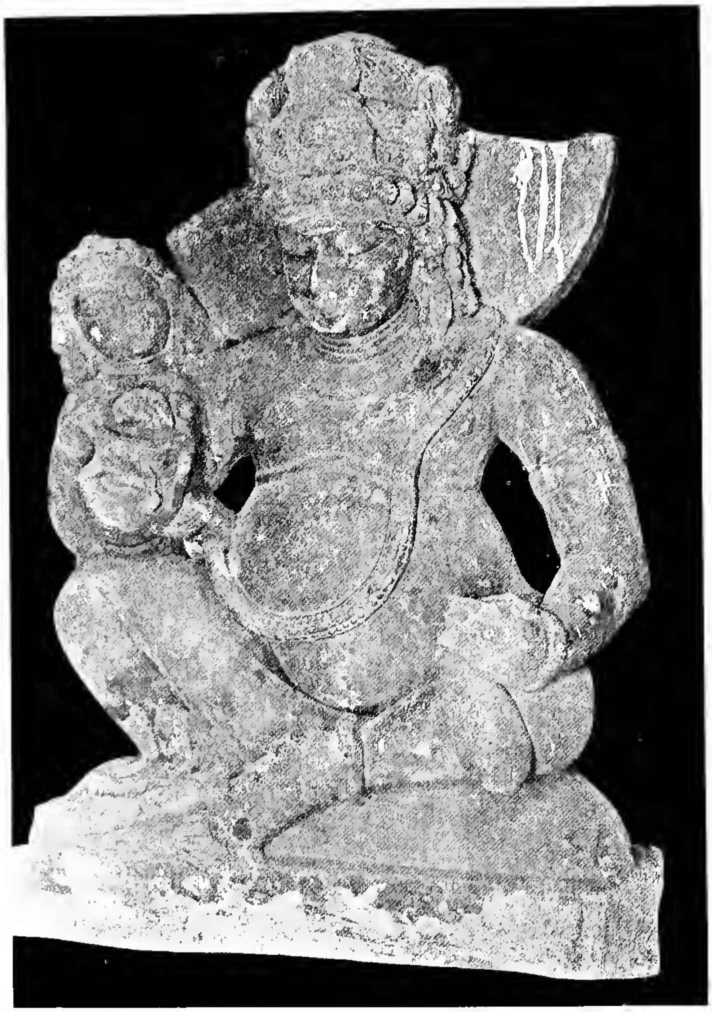


FIG. 149. Kuvera; Temple No. 9, Osia.
(Photo. No. 2831.)

Portrait bust.

Curious bearded images, seemingly portraits, occur in some of the Rājputāna temples. One of the most remarkable is the bust reproduced in Fig. 151, which adorns a pillar or pilaster of the temple of Undesvara Mahādeva at Bijolia in the

[1] At Panthia near Mandhātā, the ancient Māhishmatī, on the Narbadā, there are twenty-four different forms of Vishnu duly labelled and distinguished by variations in the attributes and position of the hands.

Mewār or Udaipur State, supposed to have been erected not later than the middle of the twelfth century. The beard is treated in the Egyptian manner.[1] Portrait statuary is more common in Rājputāna than elsewhere.



FIG. 150. Statuette of Vishnu; Mathurā Museum.
(A. S. photo. 48 of 1908–9.)

The two unrivalled Jain temples on Mount Ābū, the earlier built by Vimala Sāha in A. D. 1031, and the later by Tejpāl in A. D. 1230 (*ante*, p. 32, and Pls. VI and VII), have each at the entrance a chamber known as the 'elephant room'. Each of these rooms contains ten statues of elephants, said to be sculptured in every detail with exquisite

Elephant statues and riders at Mount Ābū.

[1] *Progr. Rep. A. S. W. I.*, 1904–5, p. 53.

care, which formerly carried riders. All the riders in the later building have disappeared, but inscribed slabs still existing record that the figures included portrait images of the founders, Vastupāla with two wives, and Tejpāl with his one wife, Anūpama. Some of the riders in Vimala Sāha's 'elephant room' appear to exist still, but I am not in a position to illustrate them.[1]



FIG. 151. Portrait bust; Bijolia, Mewār.
(A. S. photo. 2411.)

SECTION V. WESTERN INDIA.

The most important and characteristic examples of mediaeval sculpture in the west of India are to be found in the cave temples, which, small and great, number nearly a thousand. But for the purpose of illustration it will suffice to reproduce a few select specimens from the shrines at Bādāmī, Elūra (Ellora), and Elephanta, with two sculptures from temples of later date. The cave sculptures of interest range in date from the sixth to the eighth century. The best works in the structural temples may be assigned to the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The works of art are shared by all the three indigenous Indian religions—Brahmanical Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism. The Jain sculpture is so extremely formal and conventional that it possesses little interest, and the slight notice which it demands will be reserved for the concluding section of this chapter. The Buddhist and Brahmanical works are both numerous and very much alike in spirit and style. The spirit of the new art will be most easily understood from study of the Brahmanical, or apparently Brahmanical, sculptures, to which the few illustrations for which there is space will be restricted. In those days Buddhism was a dying

[1] *Imp. Gaz.*, s.v. Ābū.



PLATE XLII. Deities in Vaishnava cave, Bādāmī.
(Photo. 940, I. O. *List* = Pl. XXVI, *A. S. W. I.*, vol. i.)

faith, slowly perishing by absorption into the enveloping mass of Hinduism. The Brahmanical works of art exceed the Buddhist, not only in number but in merit. To Mr. Havell and Dr. Coomaraswamy the compositions in the cave temples are 'examples of the finest period of Hindu sculpture, from about the sixth to the eighth century, when orthodox Hinduism had triumphed over Buddhism'; but most European observers experience difficulty in appreciating the artistic qualities of those compositions. They are commonly so strange and monstrous, and very often so ugly, that an effort is needed to treat them seriously as fine art. Mr. Fry, commenting on Mr. Havell's book, is more appreciative than many writers: 'The free and picturesque composition from Ellora,' he says, 'representing "Ravana under the mountain of Kailāsa", complicated though it is, is held together by the dramatic beauty of movement of the figures of Siva and Parvati. The same dramatic vitality is apparent in the struggle between Narisinha and Hiranya-Kasipu, also from Ellora. Indeed, all the Ellora sculptures here reproduced appeal to the European eye by a relatively greater observance of the laws of co-ordination, and by an evidence of dramatic force which indicates that Indian art did not always convey its meaning in a strange tongue.'[1] To be judged fairly the sculptures should be seen in the mass and among their solemn surroundings. They undoubtedly suffer grievously by being excerpted in bits and reproduced in illustrations a few inches square. While fully conscious of the difficulties inherent in the attempt to illustrate the colossal and fantastic creations of the cave sculptors within the limits of an ordinary page, I have tried to select fairly a small number of examples generally recognized as among the best.

The cave temples at Bādāmī in the Bījāpur District, Bombay, exhibit among other decorations long sculptured story-telling friezes, extremely curious, but so clumsily executed as hardly to deserve the name of works of art. They date from the closing years of the sixth century.[2] From an artistic point of view the bracket figures of a god and goddess on the top of a pilaster, as shown in Plate XLII, are by far the best things at Bādāmī. They have the great merit of not being ugly, and are within measurable distance of being beautiful, but lack the vitality of the early Buddhist art, or even of the nearly contemporary Gupta art in Northern India.

The repulsive nature of the subjects often chosen by the cave sculptors is well exemplified by the Bhairava and Kālī group in the *Das Avatār*, or 'Ten Incarnations' temple at Elūra (Ellora), dating from about A.D. 700 (Pl. XLIII), described by Dr. Burgess as follows:—

'Beginning on the north side with the Saiva sculptures—the first from the door is Bhairava or Mahādeva in his terrible form; and a more vivid picture of the terrific a very diseased imagination only could embody. The gigantic figure lounges forward holding up his elephant-hide, with necklace of skulls (*muṇḍmālā*) depending below his loins; round him a cobra is knotted, his open mouth showing large teeth, while

[1] *Quart. Rev.*, 1910, p. 235.

[2] Described, and illustrated with other sculptures, by seven plates in *Ind. Ant.*, vi, pp. 354–66. They are of much interest for reasons other than aesthetic.



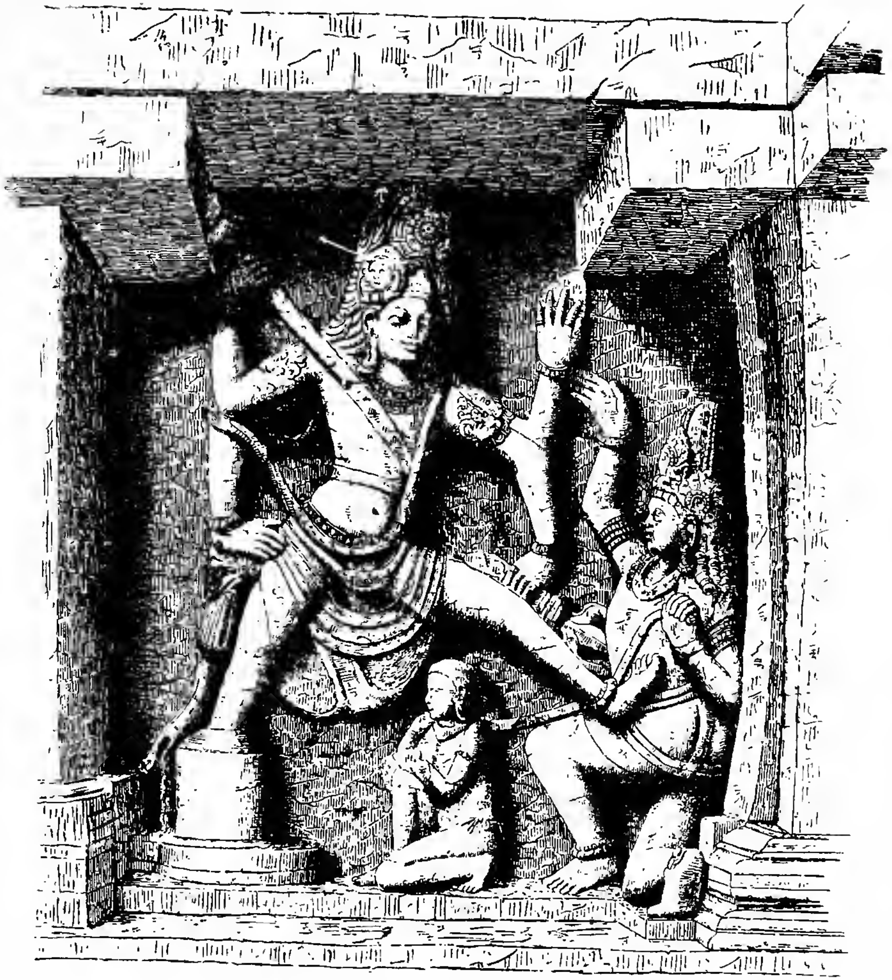
PLATE XLIII. Bhairava; Dasāvatār Cave, Elūra.
(Photo. 1371, I. O. *List* = Pl. XXII. 2, *A. S. W. I.*, vol. v.)

with his *triśūla* [trident] he has transfixed one victim, who, writhing on its prongs, seems to supplicate pity from the pitiless; while he holds another by the heels with one of his left hands, raising the *damru* [small drum] as if to rattle it in joy, while he catches the blood with which to quench his demon thirst. To add to the elements of horror, Kālī, gaunt and grim, stretches her skeleton length below, with huge



FIG. 152. Siva dancing; in Lankeśvara-Kailās temple.
(*A. S. W. I.*, vol. v, p. 32, Pl. XXIX, 2; from a drawing by H. Cousens.)

mouth, bushy hair, and sunken eyeballs, having a crooked knife in her right hand, and reaching out the other with a bowl, as if eager to share in the gore of its [*sic*] victim; behind her head is the owl [one species is called Bhairava], the symbol of destruction, or a vampire, as fit witness of the scene. On the right, in front of the skeleton, is Pārvatī; and higher up, near the feet of the victim Ratnāsura, is a grinning face



A. Das Avatār Cave, Elūra, *cir.* 700 A.D.



B. Kailās temple, Elūra, *cir.* 775 A.D.

PLATE XLIV. Rescue of Mārkandeya by Siva.
(*A. S. W. I.*, vol. v, Pl. XXIV; from drawings by H. Cousens.)

drawing out its tongue. Altogether the group is a picture of the devilish; the very armlets Bhairava wears are ogre faces.' [1]

The religion which finds expression in imagery so truly devilish is not a pleasant subject of contemplation, and no amount of executive skill or cleverness in the production of scenic effect can justify, on aesthetic grounds, such a composition, which is frankly hideous. Its claim to be considered a work of art rests solely upon its display of power in a semi-barbaric fashion. The horror of the subject and its treatment is not redeemed by any apparent ethical lesson. Indeed Puranic and Tantric Hinduism (including late Buddhism) concerns itself little with ethics. The earlier Buddhism, as a religion, busied itself mainly with morals, and consciously aimed at 'the welfare and happiness of all creatures', a noble ideal which found its utterance in art. In Brahmanical Hinduism of all varieties each man seeks at the most his own personal salvation, and so Brahmanical art seldom exhibits a trace of human sympathy, a defect dearly purchased by its much praised idealism.



FIG. 153. Vishnu taking the third stride; Cave 16, Elūra. (Photo. supplied by Prof. Macdonell.)

A subject rarely represented in sculpture, the rescue by the god Siva of his worshipper Mārkandeya from the clutches of the messenger of Yama, god of death, appears twice at Elūra, and is treated with less grimness than the Bhairava group. The earlier composition in the Das Avatār Cave (Plate XLIV, Fig. A) is more vigorous than that at the Kailās (Fig. B), half a century or more later in date. The two groups may be considered to be favourable specimens of the cave sculpture in its milder forms.

The sculptures in the Lankesvara section of the Kailās temple are commended as having been 'executed with great care and minute detail'. The best known, and perhaps the most meritorious, is that exhibiting Siva performing the Tāndava dance (Fig. 152), a work remarkable for the good modelling of the principal image, and the scrupulous exactitude of the carving.

A good Vishnu at Elūra is shown in Fig. 153. The god is imagined as striding through the seven regions of the universe in three steps, and is here shown as taking the third step.

[1] Fergusson and Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, p. 346 (1880).

The famous caves on the island of Elephanta in Bombay Harbour are supposed to date from the eighth century. The colossal sculptures, imposing and effective when viewed in the recesses of the caverns, are not of a very high class of art, and do not bear reproduction in detail well. The first of the two specimens selected is the favourite subject of the marriage of Siva with Pārvatī (Fig. 154); and the second is the representation of Siva as the Great Ascetic (Fig. 155), which may be compared with the far finer Gupta treatment of the same subject (*ante*, Pl. XXXIV). The Elephanta Siva is merely a modified squatting Buddha in an inferior style. The extremely intimate relation which existed between the Siva worship of the Brahmanical Hindus Siva at Elephanta.



FIG. 154. Marriage of Siva and Pārvatī; Elephanta.
(I. O. *List*, photo. No. 1314.)

and the mediaeval cult of the Tantric Buddhists has been mentioned already more than once. The subject was treated in a special essay written in 1828 by Brian Hodgson, who, when Resident in Nepāl, showed a picture of the famous Trimūrti, or three-headed god, at Elephanta to a 'well-informed old Bauddha [Buddhist]'. He promptly 'recognized it as a genuine Bauddha image! As he did many others, declared by our writers to be Saiva.'[1] It is quite possible that some of the so-called Brahmanical caves of Western India may be Buddhist in reality.

The Brahmanical structural temple at Amarnāth (Ambarnāth) in the Thāna District, thirty-eight miles from Bombay, dating probably from the eleventh century, was minutely surveyed in 1868–9. According to the *Gazetteer*, 'The sculpture both Sculptures at Amarnāth, Thāna District.

[1] *Or. Qu. Mag.*, vii, 218 *seqq.*; *Languages, &c., of Nepāl*, 133 *seqq.*, as quoted by Sir R. Temple in *Ind. Ant.*, xxii, p. 363.

on the pillars of the hall and round the whole of the outside shows a degree of skill that is not surpassed on any temple in the Bombay Presidency.' It has the extravagant character common to the productions of the age. One illustration may be given (Fig. 157). It is a poor thing, but as good as anything else in the building.[1]

The twelfth-century temple at Karvati (Kiruvatti), Dhārwār District, Bombay, is richly adorned with florid sculpture, represented at its best by the bracket statuette (Fig. 156). The scroll device is better suited for execution in metal than in stone. The ancient 'Atlas' motive may be observed.

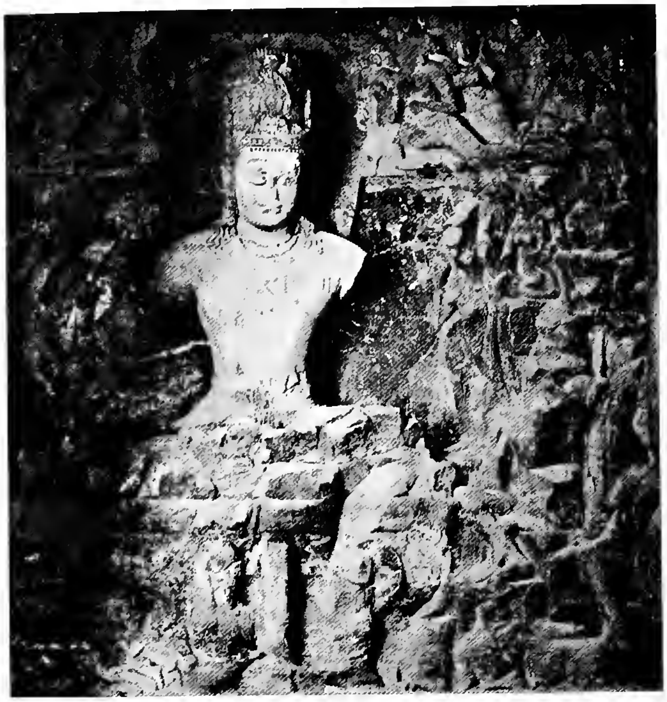


FIG. 155. Siva as the Great Ascetic; Elephanta.
(I. O. *List*, photo. No. 1319.)

Certain other sculptures may be briefly mentioned. At the temple of the Sun at Thān in Kāthiāwār, images believed to date from the seventh century are described as being in high relief, almost detached, well proportioned and posed, with vigorous expression, and generally resembling the bold and heavy work of the cave-temples. The sandstone carvings of many deities at the Navalākhā temple of Sejakpur near Thān are praised as being 'crisp'; and the full-length lions or griffins at the temple of Muni Bāva, south of Thān, resembling the *yālis* of Dravidian shrines, are an unusual feature in the west.[2] Mr. Cousens also mentions an image of Hari-Hara lying on the Purandhar Hill, Poona District, probably of the eleventh or twelfth century, as being richly designed and well carved, a fine example of the 'best period of work'.[3]

[1] *Imp. Gaz.* (1908), *s.v.* Amarnāth; *Bomb. Gaz.*, vol. xiv, pp. 2–8; *Ind. Ant.*, iii, 316 *seqq.*, with plates.

[2] *Progr. Rep. A. S. W. I.*, 1898–9, p. 3.

[3] Ibid., 1899–1900, p. 8.



FIG. 156. Bracket statuette; Karvati temple.
(Photo. 1951, I. M. *List.*)

It seems to be clear that, except in the cave-temples, the amount of mediaeval sculpture in the Bombay Presidency with any claim to considerable artistic merit is not large.



FIG. 157. Brahmā and Sarasvatī; Amarnāth.
(Photo. 877, I. O. *List*.)

SECTION VI. SOUTHERN INDIA.

A. *Stone.*

Character of Southern sculpture.

The arts of sculpture and decorative carving in stone continued to be practised in India to the south of the Narbadā under the patronage of many dynasties throughout the mediaeval period, and even to this day are cultivated with considerable success whenever encouragement on an adequate scale is offered. But, excepting certain Chola statuary of the eleventh century, which is pre-eminently excellent, the Southern figure sculpture does not often attain high quality. In quantity it is enormous, the gigantic temples and halls characteristic of the Dravidian kingdoms being commonly overloaded with sculptured ornament on every member. Mythological subjects from the Puranas and Tantras are the favourites, and the tendency is to treat the conceptions of a luxuriant mythology with exuberant fancy, insufficiently



PLATE XLV. Durgā and Mahishāsura relief, Māmallapuram.
(Photo. 1959, I. O. *List.*)

restrained by good taste. The result too often is merely grotesque, and very few of the individual images can claim to be beautiful. Naturalistic representations are rare, and the general effect is bizarre, with a tinge of barbarism.

The purely decorative designs carved on the twelfth-century Chalukya and Hoysala temples are unsurpassed, but the statuary of the same buildings is conventional and rarely of much merit.

The illustrations following have been selected with the purpose of exhibiting the best specimens of Southern stone sculpture in all kinds from the seventh century to the present day.

The series begins with the statuary and reliefs executed during the seventh century under the patronage of the Pallava dynasty of Kānchī (Conjeeveram). The next important group of works consists of the Chola sculpture of the eleventh century. From that we pass on to the ornate styles patronized by the Hoysala and Chalukya kings of the Deccan, chiefly in the twelfth century. Our attention will then be claimed by the sumptuous, semi-barbaric art of the Vijayanagar dynasty in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; which is succeeded by the lavish, but too often tasteless, decoration of the huge temples erected in the Tamil countries during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and, in conclusion, a few words will be devoted to the clever modern eclectic sculpture executed to the command of the Mahārāja of Mysore. The bronzes and brasses are of sufficient importance to justify their discussion in a short separate section.

During the seventh century the kings of the mysterious Pallava dynasty of Kānchī (Conjeeveram) succeeded in making themselves the dominant power in Southern India, overshadowing the ancient Chola, Chera, and Pāndya dynasties of the Tamil region, and, for a time, obscuring the glory of the powerful Chalukya sovereigns of the Deccan. The Pallava king named Mahendra-varman I (*cir.* 600–625 A.D.), a great builder, is responsible for many rock-cut temples in the North Arcot, South Arcot, Chingleput, and Trichinopoly Districts. The earliest *rathas*, or monolithic shrines, at Māmallapuram, or the Seven Pagodas, also probably should be ascribed to his reign. His son, Narasimha-varman I, surnamed Mahāmalla, the most mighty prince of his line, gave his name to Māmallapuram, and constructed, or rather caused to be excavated, some of the *rathas* at that place. The family taste for architecture survived in the descendants of Narasimha-varman, the so-called 'Shore Temple' at Māmallapuram and the early structural temples at Kānchī being ascribed partly to his great-grandson, Rājasimha, and partly to Rājasimha's sons (*ante*, p. 36).

The most notable remains of Pallava art are those dating from the seventh and eighth centuries at Māmallapuram, which include, besides the well-known *rathas*, numerous less familiar monuments, comprising temples, statues in the round, and gigantic sculptures in relief carved on the face of the rocks. Among the sculptures in the round mention may be made of a lion, seven feet in length, which is said to be well-proportioned and of a noble appearance.

Several authors concur in the opinion that the most artistic of the reliefs is the great composition depicting the victory of the Good, represented by the goddess

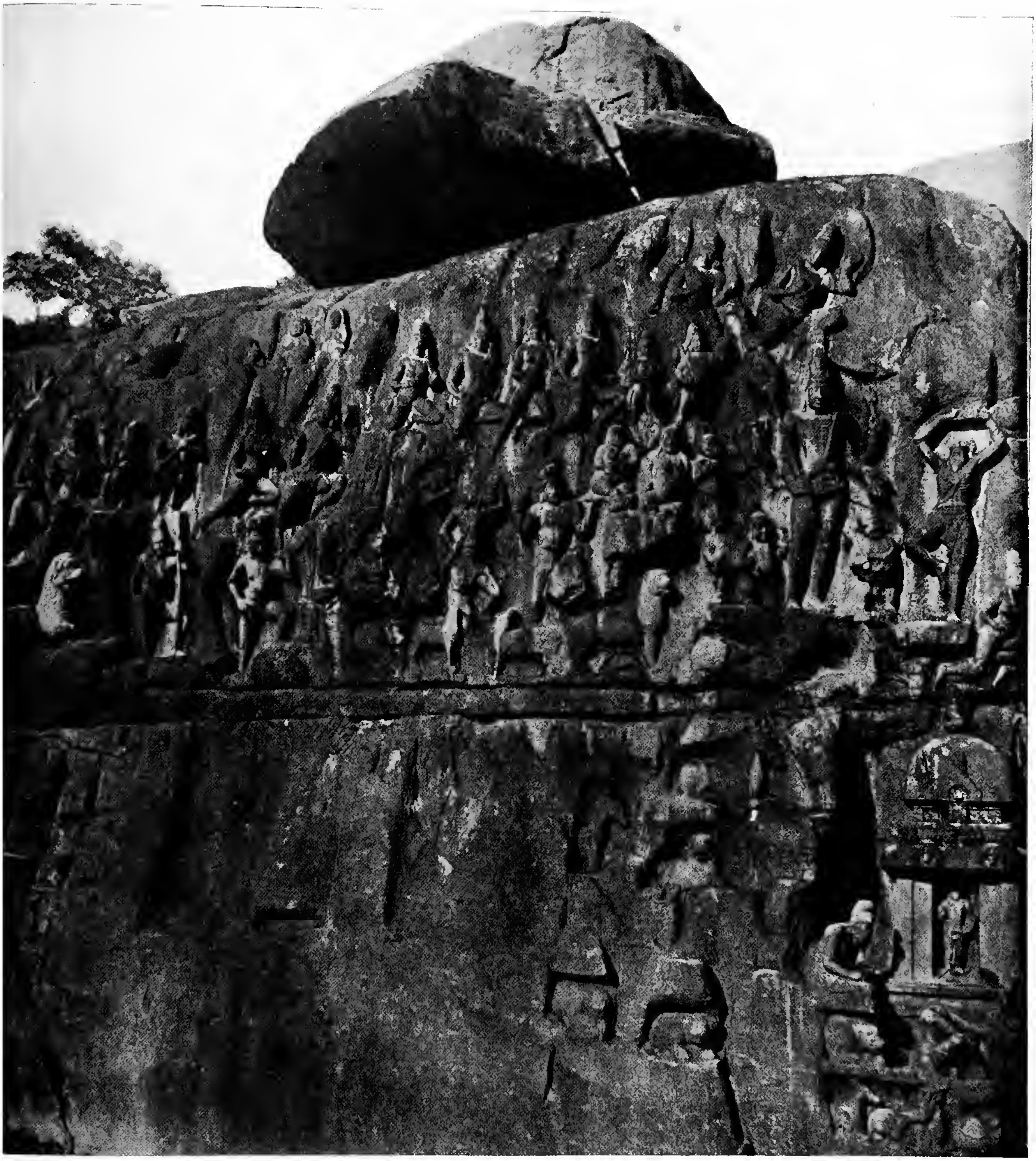


PLATE XLVI. Rock-sculpture, 'Arjuna's Penance' (right side), at Māmallapur, Chingleput District. (Photo. 1156, A. S., Publ. in *J. I. A. I.*, vol. x, Pl. 85.)

Durgā mounted on a lion, over evil personified in the buffalo-headed demon, Mahishāsura (Plate XLV). The scene undoubtedly is full of life and movement, and the goddess is a dignified figure. I am inclined to prefer this work to anything at Elūra, but the general effect is not pleasing.

A huge relief picture, covering a sheet of rock 96 feet in length and 43 in breadth, depicts incidents in the story of the Pāndava hero, Arjuna, as told in the *Mahābhārata* epic. The poet relates that the hero, in order to obtain the magic weapon needed for the overthrow of his enemies, made a pilgrimage to the inmost recesses of the



FIG. 158. Sculpture of Pallava period (? 7th cent.) at Trichinopoly. (Photo. 87, A. S.)

Himalayas, and there performed the most severe austerities until he wrung the desired boon from the reluctant gods. 'During the fourth month,' we are told,

'he did not eat at all, but completed his penance by standing on the tip of his great toe, the other leg being lifted from the ground, and his hands raised above his head.'

This uncomfortable experience is clearly set forth in the relief, the right-hand half of which is reproduced in Plate XLVI. The old worshipper lower down is the Brahman Drona. Some life-like figures of elephants are under the proper left half of the relief, not reproduced here. The picture is designed for edification rather than as a work of art, and is therefore lacking in composition. It is much cor-

roded by the sea air, and when allowance is made for that, some of the individual figures seem to possess a certain amount of aesthetic merit.[1]

Another and smaller relief of Pallava age at Trichinopoly (Fig. 158) seems to be of earlier date and is in a better style of art. This group, consisting of five large figures, in addition to the crouching dwarf on whose hand the central deity, apparently a form of Siva, rests his right foot, is symmetrically composed, due prominence being given to the god, who stands in a natural and easy attitude. He has four arms, but only two are prominent, and all the other figures are quite free from monstrosity. The kneeling worshippers are excellently modelled and pleasing in appearance. The style, in fact, is much more akin to that of the Gupta age in Northern India than to the sculpture commonly seen in the South, and is so restrained that I am disposed to refer the group to the earliest possible date, about the beginning of the seventh century, and to suggest that it *may* be the work of a northern artist.

Two spirited bas-relief sculptures from Mysore territory, now in the Bangalore Museum, although too crude to rank as fine art, perhaps deserve passing mention. The first, on the Begūr stone, dating from about A.D. 934-8, gives a vivid picture of a battle between the force commanded by a chief mounted on an elephant and another led by a rival on horseback. The second, on the Ātakūr stone dated A.D. 949–50, commemorating a set fight between a mighty hound and a great boar in which both combatants were killed, represents an incident in the struggle, the hound having his teeth fixed in the boar's snout.[2] The design is better than the execution.

The Cholas, who succeeded the Pallavas as the paramount power in the South, may be said to have filled the principal places in the Tamil countries with their edifices, religious and secular, all richly sculptured. Rājarāja the Great (985–1018), the most famous king of a capable dynasty, extended his power over nearly the whole of the Madras Presidency, Ceylon, and a large part of Mysore, while his navy ranged as far as the Laccadive and Maldive islands. A king so powerful and wealthy naturally spent freely on building, and the world owes to him the temple at Tanjore, his capital, the best designed of all the great South Indian temples (*ante*, p. 38).

[1] Hindus believe that the gods are powerless to resist the prayers of a penitent who performs exceptional acts of austerity. The correct name of the place is Māmalla-puram, 'the town of Mahāmalla,' or Narasimha-varman I. The forms Mahābalipur, Mahavellipore, &c., in common use are corruptions based on a false etymology. No modern scientific account of the ruins exists. The Madras Government issued in 1869 an atlas folio illustrated volume containing reprints of several old descriptions, and the same documents were also printed in octavo without the plates. A Hindu author in the book gives the mythological key to the various sculptures. The story of the penance is in *Mahābh.*, *Vana parva*, Calcutta ed., p. 463. The whole relief is reproduced in Pl. I of the Madras compilation from a careful drawing made some years prior to 1828. The only trustworthy authority for the history is Mr. Venkayya's article 'The Pallavas' in *Ann. Rep. A. S., India* 1906–7, pp. 217–43.

[2] Fleet, 'Three Western Ganga Records in the Mysore Government Museum at Bangalore' (*Ep Ind.*, vi, p. 40, with plates). A larger photograph of the Begūr stone in *Ep. Carnatica*, vol. xi, frontispiece.

His son and successor, Rājendra-Choladeva I, surnamed Gangaikonda (1018–35), continued and extended Rājarāja's victories by sea and land. In memory of the subjugation of the Ganga territory in Mysore, or, as others say, to commemorate his march northwards as far as the Ganges, Rājendra built a new capital, Gangaikonda-Cholapuram, in the Trichinopoly District, and constructed there an enormous artificial lake with an embankment sixteen miles long. The principal temple, de-

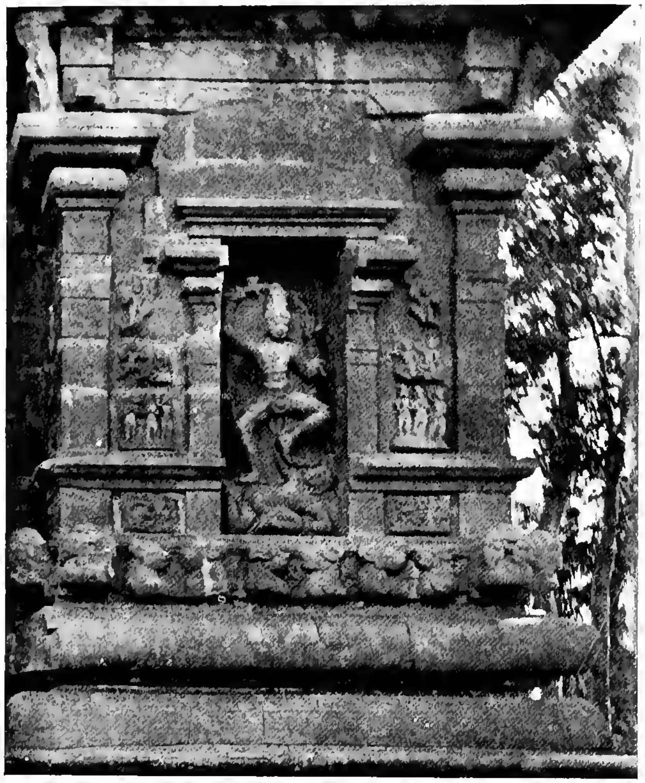


FIG. 159. Siva dancing; on north wall of great temple at Gangaikoṇḍa-Choḷapuram. (Photo. 40, Archaeological Survey.)

signed on the noble model of the Tanjore temple, enshrined a huge monolithic lingam, thirty feet high, and the precincts of the city included a palace and many other notable buildings, now either vanished or in complete ruin. The sculptures in panels on the walls of the great temple are remarkable for their elegance and beauty, which may compare with the merits of the best sculpture in Java.[1]

So far as I am aware, the three specimens now illustrated in Figs. 159, 160, 161 are the first to be published illustrating these beautiful reliefs. The image of Siva performing the Tāndava dance (Fig. 159) should be compared with the bronze

[1] Rājendra-Choladeva I possessed a powerful fleet, by the aid of which he conquered Pegu. It is possible that he may have imported Javanese artists. In his time the Boro-Būdūr reliefs were nearly new, and their fame may have reached his ears. Or, again, the Javanese artists may have come from the Trichinopoly District.

representations of the same subject as illustrated and explained in later sections of this chapter. The extra arms are so cleverly managed as to be hardly noticeable. The next illustration (Fig. 160) of Siva caressing Pārvatī is curious. In the third example (Fig. 161) the treatment of Siva's image reminds me of the best Javanese work, and I am not sure that it may not be superior to that. The whole figure, body, limbs, and head, is modelled with exceptional skill, and the expression of the face is pleasing. This group, in my judgement, is one of the



FIG. 160. God and goddess (Siva and Pārvatī); on north wall of great temple at Gangaikoṇḍa-Choḷapuram. (Photo. 43, A. S.)

finest sculptures of any period extant in any part of India. Apparently a considerable volume might be devoted with advantage to the illustration of the sculptures at Gangaikonda-Cholapuram.[1] The simplicity and good taste of the architectural decoration deserve special notice.

The architecture and sculpture of the temple at Dārāsuram in the Tanjore

[1] The modern village (11° 12′ N., 79° 28′ E.) is known by the abbreviated name Gangaikonda-puram. A summary account of the ruins will be found in *Imp. Gaz.* (1908), *s. v.* Gangaikonda-puram. No full description has been published.

District closely resemble those of the temple at Gangaikonda-Cholapuram, and must be of approximately the same age. The subject illustrated in Fig. 162 is labelled 'Rāvana's Penance' by the Archaeological Survey.

The excessively exuberant, and yet fascinating, massed architectural sculpture of the Mysore temples built by the Hoysala kings in the twelfth century has been



FIG. 161. Siva and Pārvatī; on north wall of great temple at Gangaikoṇḍa-Choḷapuram, Trichinopoly District.
(Photo. No. 39, A. S.)

already illustrated sufficiently in Plate X (*ante*, p. 41). The artists who designed such enormous sheets of rich sculpture aimed at producing an imposing effect by the splendour of a mass of carvings of the highest complexity, rather than by inviting attention to individual figures. Nevertheless, the individual figures will bear examination in detail, the elephants especially being exquisitely true to nature. The gods and human figures are less satisfactory. As already observed

(*ante*, p. 44), many of the larger statues of the Mysore temples are signed by the artists, but archaeological explorers and writers have been too busy with other matters to reproduce examples of such signed images; the numerous photographs prepared by the Survey being devoted to giving views of façades rather than studies of sculpture. I am therefore not in a position to illustrate the signed statues, or to distinguish the styles of individual artists.

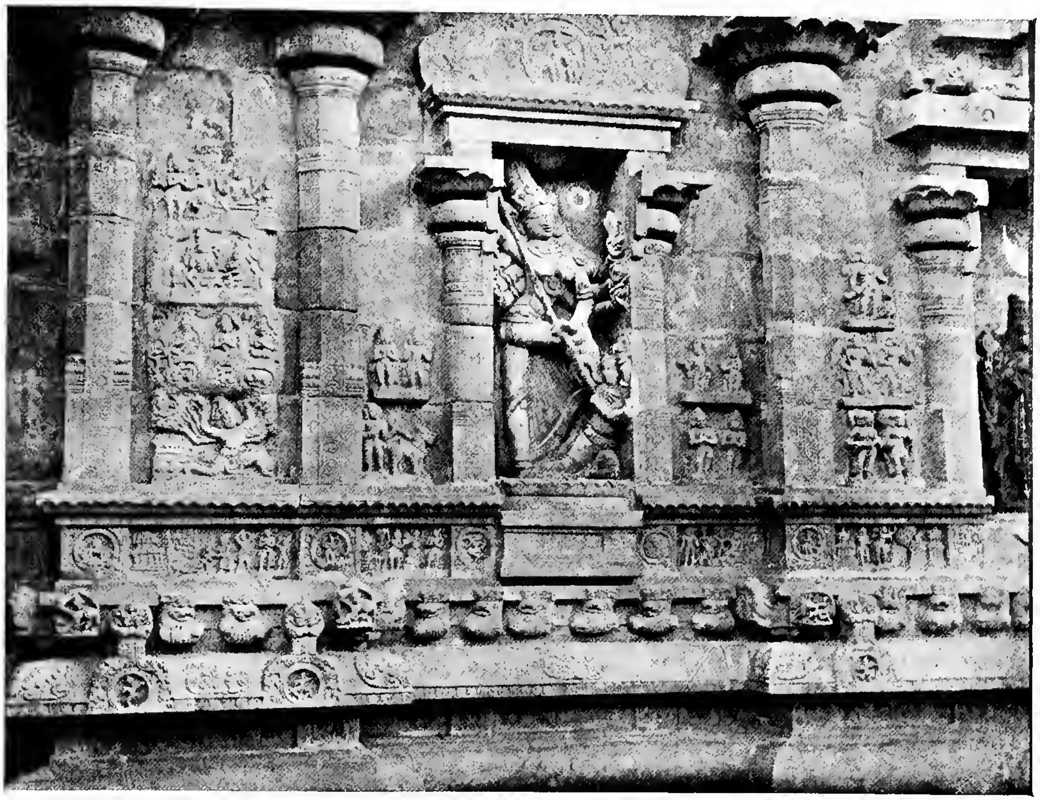


FIG. 162. 'Rāvaṇa's Penance'; on temple at Dārāsuram, Tanjore District. (Photo. 20, A. S.)

The approximately contemporary temples erected in the Bellary District, Madras, under the patronage of the Chalukyan kings are remarkable for the unequalled richness and delicacy of their deeply undercut decorative carving (*ante*, p. 44, Fig. 16).

The figure sculpture is far inferior, and, notwithstanding the perfection of its mechanical execution, is generally conventional in design and semi-barbarous in style.

Perhaps the best example is that shown in Fig. 163, which, although it cannot be given high rank as fine art, is pleasing as a decorative design, and further interesting as including a late survival of the ancient Hellenistic Atlas motive so common in Gandhāra art.

The scroll from the Harihareswara temple in the same District is also an interesting survival of an ancient motive, fairly good in design (Fig. 164).

The subjoined design from the Malikārjuna temple at Kuruvatti (Fig. 165) is

a beautifully executed example of the *makara torana*, or 'dragon-arch' common in Ceylonese art. The perfect drawing of the curves is possible only for draughtsmen rigorously trained on the system explained by Dr. Coomaraswamy (*ante*, p. 167, Pl. XXXVII A).

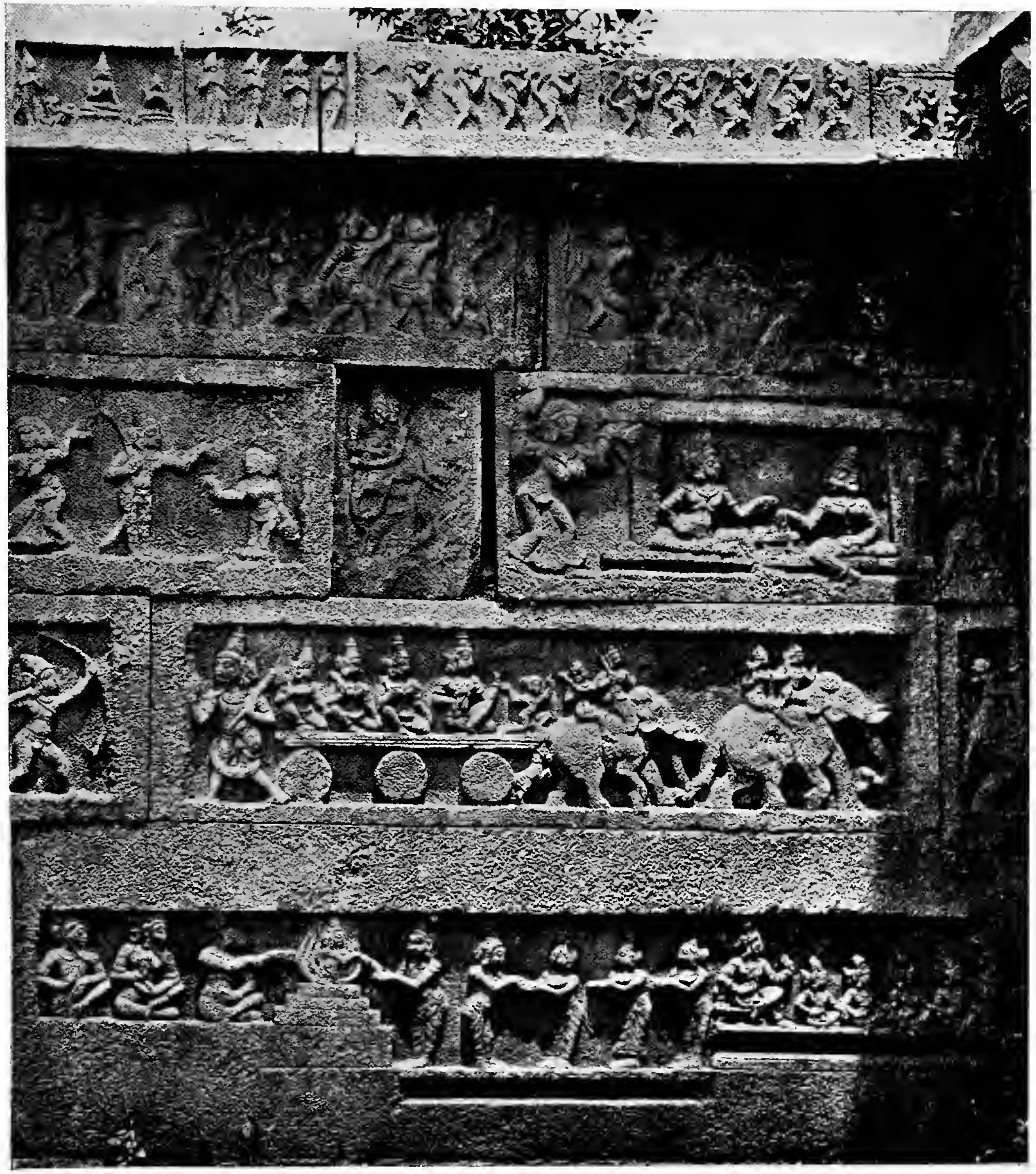
In the year 1336 two Hindu brothers established a principality with its capital at Vijayanagar on the Tungabhadra river (15° 20′ N., 76° 28′ E.), which rapidly developed into an empire comprising all Southern India beyond the Krishnā (Kistna). The state attained the height of its prosperity early in the sixteenth century during the reign of Krishna Deva Rāya, the contemporary of Henry VIII of England, and stoutly maintained the Hindu cause against the Muslim Sultans of the Deccan until 1565, when the hosts of the Rāya were utterly defeated by the combined forces of the Muhammadan princes, and the capital was taken. The victors devoted their energies for five months to the deliberate destruction of the city, heaping up bonfires round the principal monuments, and hacking and mutilating the graven images. They succeeded in converting one of the richest and most splendid capitals of Asia into the abode of wild beasts, which has remained desolate to this day, save for the huts of a tiny hamlet nestling amidst the ruins.



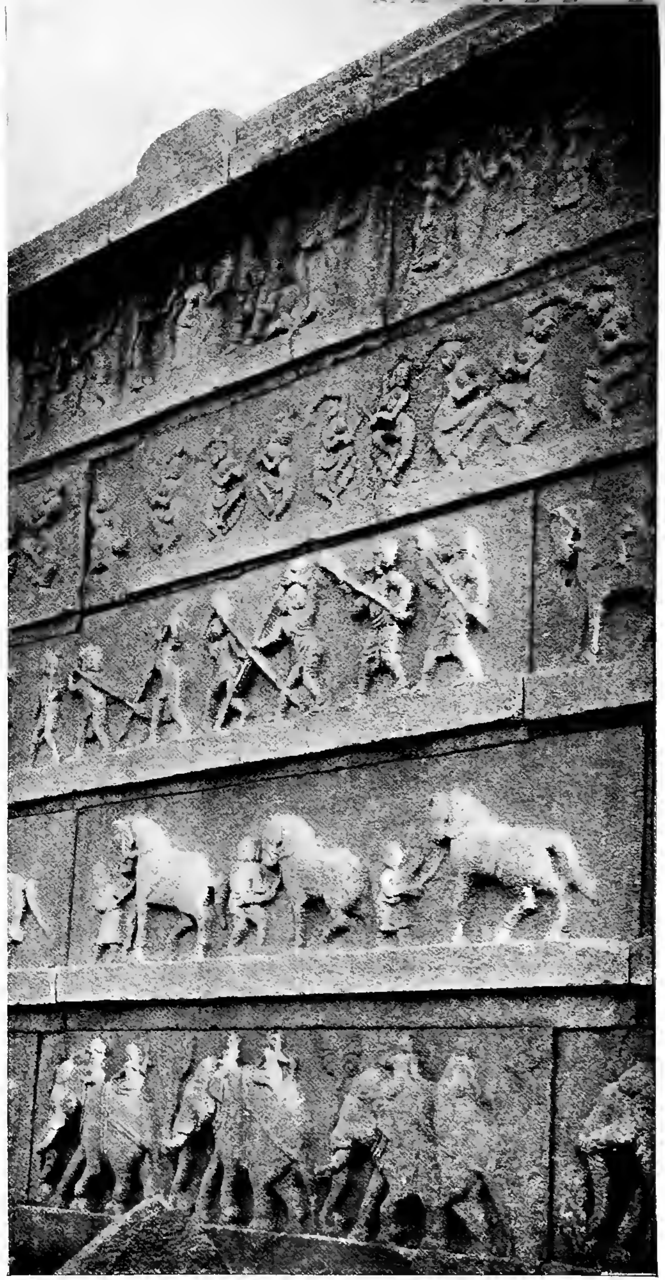
FIG. 163. Bracket figure over capital of east door of Malikārjuna temple, Kuruvatti, Bellary District.
(Rea, *Chalukyan Architecture*, Pl. LXVIII, Fig. 2 = Photo. 1844, I. O. *List*.)

The actual site of the city covers an area of nine square miles, but the fortifications and outposts include a space far larger. In the days of its greatness the capital was filled with magnificent granite edifices erected by forced labour, and adorned in the most lavish manner with every form of decoration agreeable to the taste of a semi-barbaric court. The extant detailed accounts of the glories of Vijayanagar in the sixteenth century recall the familiar stories of the Aztec capital as it was seen by its Spanish conquerors, the administration of both courts combining unbridled luxury with ferocious cruelty.

The semi-barbarism of the court is reflected in the forms of art. The giant monolithic Man-lion (Narasimha) statue, 22 feet high, and the huge Monkey-god Hanumān, although wrought with exquisite finish, are hideous inartistic monsters; and the sculpture generally, however perfect in mechanical execution, is lacking in beauty and refinement.



A. Part of relief sculpture; Hazāra Rāma temple, Vijayanagar.
(Photo. 1629, I. O. *List.*)



B. Ditto.
(Photo. 1630, I. O. *List.*)

PLATE XLVII. Rāmāyana reliefs, Vijayanagar.

In the palace enclosure the most striking building is the temple known as Hazāra Rāmaswāmī, 'the Thousand Lord Rāmas,' used by the old kings as their Chapel Royal. The walls of the courtyard of this edifice are covered with bas-reliefs



FIG. 164. Scroll, Harihareśvara temple, Bellary District. (Rea, *Chalukyan Architecture*, Pl. CXIII, Fig. 2.)

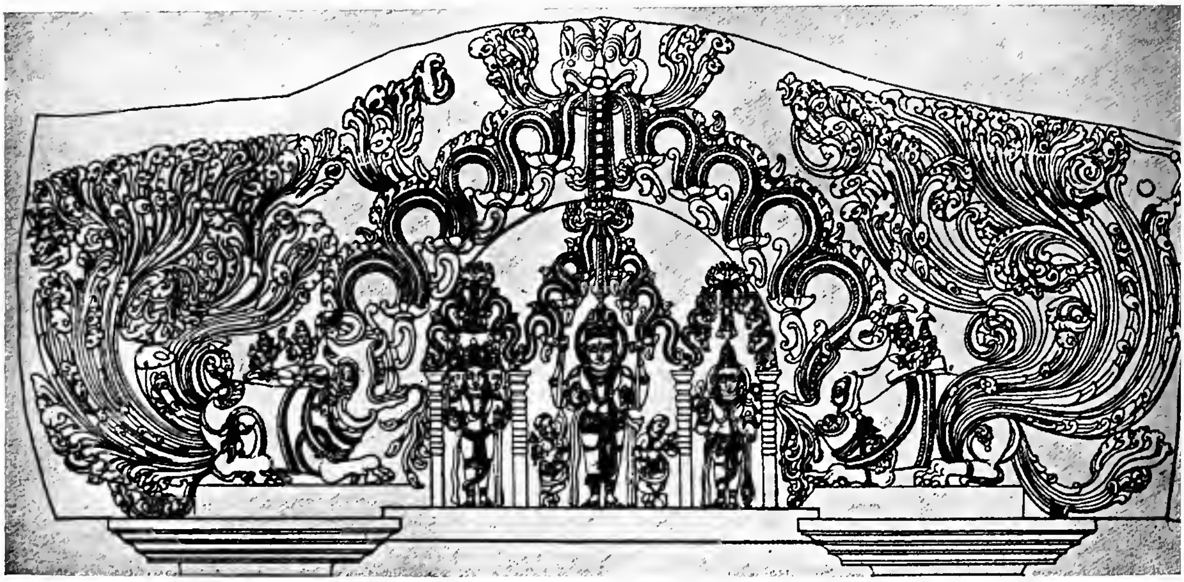


FIG. 165. *Makara toraṇa* (arch), Malikārjuna temple, Kuruvatti. (Rea, *Chalukyan Architecture*, Pl. LXII, Fig. 1.)

depicting scenes from the *Rāmāyana* epic, described by Mr. Rea as being 'beautifully executed and carved with great life and spirit'. The specimens illustrated in Plate XLVII, figures A and B will show how far such praise is justified.[1]

[1] For the history see Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar), a Contribution to the History of India* (1900), a valuable and deeply interesting book. A photograph of the Man-lion faces p. 163. The Monkey-god forms the frontispiece to Meadows Taylor and Fergusson, *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore* (atlas fol., 1866). The whole of the *Rāmāyana* reliefs is given in Plates LXVIII, LXIX of that work.

One of the most notable of the ruins is the temple of Vishnu under the name of Vitthalaswāmī, begun early in the sixteenth century, and still unfinished when the city fell in 1565, never to rise again. The great hall in front of the shrine

'rests on a richly sculptured basement, and its roof is supported by huge masses of granite, 15 feet high, each consisting of a central pillar surrounded by detached shafts, figures mounted on demons, and other ornament, all cut from a single block of stone. These are surmounted by an elaborate and equally massive cornice; and the whole is carved with a boldness and expression of power nowhere surpassed in the buildings of its class, showing the extreme limit in florid magnificence to which the style advanced. This beautiful building has been grievously injured by the destroyers of the city. Several of the carved pillars have been attacked with such fury that they are hardly more than shapeless blocks of stone, and a large portion of the centre has been destroyed utterly.' (*Imp. Gaz.*)



FIG. 166. Part of jamb of N. *gopura*, Tārpatri temple, Anantapur District. (Photo. 2505, I. O. *List.*)

The sculptures on the walls of the throne are also commended, but no illustrations of the works referred to have been published.

The best examples of the Vijayanagar style are to be found, perhaps, not at the capital, but at Tārpatri (Tāḍpatri), Anantapur District, Madras, in *gopuras* (gateways) erected during the sixteenth century by a prince subordinate to the kings of Vijayanagar. Fergusson, who devoted two full-page plates to the illustration of the Tārpatri greenstone sculptures, judged them to be 'on the whole, perhaps, in better taste than anything else in this style'. One specimen may be offered (Fig. 166).[1] The old motive of the woman standing under the tree is treated in a novel manner with great skill. A new temple at Tārpatri is adorned with elaboration equal to that of the old one; but, although the decorative carving is good, the figure sculpture is grotesque and contemptible. The work has been fully illustrated by Mr. Rea in his book, *Stone Carving and Inlaying in Southern India.*

The Margasahayar temple at Virinchipuram in the North Arcot District, $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the west of Vellore, is believed to have been erected late in the fifteenth century, while the district was included in the dominions of Vijayanagar. One of the columns offers a good example of the *yāli*, or con-

[1] The Workmans consider the two unfinished *gopuras*, or gateways, to be the finest in India from an artistic point of view. The one at the entrance of the temple is fast going to pieces. 'The scroll-work is varied and executed in the best manner, and the animal figures, particularly those of the elephants and monkeys, are admirable. The sides have highly decorated niches supported by graceful plantain columns' (*Through Town and Jungle*, p. 115). A plate of the 'river *gopura*' and *choultri* faces p. 116.

ventional rampant lion, an effective, bold form of decoration very fashionable and characteristic of the country in both S. India and Ceylon during mediaeval times. The lion, about 5½ feet in height, is designed and executed with spirit (Fig. 167).

The statue of a goddess on the entrance of the temple of Venkata-ramana-svāmī at the famous fortress of Jinjī (Gingee) in the South Arcot District, probably built during the time of the Vijayanagar rule a little before or after A. D. 1500, is of special interest as proving, like the Tārpatri figures, the persistence of a very ancient motive, common in Gandhāra and Mathurā art (*ante*, p. 117, Fig. 67). This late southern example preserves all the essentials of the design—the female figure, the crossed legs, the raised right arm, and the left arm twined round the stem, but it is needless to point out how the treatment at Jinjī differs from that in vogue at Peshāwar some fourteen centuries earlier (Fig. 168).



FIG. 167. *Yāli*, or rampant lion, in Vijayanagar style, at Virinchipuram. (From A. S. drawing.)



FIG. 168. Female figure at Jinjī (Gingee), S. Arcot, *cir.* A.D. 1500. (From A. S. drawing.)

The palace of the Udaiyār-pālaiyam zemindār in the Trichinopoly District contains some good figure and decorative sculpture associated with Indo-Muhammadan architecture, and evidently not older than the seventeenth century. It is executed in a rather soft stone. My attention was drawn to the sculptures by the remarks of Mr. J. P. Bedford, I.C.S., who made a communication to the Archaeological Survey and wrote :—

'One of the big halls is in general design something after the fashion of Tirumal Nāik's famous hall in Madura; but the spandrels of the arches are one mass of carving of birds, flowers, &c., showing extraordinary fancy and spirit, while the arches themselves are worked out in the most exquisite tracery, with a niche above each column containing some god or saint. Above the level of the spandrels is a deep colonnade running round the whole hall, corresponding to the clerestory of an English cathedral—also a mass of spirited carving in relief. The effect of the whole is, so far as the writer's experience goes, absolutely unique so far as an Indian building is concerned; but it is very suggestive of Northern European Gothic, say the porches of Chartres Cathedral.' [1]

Photographs, kindly supplied by Mr. Young, I.C.S., Magistrate and Collector of Trichinopoly, hardly support Mr. Bedford's enthusiastic praise, although the general effect of the work is doubtless pleasing. A specimen is shown in Fig. 169. The

[1] *Ann. Progr. Rep. A. S. Madras and Coorg*, 1604–5, p. 44.

style is totally different from that usual in the South. Inquiry has failed to elicit any information about the history of the sculptures or the identity of the artists. Possibly the eminent skill possessed by the sculptors of Gangaikonda-Cholapuram in the eleventh century may have been transmitted to descendants in the seventeenth century in at least some degree. Udaiyār-pālaiyam is not very far from Gangaikonda-Cholapuram.

The numerous gigantic temples of Southern India in the Dravidian style, erected from the sixteenth century to the present day, with their appurtenant corridors and 'halls of 1000 columns', are covered with sculpture, mostly of a fantastic and *outre* character. The most famous princely builder was Tirumalla (Trimul) Nāik, who ruled at Madura from 1621 to 1657. His celebrated pillared hall, or 'choultrie', at



FIG. 169. Sculptures in hall of Udaiyār-pālaiyam palace.
(Photo., supplied by Collector of Trichinopoly.)

that city is 333 feet long and 105 feet wide, with four ranges of columns, all different, and all most elaborately sculptured.

'The façade of this hall,' Fergusson observes, 'like that of almost all the great halls in the south of India, is adorned either with *yālis*—monsters of the lion type trampling on an elephant—or, even more generally, by a group consisting of a warrior sitting on a rearing horse, whose feet are supported on the shields of foot-soldiers, sometimes slaying men, sometimes tigers. These groups are found literally in hundreds in Southern India, and, as works exhibiting difficulties overcome by patient labour, they are unrivalled, so far as I know, by anything found elsewhere.

'As works of art they are the most barbarous, it may be said the most vulgar, to be found in India, and do more to shake one's faith in the civilization of the people who produced them than anything they did in any other department of art. Where these monstrosities are not introduced, the pillars of entrances are only enriched

a little more than those of the interior, when the ornamentation is in better taste, and generally quite sufficiently rich for its purpose.'[1]

A good example of such a rampant horse, copied from a bronze casting of a sculpture on the Madura 'choultry', is reproduced in Fig. 177, *post*, p. 240.

Fergusson's criticism fails to give the Southern sculptors due credit for their power of expressing vigorous movement, and, in my judgement, is too harsh. Such



Fig. 170. Siva supplicating; Tirumal Nāik's choultry, at Madura.
(Photo. 1902, I. O. *List*.)



Fig. 171. Woman and baby; Great Temple, Madura District.
(Photo. 1922, I. O. *List*.)

figures appear to be unknown elsewhere, and it is not apparent how they became so much favoured in the Tamil country. Fergusson probably was right in his suggestion that the rampant horses, *yālis*, and heavy cornices with double curvature, characteristic of the Dravidian temples in the South, were derived from primitive terra-cotta forms.

The Southern sculpture, remarkable, as already observed, for its enormous quantity, fantastic character, often degenerating into the grotesque, and marvellous

[1] *Hist. of Ind. and E. Archit.* (1899), p. 363; ed. 1910, vol. i, p. 389.

elaboration, rarely, if ever, exhibits the higher qualities of art. The sculptures being designed to be viewed in the mass, not as individual works, reproductions of a few separate figures cannot do full justice either to the sculptors' intention or to the general effect. But, subject to that caution, a few specimens may be cited to give some idea of the style. The best of this class of work dates from the seventeenth



FIG. 172. *Asura* (demon) and monkeys; Rāmeśvaram temple, Madura District. (Photo. 2599, I. O. *List.*)



FIG. 173. Female carrying male deity; entrance corridor, Rāmeśvaram temple. (Photo. 2301, I. O. *List.*)

century, while the most recent is the worst; indeed, modern figure sculpture, as a rule, hardly deserves to be called the work of artists. An exception, however, must be made in favour of certain Mysore figures, to be noticed presently.

Examples of seventeenth and eighteenth century sculpture might be multiplied indefinitely. Selected specimens from buildings in the Madura District will suffice as typical illustrations. Examples.

One of the best images among the crowd at Tirumal Nāik's choultry (1623–45) is that of Siva in an unusual attitude as a supplicant to some other deity (Fig. 170).

The effigy of the woman holding a doll-like baby, from the Great Temple at Madura, is welcome as introducing a rare touch of human sentiment (Fig. 171), but is far inferior to the treatment of a similar subject at Purī (*ante*, Fig. 137). The blotchy appearance of the photograph is due to the whitewash or paint with which the statue has been smeared.

The sculptures from the Rāmesvaram temple are somewhat later, dating from the close of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century. The hideous figure of the demon with monkeys (Fig. 172) is a good example of the morbid cleverness with which the sculptors of the period treated repulsive subjects. The image of the female carrying a male deity on her back (Fig. 173) is characteristically grotesque. It too has been smudged with paint or whitewash. The modelling of the woman is not destitute of merit.

The capabilities of modern sculptors in the South are best proved by the decorations of the new palace in the town of Mysore executed to the order of H.H. the Mahārāja and described and illustrated by Mr. A. Rea. Skill is not confined to the members of any one caste, and the Mahārāja has been willing to employ capable men from any district. The material used is sometimes soapstone and sometimes stone of considerable hardness. The soapstone is employed in fairly large masses, a clever figure of Vishnu, for instance, being two feet in height. The drapery of that figure looks as if it had been imitated from photographs of Gandhāra work. The style throughout is frankly eclectic and imitative, and it is obvious that the artists have studied models of various periods and schools. One decorative motive is admittedly borrowed from a picture by Ravi Varma (see Chapter IX), and the more direct influence of modern European art can be clearly traced. A relief representing the marriage of Rukmini looks as if it had been suggested by study of photographs of the Boro-Būdūr bas-reliefs. Some of the female figures are very pretty. Artistically, the best things are certain decorative soapstone panels wrought with floral and other designs, thoroughly Indian in character and of first-rate quality.[1]

B. *Bronzes and Brasses.*

The bronzes and brasses of Southern India, although not equal in value or interest to the large finds recently made in Ceylon, and probably of Indian origin, are yet sufficiently numerous and important to deserve brief separate examination and illustration.[2] The better specimens seem to range in date from the twelfth to the eighteenth century. No good modern metal work in either Southern India or Ceylon has come to my notice.

[1] A. Rea, *Monograph on Stone Carving and Inlaying in Southern India*, with thirty-one plates; Madras Government Press, 1906; quarto in paper covers. The half-tone blocks cannot be reproduced. Some of the best objects are shown in Pl. XXIV–XXVI.

[2] At the Indian Section of the Festival of Empire (1911) Lord Ampthill exhibited several fine large bronzes, including a Dancing Siva, from the Tinnevelly District, Madras, which are almost identical with the Polonnāruwa specimens.



PLATE XLVIII. Brass portrait images of Krishnarāya of Vijayanagar (A.D. 1510–29) and his Queens; in the Śrī Nivāsa Perumal temple on the hill of Tirumalai near Tirupati, N. Arcot District. (Photo. No. 570, *Progr. Rep. A. S. Madras and Coorg*, 1903–4.)

Exceptional interest attaches to the brass images reproduced in Plate XLVIII, which are certified by inscriptions on the shoulders to be portraits, apparently contemporary, of Krishnarāya, the famous king of Vijayanagar in the early years of the sixteenth century, and two of his queens. They stand inside a temple on the sacred hill of Tirumalai or Upper Tirupati, and were photographed by a high-caste Hindu, no European or Musalman being permitted to enter any temple on the hill. The town of Tirupati is famous for the skill of its workers in brass.[1] The images, although



FIG. 174. Siva Naṭarāja; from Tanjore District, preserved in local treasury.)
(Photo. 1555, A. S.)

formal in design and defective in expression, seem to be executed with great delicacy. Well-authenticated portrait statues are rare in India. Mr. Walhouse mentions the existence of a life-size brass image of the Jain Tirthankara Sāntīsvara, 'erect and enshrined in burnished silver and brass work variegated with red ornaments', just outside the colossus enclosure at Yēnūr in South Kanara.[2]

The Tanjore Dancing Siva is considered by the Superintendent of the Central Museum, Madras, to be quite equal in artistic merit to the museum specimen previously

[1] *Imp. Gaz.*, s.v. Tirumala; *Annual Report, A. S., India*, 1902–3, p. 227; citing Hultzsch (*Progr. Report*, 1903, in *Madras G. O. Public*, Nos. 655, 656, dated July 24, 1903). Dr. Hultzsch's recommendation to have the images photographed by a high-caste Hindu was carried out by the Survey in the following year, but no description of the statues was recorded. They are called 'statues', and presumably are life-size.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, v. 38.

published by Dr. Coomaraswamy and Mr. Havell. It differs in various details from the other examples of the type, and especially in the absence of the long braids of hair whirling in the dance. The explanation of the symbolism and criticism of the artistic qualities of the various representations of the dancing god will be more conveniently deferred until we discuss the Ceylonese examples. This Tanjore image (Fig. 174), although described as 'copper', probably is bronze. Its age is uncertain.

The image of Pārvatī, from a private collection, represented in Fig. 175, is not very dissimilar in style from the Polonnāruwa bronzes (*post*, Sec. 7 B of this chapter),



FIG. 175. Pārvatī; property of W. A. Beardsell, Esq., Madras; about 20 inches high. (Photo. from Central Museum, Madras.)



FIG. 176. Bronze statuette, $11\frac{1}{2}''$ high, of Rāmachandra bearded: No. 43-'87, Ind. Sec., V. and A. Museum.

and may, perhaps, date from about the same period, the twelfth century. It is well modelled, and the hands, as usual, are specially good.

The South Kensington statuette of Rāmachandra (Fig. 176) is a good example of the better class bronzes of later date, perhaps eighteenth-century work.

The smaller image of the four-armed Siva Vīrabhadra, six or seven inches high, excluding the pedestal, clad in armour and equipped with weapons, in Case 20 of Room IV, British Museum, belongs to the same class.

A noticeable item in the Payne Knight collection in the British Museum (Room IV, Case 11) is a circular bronze about 7 inches high, looking like the plinth of a *stūpa*, with vigorous relief figures of Krishna and other deities, besides well-

executed decorative motives. Notwithstanding its apparently Buddhist form, it does not appear to be early work, and must have been intended for use in Brahmanical worship.

The South Kensington casting of the plunging horse and other sculptures on the famous 'choultry' at Madura (Fig. 177), already mentioned (*ante*, p. 234), is of

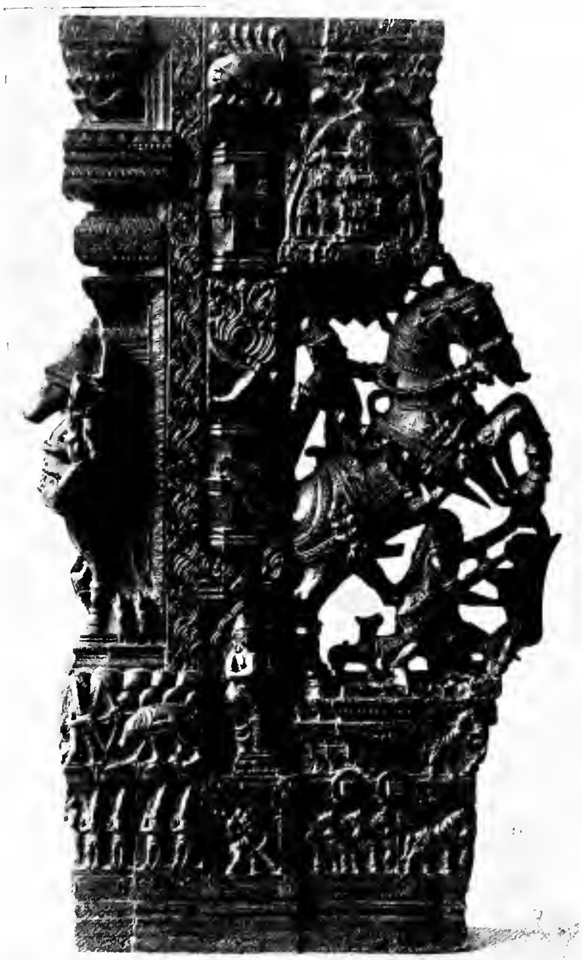


FIG. 177. Bronze cast; copy of sculpture on Choultry of Tirumal Nāik (17th cent.), at Madura; the casting may be of 18th cent.: No. 639–'75, Ind. Sec., V. and A. Museum.

interest as being both a fine piece of work in bronze, and also a miniature reproduction of a characteristic type of South Indian sculpture in stone. More or less similar horses are to be seen on many of the great temples, and although never anatomically correct, are designed with such spirit and vigour that they are often impressive and effective. In this case European influence may be suspected; the rider looks like a Western knight.

SECTION VII. CEYLON.

For reasons already stated (*ante*, p. 87) it is not possible at present either to arrange the Ceylonese sculptures in exact chronological order, or, with rare exceptions, to determine the dates of individual specimens. Even the rough division between Early and Mediaeval used as a working arrangement is to some extent arbitrary and open to correction. Mr. Parker's test of the age of buildings based on the size of the bricks may help to more definite conclusions if applied systematically to the associated sculptures. But a considerable amount of uncertainty about dates may be expected to remain.

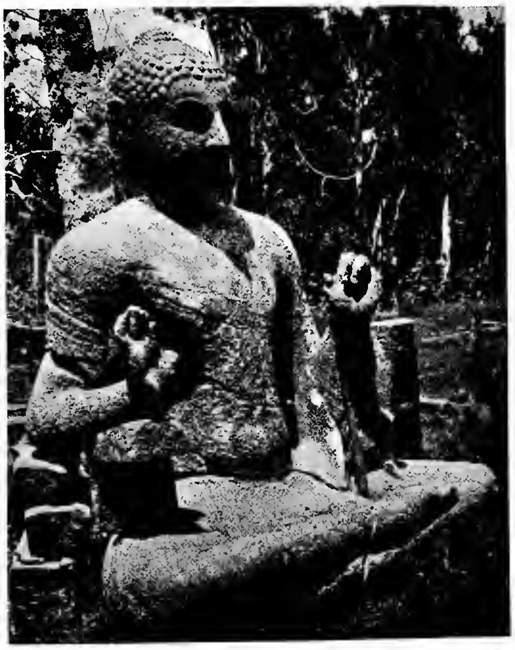


FIG. 178. Seated Buddha, 6 ft. 9 in. high; at Pankuliya Vihāre, Anurādhapura; ? 10th cent. (Photo. C. 136, A. S., Ceylon.)



FIG. 179. Seated Buddha; limestone, about 3 feet high; from Vihāre, No. 2, Polonnāruwa; now in Colombo Museum. (Photo. C. 1411, A. S., Ceylon.)

The notable statue of an aged bearded man cut in the face of a boulder to the east of the Topāveva embankment at Polonnāruwa, popularly known as the image of King Parākrama Bāhu the Great, who reigned from A.D. 1153 to 1186, certainly is not what it is supposed to be. The figure, cut in gneiss (granite), and $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, stands full face, fronting nearly south, in an easy attitude, with the right leg slightly bent. The costume is confined to a tall cap and simple loin-cloth held up by a band knotted in front. The hands support a model of a palm-leaf book (*ola*) held across the body. The expression of the face is grave, and the half-closed eyes look down upon the manuscript. A long rounded beard and drooping moustache add to the gravity of the countenance. These details are inconsistent with the popular attribution. Mr. Bell is of opinion that the book and the whole appearance and pose of

the figure stamp it unmistakably as the portrait of a reverend religious teacher from the Indian continent. He suggests that the statue may represent an ascetic named Kapila, for whom Parākrama Bāhu built a richly adorned dwelling.[1]

A few of the more remarkable Buddha statues, probably to be assigned to the period dealt with in this chapter, demand notice.

Two seated Buddhas strike me as being excellent works and out of the common—namely, the colossal image at the Pankuliya Vihāre, Anurādhapura (Fig. 178), and the smaller image from Vihāre, No. 2, Polonnāruwa (Fig. 179). The characteristic points of each appear sufficiently from the photographs without detailed comment. Mr. Bell conjectures that the Pankuliya statue may date from the tenth century; the Polonnāruwa image may be two centuries later.

The largest statue in the island, and perhaps the most impressive, is the colossal standing image of Buddha at Awkana, N. C. P., 46 feet in height, including the pedestal. It is cut from the face of an enormous boulder, practically in the round, being joined to the rock only by a slight support. Local tradition attributes the work to the reign of Parākrama Bāhu. The expression of calm majesty is given successfully (Fig. 180).



FIG. 180. Colossal Buddha at Awkana, N. C. P. (Photo. C. 530, A. S., Ceylon.)

A similar, and nearly as large, but less effective colossus, carved merely in high relief, and inferior in execution, stands at Sasēruwa, N. W. P., and may be assigned to the same period.[2]

The numerous recumbent effigies of the Dying Buddha, usually executed on a large scale, are sufficiently illustrated by the reproduction of the great image, 38 feet long, at Tantri-malai (Fig. 181). The figure, it may be observed, is really

[1] *A. S. Rep.*, 1906, p. 11, Pl. XI. I have not received a photograph. The image has been reproduced also in the *Guide to Colombo Museum* (1905), p. 21; and in Cave, *Ruined Cities of Ceylon* (1897), p. 119. It has been published again by Dr. Coomaraswamy for the India Society.

[2] For Awkana image see Bell, *A. S. Rep.*, 1895, pp. 6, 12: Tennent, *Ceylon*, 2nd ed., vol. ii, p. 604, with woodcut. The Sasēruwa image is described in Mr. Bell's report above cited; photos. C. 517, 518, 519.



Plate XLIX. Colossal statue of 'Ānanda', Polonnāruwa.
(Photo. C. 1356.)

that of a recumbent person, and is not simply that of a standing man laid on his side, as some of the Gandhāran images are.

The stately colossal standing image at the Gal-vihāre, Polonnāruwa, popularly known, and apparently rightly, as that of Ānanda, the disciple of Buddha, is one of the most imposing and interesting statues in Ceylon (Plate XLIX). The faithful attendant stands watching a colossal recumbent figure of his dying Master.



FIG. 181. The Dying Buddha, 38 feet long; at Tantri-malai.
(Photo. C. 701.)

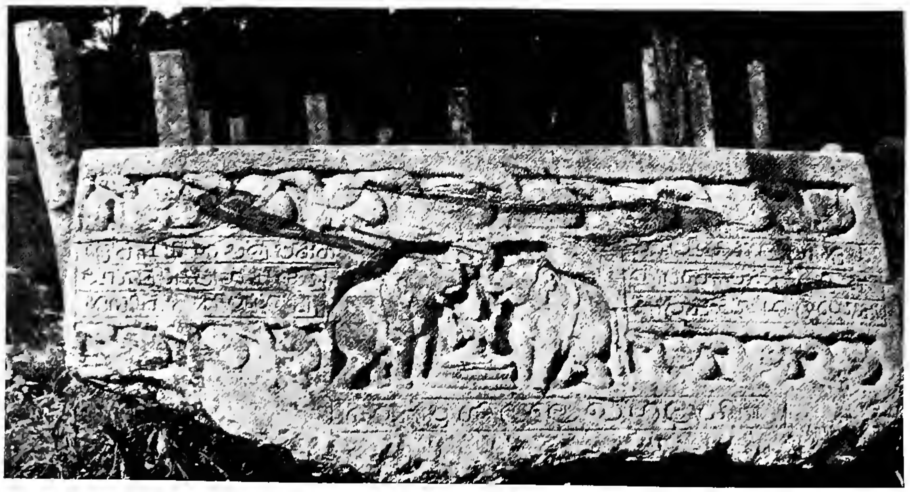


FIG. 182. The 'stone-book', Polonnāruwa.
(Photo. C. 1609.)

No monument in the island is more extraordinary than the gigantic 'stone book' (*gal-pota*) at Polonnāruwa, a monolith brought from Mihintalē, eighty miles distant, at the close of the twelfth century by Nissanka's 'mighty men', as recorded in a long inscription on its surface. It is nearly 27 feet long, 4 feet 7 inches broad, and varies in depth from 1 foot 4 inches to 2 feet 2 inches. The relief sculpture shown in Fig. 182 treats of the common Indian subject, elephants pouring water over Srī or Lakshmī—the goddess of good fortune. The art is not of high quality.

More artistic bas-reliefs of uncertain date occur elsewhere. Perhaps the most remarkable is that at Pokuna (masonry tank) A, Anurādhapura, which vividly depicts elephants bathing, and then charging away when scared. The relief is so low that the photographs are not sufficiently distinct for successful reproduction. Mr. Bell describes this work, which is in two sections, as an absolutely unique piece of carving, Bas-relief scenes.



FIG. 183. Stele from Vihāre, No. 2, Polonnāruwa. (Photo. C. 1607.)



FIG. 184. Pārvatī, from Siva temple, No. 1, Polonnāruwa. (Photo. C. 1583.)

and without exception the most spirited and life-like to be seen anywhere among the ruins of Anurādhapura.[1] It is supposed to date from the time of Parākrama Bāhu.

Another Anurādhapura bas-relief, of which I have not seen photographs, represents 'jungle men and women (? Veddō), unclothed, bears, deer, monkeys,

[1] *Ann. Rep. Arch. S.*, 1901, p. 6; photos. A. 405, 406, C. 1304.

peacock, mongoose, and cobra, and other wild animal life—for the most part spiritedly carved.' [1]

A third remarkable relief at Velana-damana, N. C. P. is described as depicting a fight between a giant and four adversaries.[2]

The scroll pattern so much in favour at Polonnāruwa, before and after A.D. 1200, is well illustrated by the stele reproduced in Fig. 183, which may be contrasted with the earlier Anurādhapura stelae in a different style (*ante*, Plate XX).

Numerous Hindu temples dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and apparently built by and for Tamil invaders, exist at Polonnāruwa, and naturally supply many sculptures. The art is not high class, but one small image of a goddess, presumably Pārvatī (Fig. 184), is shown for comparison with the bronzes to be described in the next section.

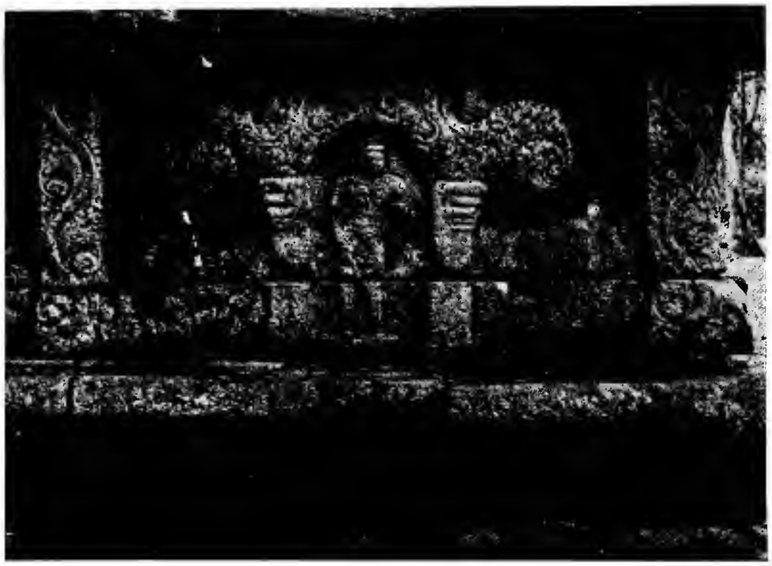


FIG. 185. *Makara-toraṇa*, Vijayārāma monastery.
(Photo. A. 19.)

Limitations of space forbid detailed notice of the richly designed tracery window from the palace at Yapahu (A.D. 1303–19), the Medagoda Pillar (? A.D. 1577), and the Kandyan 'floral moonstone' of Hanguranketa, which are all in the Colombo Museum, and described in the *Guide* to that institution. Other interesting works are omitted for the same reason.

A favourite form of architectural decoration is the *makara-torana*, or 'dragon-arch', composed of scrolls proceeding from the mouths of conventional *makaras*, or crocodile-dragons. Fig. 185 gives a good example from the Vijayārāma monastery, Anurādhapura, dating probably from the eighth century. A later Chalukyan specimen has been illustrated (*ante*, p. 230, Fig. 165).

[1] *Ann. Rep. Arch. S.*, 1897, p. 2.

[2] Ibid., 1896, p. 7.



PLATE L. Brass (or pale bronze) statue of Pattinī Devī, goddess of chastity, Ceylon, in British Museum.
(Photo. by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.)

Bronzes.

The remarkable richness of Ceylon in art-works of metal, chiefly bronze, was not realized until recent discoveries compelled attention to the fact. Before 1905 a few objects of interest had been collected by the casual exertions of individuals, but since that date the numerous additions to the public collections have been acquired by the systematic operations of the Archaeological Survey. Few, if any, of the castings are earlier than the tenth century, and most of them are assignable to the eleventh or twelfth, or even the early part of the thirteenth century.

Perhaps the most notable of the Ceylon bronzes is that first discovered—an image of the goddess Pattinī Devī, found near the north-eastern coast somewhere between Trincomalee and Batticalwa, and presented to the British Museum in 1830. It stands 4 feet 9½ inches in height, and is composed of a metal which looks like brass, but may be a pale bronze (Plate L). It seems to have been originally gilt. The age of the work is doubtful. The cleverness with which the transparency of the skirt is shown recalls similar skill exhibited in the Gupta sculpture of the fifth century in Northern India (*ante*, p. 170), but it would be rash to attribute such an early date to the Ceylonese image for that reason only, and it is difficult to find any other test of its age.

The nudity above the waist, which may offend the European eye, is in accordance with the ancient custom of Southern India and Ceylon, not wholly disused, I believe, even in these days. The waist is rather too much attenuated, in conformity with common Indian practice, examples of which may be found even in the Bharhut sculptures (*ante*, p. 73); but, except for that defect, the modelling is good, and the hands especially are admirable.

Pattinī is one of the most popular deities in Ceylon, and her worship is still kept up on the mainland also, whence it was introduced into the island, most probably in the reign of Gajabāhu I at some time in the second century of the Christian era. The cult seems to have originated in the Chera territory (Coimbatore and Salem), but some of the legends connect its beginnings with a Pāndya King of Madura. The goddess is considered to be the guardian of female chastity, and is also credited with power over epidemics, whether of man or beast. Two wooden images of her and her husband found in a cave at the Nīkawaewa monastery are supposed to date from the eleventh century. The British Museum bronze may be quite as early.[1]

Some good bronzes, believed to date from about the tenth century, have been obtained from various localities within the area of the ancient capital, Anurādhapura. They include a pair of miniature feet apparently belonging to a lost statuette, and only three inches in length, which are described as 'excellently modelled'.[2] Like the great Buddha in the Birmingham Museum, they were cast on a core, in this case of

[1] The legend of the goddess is too long to quote. See *The Tamilian Antiquary*, No. 3 (1909), p. vii note; ibid., No. 5, p. 47: and Dr. Coomaraswamy in *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 293, with references. The wooden images are figured in Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, Fig. 272.

[2] Bell, *Anurādhapura and the North-Central Province, 7th Progress Report* (xiii, 1896), Pl. XVII.

iron. The best pieces, from the aesthetic point of view, are a large bronze panel (Fig. 186), and a statuette supposed to be that of a Bodhisattva (Fig. 187). The panel, which is thick and heavy, measures 20 inches in length by 7 in breadth, and shows traces of gilding. The design is a boldly executed scroll. The statuette, 20¼ inches high, was found to the south of the Thūpārāma. The person represented stands in the pose with a double bend, known technically as *tivanka*. The drapery is gracefully treated, the modelling, especially of the hands, is truthful, and the serene expression of the face is pleasing.[1] The style closely resembles that of some of the Polonnāruwa bronzes, which are ascribed to the twelfth century, and the Anurādhapura statuette may be as late.

The few bronzes collected at Polonnāruwa in 1906, forming the first series in the Colombo Museum (Nos. 40–52), are not of much importance; but the second and third series, excavated in 1907 and 1908 from the Siva Dewālē and neighbouring sites, may be fairly said to add a new chapter to the history of art in Ceylon. Nothing

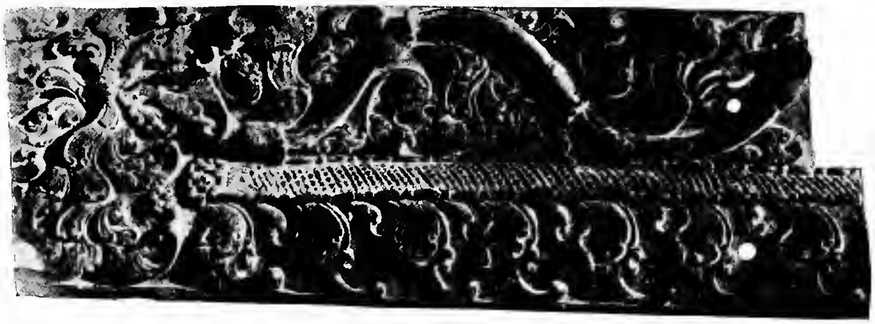


FIG. 186. Bronze panel from Anurādhapura, No. 96 in 'List of finds', Colombo Museum. (Photo. supplied by Director.)

like them was known before, except the Anurādhapura Bodhisattva, if that be the correct designation for it. A few of the best have been selected from a set of good photographs taken by Dr. Andreas Nell and kindly supplied by the Government of Ceylon. The identification of the images has been effected by the Honourable Mr. P. Arunachalam. The bronzes, all massive and very heavy, are ascribed to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Their large size proves that the artists of those days knew how to overcome the difficulties of casting bronze on a considerable scale, and gives the images an importance and dignity which cannot be claimed by miniature works a few inches high. In the opinion of Dr. A. Willey, F.R.S., late Director of the Colombo Museum, they 'are Polonnāruwa bronzes for better or for worse', and certainly were not imported from the mainland.[2] But I am disposed to agree with Mr. Bell that they were executed in India. The specimens from Southern India exhibited by Lord Ampthill at the Indian Section of the Festival of Empire (1911) are exactly in the same style (*ante*, p. 236, note 2).

The place of honour may be given to the spirited images of Siva as 'Natarāja',

[1] See *Burlington Magazine*, 1910, p. 87, Pl. I, 3. [2] *Spolia Zeylanica*, Sept., 1909, p. 67 note.

'Lord of the Dance', the first of their kind to be found in Ceylon (Plate LI; Fig. 188); which compare favourably with the best examples of similar compositions in Southern India (*ante*, p. 238). A specimen in the Madras Museum arouses enthusiasm, which few can share fully, in the breast of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, who first published photographs of the work. In order to make the Ceylonese bronzes intelligible, the explanation of the legend of Siva's manifestation as 'Lord of the Dance', given in the *Koyil Purānam*, and said to be familiar to all southern worshippers of the god, is quoted from the eloquent pages of the author referred to:—



FIG. 187. Bronze statuette, ? of a Bodhisattva, from Anurādhapura; No. 97, 'List of finds', Colombo Museum. (Photo., supplied by Director.)

1. 'Siva appeared in disguise amongst a congregation of the thousand sages, and in the course of disputation, confuted them and so angered them thereby, that they endeavoured by incantations to destroy Him. A fierce tiger was created in sacrificial flames, and rushed upon Him, but smiling gently, He seized it with His sacred hands, and with the nail of His little finger stripped off its skin, which he wrapped about Himself as if it had been a silken cloth. Undiscouraged by failure, the sages renewed their offerings, and there was produced a monstrous serpent, which He seized and wreathed about His neck. Then He began to dance; but there rushed upon Him a last monster in the shape of a hideous malignant dwarf. Upon him the God pressed the tip of his foot, and broke the creature's back, so that it writhed upon the ground; and so, His last foe prostrate, Siva resumed the dance of which the gods were witnesses.

One interpretation of this legend explains that He wraps about Him as a garment, the tiger fury of human passion; the guile and malice of mankind He wears as a necklace, and beneath His feet is for ever crushed the embodiment of evil. More characteristic of Indian thought is the symbolism, in terms of the marvellous grace and rhythm of Indian dancing, the effortless ease with which the God in his grace supports the cosmos; it is his sport. The five acts of creation, preservation, destruction, embodiment and gracious release are his ceaseless mystic dance. In sacred Tillai, the "New Jerusalem", the dance shall be revealed; and Tillai is the very centre of the Universe, that is, His dance is within the cosmos and the soul.'[1]

The more prosaic description of the group by Mr. Arunachalam, slightly condensed, will enable the student to appreciate the intention of the formal symbolism. The god's hair is braided, forming a crown at the top and a circular coil at the back,

[1] *The Aims of Indian Art* (pamphlet, Essex House Press, 1908).



PLATE LI. Bronze Siva Naṭarāja, 3 feet high, No. 1, from Polonnāruwa (Colombo Museum).
(Photo. by Dr. A. Nell.)

the lower braids whirling in the dance, which is named *Tāndava.* The mermaid on the right braid (indistinct in the photograph) symbolizes the Ganges; a crescent moon and serpent decorate the left braid. Other serpents coiled round his body are regarded as symbols of Siva's energy. His three eyes, one in the forehead, represent the sun, moon, and fire; the skull at the base of the crown is a symbol of destruction, and the necklace, composed of skulls of Brahmas, Vishnus, and Rudras, symbolizes the evolution and involution of the universe throughout the aeons. The bisexual nature of the deity is indicated by the long man's earring in the right, and the woman's circular earring in the left ear. Fire, a symbol of both destruction and divine purifying grace, is held in the left upper hand, and also surrounds the group. The small drum in the right upper hand is supposed to suggest vibration, the first stage in evolution. The right lower hand is raised in assurance of protection to the worshipper, while the left lower hand points to the uplifted foot, the refuge of the suppliant. The monster trampled on personifies the powers of evil and illusion from which the deity delivers the soul. The composition as a whole is understood to represent the control of the operations of the universe by Siva.

The greater part of the foregoing commentaries has nothing to do with the merits of the compositions as works of art. Any competent coppersmith can make to order rings symbolizing fire and other formal attributes in accordance with written rules, and such accessories, whether well or ill made, will be equally significant to the devout Hindu versed in the legends and metaphysics of his faith. The general lines of the principal image, too, are determined by pattern sketches, of which Dr. Coomaraswamy has published a specimen. Consequently, a perfectly correct group with all the needful apparatus for edification can be made passably well by any skilled bronze founder, whose work need not be anything higher than mere manufacture. The scope for the display of aesthetic feeling and creative skill, which distinguish an artist from a skilful mechanic, is restricted almost exclusively to the manner of rendering the action of dancing with passion, including, of course, the modelling of the principal figure. When various examples of the treatment of the prescribed theme are examined and compared they will be found to differ widely according to the degree of artistic power possessed by the maker of each. Among good examples may be classed Dr. Coomaraswamy's favourite in the Madras Museum, the Tanjore specimen (*ante*, 238), and No. 1 from Polonnāruwa (Plate LI). The No. 15 Polonnāruwa image (Fig. 188), without the ring of fire, is the most artistic of all. It is described as being 'the best finished of all the bronzes', and is deserving of the care spent on its production. If it could be freed from the horrible deformity of the extra arms, it might receive almost unqualified praise, but the monstrosity of the second left arm drawn across the breast, and calling for the surgeon's amputating knife to remove the diseased growth, spoils an otherwise elegant and admirable work.

A third Polonnāruwa specimen (No. 24) is coarsely executed and of inferior quality. The same criticism applies to a second example in the Madras Museum, to another in the British Museum, and to the South Kensington image from Malabar.

The 'belle statue de bronze ancien' in the Musée Guimet may be placed in the higher class.[1]

The standing image of Siva (No. 12), striking an attitude in another of his dances (*sandhyanirtta*), is gracefully posed, and well modelled, save for the excessive thickness of the arms. The monstrosity of the additional arms is a blot on an otherwise effective work (Fig. 189). No special pleading can justify those arms from the aesthetic point of view. Image of Siva.



FIG. 188. Siva Naṭarāja; No. 15, from Polonnāruwa, 2 feet high.
(Photo. by Dr. A. Nell.)

The figure of the Sun-god (No. 18), with a halo, holding a lotus bud in each hand, is dignified, and the type is unusual (Fig. 190). The Sun-god.

One ideal of the goddess Pārvatī, consort of Siva, is expressed in No. 7, with the

[1] The S. Kensington bronze, two feet in height, found long ago at Chāoghāt in Malabar, was presented by Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, to the India Office Museum, and thence has passed into the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum. It is engraved as Pl. XIV of Moor's *Hindu Pantheon* (1810; = frontispiece of Higginbotham's edition, Madras, 1864), but the engraving is not faithful, having been 'improved' by the artist. For the 'belle statue' see figure on p. 94 of the *Petit Guide Illustré du Musée Guimet*. The subject is often treated in stone sculpture.

Figures of Pārvatī.

characteristic Indian bend (Fig. 191). The image closely resembles that labelled as Lakshmī in the Musée Guimet (*Petit Guide Ill.*, plate p. 62).



Fig. 189. Siva in *sandhyanirtta* dance; height 1 ft. 10½ in.; No. 12, from Polonnāruwa (Colombo Museum).
(Photo. by Dr. A. Nell.)



Fig. 190. Sūrya, the Sun-god; height 1 ft. 5½ in.; No. 18, from Polonnāruwa (Colombo Museum).
(Photo. by Dr. A. Nell.)

Another conception of Pārvatī (No. 20) is shown in Fig. 192. The figure and pose are natural and pleasing.

An interesting group of images deals with popular Tamil saints, whose effigies

have been identified by Mr. Arunachalam. Probably the best of this group is No. 16, representing 'Sundara-murti Swāmi, an apostle and psalmist of Siva about A.D. 700. He was a native of Tiruvarur, near Negapatam in the Madras Presidency; called to



FIG. 191. Pārvatī; height 1 ft. 8 in.; No. 23, from Polonnāruwa (Colombo Museum). (Photo. by Dr. A. Nell.)



FIG. 192. Pārvatī; height 1 ft. $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.; No. 20, from Polonnāruwa (Colombo Museum).

be an apostle on his wedding-day, hence dressed in the clothes and ornaments of a bridegroom.' The clothes are somewhat scanty. The artist has rendered with remarkable success the attitude and facial expression of religious ecstasy powerful enough to tear away a bridegroom from the side of his bride (Fig. 193). The image

has strong claims to be considered the finest of the Polonnāruwa bronzes, or, at least, to be placed second only to the Natarāja, No. 15 (Fig. 188), which is the most highly finished in the collection.

Statuette of monk.

The bronze statuette of a monk with his begging-bowl (Fig. 194), found at Urulēwa, N. C. P., does not look very ancient. The style is stiff and formal.



Fig. 193. Sundara-murti Swāmi, Tamil saint; height 1 ft. 8 in.; No. 16, from Polonnāruwa (Colombo Museum).



Fig. 194. Bronze statuette of monk; from Urulēwa, N. C. P. (Photo. C. 353, A. S., Ceylon.)

Mr. Still mentions as existing at Maḍukanda, N. P., 'a fine old bronze sedent image of Buddha, 7 feet high', and a rather smaller silver image (*A. S. Rep.*, 1905, p. 26).

Statuette of Avalokiteś-vara.

Certain small miscellaneous bronze images from Ceylon, of which the exact find-spots are not recorded, are of sufficient interest to deserve special notice. A little figure, presumably that of the Mahāyānist deity (if the expression be allowed) named Avalokitesvara or Padmapāni, only $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches in height, belonging to Dr. Coomaraswamy, and ascribed by him to the sixth or seventh century, is regarded

by the owner, and not without reason, as the best of all the Ceylonese images. He praises the 'perfection and abstraction of the style', claiming that 'the divine ideal is fully realized both in expression and in physical form'. The praise seems to be rather overstrained. By the kindness of Dr. Coomaraswamy I am permitted to reproduce his photograph (Fig. 195), already published by the owner in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* and the *Burlington Magazine*, and also by Mr. Havell under the name of Maitreya.





FIG. 196. Jambhala, or Kuvera, god of riches; from Ceylon. (Photo. by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.)

FIG. 195. Avalokiteśvara, or Padmapāṇi; from Ceylon. (Photo. by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.)

Jambhala, or Kuvera.

Another excellent little image, $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches high, likewise the property of Dr. Coomaraswamy, represents the minor deity Jambhala, or Kuvera, the well-contented god of riches (Fig. 196), whose effigy in various forms is frequently found in the ruins of Buddhist monasteries in India and Java (*ante*, pp. 115, 137, 205). His right hand grasps a fruit; the left rests upon the mongoose, or ichneumon, sacred to him. The owner's criticism is as follows :—

'The artistic interest of this figure lies in its frank realism, contrasting with the idealistic treatment of the figures so far referred to. The God of Wealth, far less remote and hard to reach than so exalted a being as a Bodhisattva, is worshipped for material rather than spiritual benefits; he is represented as the very image of a fat trader seated in his booth awaiting customers. The patron saint of prosperity and trade is a comfortable, worldly person! The realistic treatment of the firm flesh is as

masterly in its own way as the generalization of the more ideal types, such as the Avalokiteśvara.'[1]

The Bādulla Buddha.

The Colombo Museum possesses many other bronze objects, including several Buddhas. One of these (Fig. 197), a Buddha 'of unique design' and uncertain date, found below Bādulla, possesses considerable merit. The nature of the object held in the left hand is obscure.[2]



FIG. 197. Bronze seated Buddha (Colombo Museum). (Photo. supplied by the Director.)

[1] Coomaraswamy, 'Mahāyāna Buddhist Images from Ceylon and Java,' *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 288. That valuable article, and another entitled 'Indian Bronzes' in *Burlington Magazine*, May, 1910, discuss in detail many images which cannot be noticed here. The two figured, which I have examined, are the best of those from Ceylon, and are superior to anything of the kind in the British Museum. Kuvera (=Jambhala=Vaiśravana) was chief of the Yakshas. He was specially honoured in Khotan and Chinese Turkestan generally. A manuscript from Turfan calls him 'the highest of the gods' (von Holstein, 'Tisastvustik,' pp. 97, 122 *n.*, *Bibl. Buddhica*, No. xii, St. Pétersbourg, 1910). 'Jambhala of Ceylon' was known even in distant Nepāl (Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, Pl. IX. 2).

[2] A rough list of bronzes and other objects is printed in the *Catalogue of Finds, Archaeological Survey of Ceylon; deposited in the Colombo Museum*, 1906–7, p. 27, supplied by the Government of Ceylon. The *Guide* to the Museum (1905) is published in *Spolia Zeylanica*, Part IX. Bādulla is in the hill country; the image was found in the plain below.

Section VIII. Java.

The extensive and long-continued emigration from India to the Far East—including Pegu, Siam, and Cambodia on the mainland, with Java, Sumatra, Bali, and Borneo among the islands of the Malay Archipelago—and the consequent establishment of Indian institutions and art in the countries named, constitute one of the darkest mysteries of history.[1]

The reality of the debt due to India by those distant lands is attested abundantly by material remains, by the existence to this day of both the Buddhist and Brahmanical religions in the island of Bali to the east of Java, by Chinese history, and by numerous traditions preserved in India, Pegu, Siam, and the Archipelago. But when the attempt is made to transmute vague, conflicting traditions and imperfectly known archaeological facts into orderly history the difficulties in the way of success appear to be largely insurmountable. In this place it is, of course, impossible to probe deeply the mystery referred to. The critical investigation of the subject, even if confined to Indian colonization and its consequences in the Malay Archipelago alone, would require a large book. But, in order to render at all intelligible the fact of the existence of magnificent achievements of Indian art in Java, to which island the summary observations in this work will be confined, some attempt, however imperfect, at historical explanation is indispensable. In Java the forms of art to which a few pages will be devoted are thoroughly Indian in subject and style, of high aesthetic quality, and sufficiently dated to permit of their correlation with the art of India. The less purely Indian and less meritorious ramifications of Hindu art in the other countries of the Far East must be left unnoticed.

It is certain that during the early centuries of the Christian era India possessed an active and enterprising seafaring population on both coasts—that of the Bay of Bengal on the east, and that of the Arabian Sea on the west; and it is highly probable that from the first to the eighth century emigration to the Malay Archipelago continued to proceed from both sides of India. If Javanese tradition may be believed, a large body of Indian emigrants led by Aji Saka landed in the island from the east of India in the year 1 of the local era, equivalent to A.D. 75 or A.D. 78 according to various computations, but the details of the story are obviously open to sceptical criticism.

The observation of Fa-hien, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim who visited Java in A.D. 414, and found 'plenty of heretics and Brahmans, but not enough Buddhism to be worth mentioning',[2] is excellent evidence that a strong Indian

[1] The Hinduized Javanese founded considerable colonies in Madagascar during the early centuries of the Christian era (*Journal Asiatique*, 1910, p. 330).

[2] *Travels*, chap. xl, in Giles's version. The other versions (Laidlay, Beal, Legge) agree substantially with Giles. Fa-hien's statement is corroborated by

colony professing the Brahmanical religion must have been then already settled in the island for a long time. The statement made in a late Chinese work that an Indian colony arrived in Java during the reign of the Han emperor, Kwang Wu-ti (A. D. 25–57), is credible, although the authority on which it is based has not been found.[1] From the testimony of Fa-hien and other indications there is no doubt that Brahmanical Hinduism reached Java long before Buddhism. According to the Chinese *History of the Sung Dynasty*, the conversion of the island to Buddhism was effected by Gunavarman, Crown Prince of Kashmīr, who had renounced his rank in order to become a monk. He then joined a monastery in China and died at Nanking in A. D. 431. This statement dates the conversion immediately after Fa-hien's visit.[2]

Javanese writers, supported to some extent by local traditions of Gūjarāt and Southern Mārwār in Rājputāna, affirm that in the year A. D. 603 a numerous body of colonists sailed from Western India to Java.[3] The Siamese annals record that in the year A.D. 685 (= 607 of Mahā, or Saka era)

'great political disturbances occurred all over India, and the inhabitants, finding it impossible to make a living, were forced in large numbers to leave their home and country and settle among other nations. . . . At that time four tribes of Brahmans, consisting of a considerable number of persons, made their way eastward from "Wanilara" to Burma, Pegu, then independent, the Laos States, Siam, and Cambodia.'[4]

Traditional dates like those cited notoriously require to be treated with caution, but in this case both the dates in the seventh century happen to be credible, as marking times of ascertained political disturbance in India. The earlier date, A. D. 603, which falls within the period of anarchy and strife due to the Hun invasions, precedes by a few years the consolidation of the empires founded by Harsha in the north and by Pulakesin II Chalukya in the Deccan. The later date, A.D. 685, approximately coincides with the fall of Valabhī, which is believed to have been destroyed about that time by the Arabs then settled in Sind.[5] The Chinese statement in the *History of the Sung Dynasty* dating the conversion of the island between A.D. 414 and 431 is the most trustworthy of all, though of course the assertion that the whole population was converted cannot be accepted. As in India, Brahmanical Hinduism continued to exist side by side with Buddhism. The earliest known dated Indo-Javanese inscription is said to be one of the year A.D. 732.[6] We are, therefore, justified in believing that

certain nearly contemporary inscriptions in Java and at Koetei in Borneo (Kern, 'Gedenkteekenen der oude indische beschaving in Kambodja,' *Onze Eeuw*, Jan. 4, 1904, p. 46).

[1] *The Pilgrimage of Fa Hian* (Calcutta, 1848), p. 363, Laidlay's translation of Klaproth's note.

[2] de Beylié, *L'Architecture hindoue en Extrême-Orient*, p. 335; Pelliot, *Bull. E. F. E. O.*, iv. 274.

[3] A. M. Jackson in *Bombay Gazetteer* (1896), vol. i, Part I, App.

[4] A. Steffen, art. No. 125, *Man*, 1902. 'Wanilara' has not been identified. *Quaere* does *lara* = Lāṭa = Gūjarāt? 'Wanilara' might be Wano (Valabhī. Wālā) in Lāṭa.

[5] *A. S. W. I.*, vi. 3; ix. 4.

[6] According to the late Dr. Brandes quoted by Mr. Sewell (*J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 421). Earlier Indian inscriptions not bearing precise dates exist from the fifth century. In Cambodia the earliest recorded Indian ruler, Śrutavarman or Kauṇḍinya,

the ancient Indian Brahmanical colonies in Java received strong reinforcements from the mother-country during the fifth, seventh, and eighth centuries. Considering that all, or nearly all, the Buddhist remains in the island are later than the middle of the eighth century, we may further infer that the new-comers were largely Buddhist in religion, and included many skilled craftsmen. The most ancient objects in the island possessing value as works of art are Buddhist. The late Dr. Brandes, who had a good right to express an authoritative opinion, held that the buildings at Boro-Būdūr, with their incomparable sculptures, should be dated between A.D. 778 and 928 (= 700–850 Saka). According to M. Tissandier the Kali Bening and Sari temples at Prambānam (Brambanam) were begun in A.D. 779.[1]

Other Indo-Javanese works, however, are much later, the Chandi Sewa temple, for example, being assigned to A.D. 1098. The Hindu kingdom of Majapāhit in Eastern Java was overthrown by the Muhammadans in A.D. 1478, when the persecuted Hindus fled to Bali, where their descendants still practise Brahmanical rites, including *satī* (suttee) in its most appalling form, while another section of the population is Buddhist.[2]

From these facts it follows that the whole history of Indo-Javanese Buddhist art must lie between A.D. 420 and 1478, a period of more than a thousand years. The finest works may be assigned to the ninth century.[3]

In Java, as elsewhere, the late Mahāyānist Buddhism so closely approximated to Hinduism, that sculptures which at first sight appear to be purely Brahmanical may be really Buddhist. 'Brambanam and Chandi Sewa,' Mr. Sewell observes, 'are to all external appearances purely Brahmanical, though we learn on examination that Brahmā, Vishnu, and Siva were there held to be Bodhisattvas and not gods. And this is the case everywhere in Eastern Java, the temples being mostly Hindu in type (though always with a difference), and having statues adapted generally from Brahmanical originals.'

The best known monument in the island is the vast pyramidal pile of Boro-Būdūr, 'a hill in nine stages,' combining the character of a *stūpa* or *dāgaba* with that of a temple. As an architectural composition the building, more than 400 feet square at the base, is of small account. Its importance in the history of art depends upon the immense series of about 2,000 bas-reliefs adorning the galleries, which, if laid end to end, would extend more than two miles.[4] The best reliefs are the panels of the so-called 'second gallery', exceeding two hundred in number, which are arranged in two series. The upper series presents in easily recognizable stone pictures the life of Buddha, as told in the ancient Sanskrit work the *Lalita Vistara*. The scenes of the lower series, artistically of equal merit, resisted interpretation until lately, but have now been proved to be illustrations of the *Divyāvadāna* and other Buddhist

lived in the middle of the fifth century. In the following age Bhavavarman founded many temples in honour of Indian deities, especially Śiva, at which daily readings of the epics and *Purāṇas* were held Indian influence was at its height in Cambodia in the sixth century (Kern, *op. cit.*, p. 47).

[1] *Cambodge et Java*, Paris, 1896, p. 126.

[2] The dates are those given by M. Tissandier.

[3] The distinctly Brahmanical art is much inferior in quality to the best Buddhist.

[4] Some 1,600 out of the 2,000 still exist.

romances, including some of the *Jātakas*, or stories of the former lives of Buddha. About two-thirds of the 120 panels in that series have now been identified, and in time the balance probably will yield their secrets. The intention of the designer of the monument was that the worshipper, while making his ritual perambulation (*pradakshiṇa*) of the building, should be instructed ocularly in the whole doctrine of Buddhism, according to the system of the *Mahāyāna*, or 'Great Vehicle'.[1]

It is difficult to choose among the numerous beautiful reliefs of the 'second gallery' of Boro-Būdūr. Several of the best have been reproduced by Mr. Havell, and in the new edition of the *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*. I select one from the lower series (Fig. 198).

All critics can go as far as to concur in M. Tissandier's rather faint praise that the bas-reliefs are 'motifs ciselés dans la pierre avec une puissance rare'; or M. Foucher's more liberal criticism that they are justly celebrated for their good proportions, naturalness of gesture, and the variety of attitude in the figures. But not everybody can agree with Mr. Havell that the reliefs exhibit 'supremely devout and spontaneous art', far excelling by their simplicity, unaffected *naïveté*, artistic feeling, imagination, and magnificent conventionalism of the accessories the work of Ghiberti on the bronze doors of the Baptistery at Florence, which Michael Angelo declared 'to be worthy to be the gates of Paradise'. The same critic holds that the simple life led by the artists of Boro-Būdūr left them in peace to concentrate their whole soul on this work, and kept their minds free and able to listen to the voices of Nature and of their own inspiration—'the soul of Nature speaking to the soul of man'. In reality, as M. Foucher truly observes, the immense processions of scenes at Boro-Būdūr have a 'caractère livresque' in virtue of their being illustrations of sacred story-books, which deprives them of the spontaneity and emotional (*vibrant*) expression that can spring only from contact with living oral tradition. The compositions were prompted, not by the 'voices of Nature', but by a business-like, systematic endeavour to give visual expression to set passages in favourite authors; and we have not the slightest reason for believing that the artists led particularly simple lives. We know, in fact, nothing whatever about them or their lives. A certain uniformity of effeminacy (*mollesse*) characterizes the forms, as it does some of the much earlier compositions of Gandhāra. But, although it is true that the reliefs are carefully planned and must be criticized as selected book illustrations rather than as the spontaneous utterance of simple souls in direct contact with nature, they are extremely good and charming. When compared with the ancient reliefs of Sānchī

[1] The name Boro-Būdūr means 'the many Buddhas' (cf. Sanskrit, *Brihad-devatā*). The older books give erroneous interpretations. The building, although apparently a staged pyramid, is really constructed on the plan of a circular *stūpa*, all the angles being inscribed in circles. The so-called 'second gallery', designed to be the first, became the second when the original plinth was encased in a structure of later masonry. The literary works illustrated by the reliefs all belong to the *Mūla-Sarvāstivādin* school of Buddhism, to which the seventh-century pilgrim I-tsing adhered (Foucher, 'Notes d'archéologie bouddhique,' *B. E. F. E. O.*, Janv.–Mars, 1909, pp. 1–50).

and Bharhut they exhibit a delicate refinement of design and a beauty in feature which are sometimes lacking in the more virile works of the early Indian schools. They deserve the most careful critical study by professional sculptors, who alone would be in a position to realize how much praise is due to artists capable of executing more than two miles of stone pictures, almost uniform in beauty and the display of technical skill of a high order.

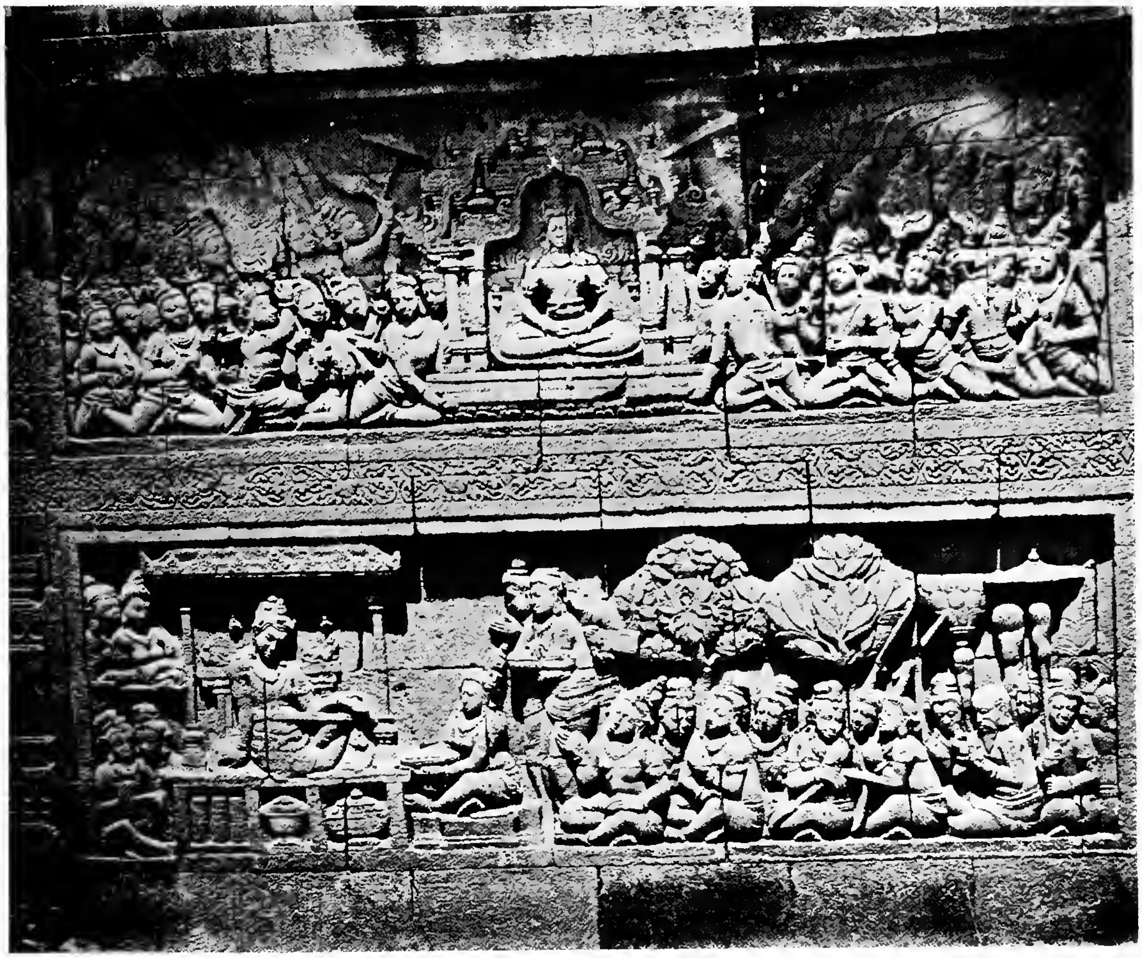


Fig. 198. Offerings to a Bodhisattva.
(van Kinsbergen, *Oudheden van Java*, No. 16.)

Mysterious origin of the school of sculpture.

Works of such unparalleled magnitude must have been executed by a multitude of expert artists. Whence did they come? By whom were they trained? Which Indian school is most closely related to them? These questions and others, easy to ask, are difficult to answer. The style, as well as the subject-matter of the reliefs, is distinctly Indian, and yet with a difference which marks it as Javanese. Nobody with the least experience could mistake a Javanese relief for one executed in India. But when we compare the Boro-Būdūr sculptures with the seventh-century reliefs at

Māmallapuram (*ante*, 220), or the sixth-century friezes at Bādāmi (*ante*, 210), the difference almost amounts to that between fine art and barbarism. The artists of Boro-Būdūr cannot have been taught by their comparatively rude predecessors at either Māmallapuram or Bādāmi. It is difficult, merely from study of the sculptures



FIG. 199. Sarasvatī enthroned; from Jogyokaita, Java. (van Kinsbergen, *Oudheden van Java*, Pl. 179.)



FIG. 200. Prajñā Pāramitā. (Photo. supplied by Dr. Coomaraswamy.)

and without the aid of external evidence, to form a definite opinion whether the art of Boro-Būdūr was derived from the east or the west side of India.[1] The individual figures have a beauty of countenance which, unfortunately, is rare in Indian sculpture.

[1] The character of the sculptures and the details of the ornamentation in the later caves of Western India do not appear to me to be 'so nearly identical with what is found in the Javan monument' as Fergusson affirms (*Hist. Ind. and E. Archit.*, ed. 1910, ii, p. 426). The differences rather than the resemblances impress my mind.

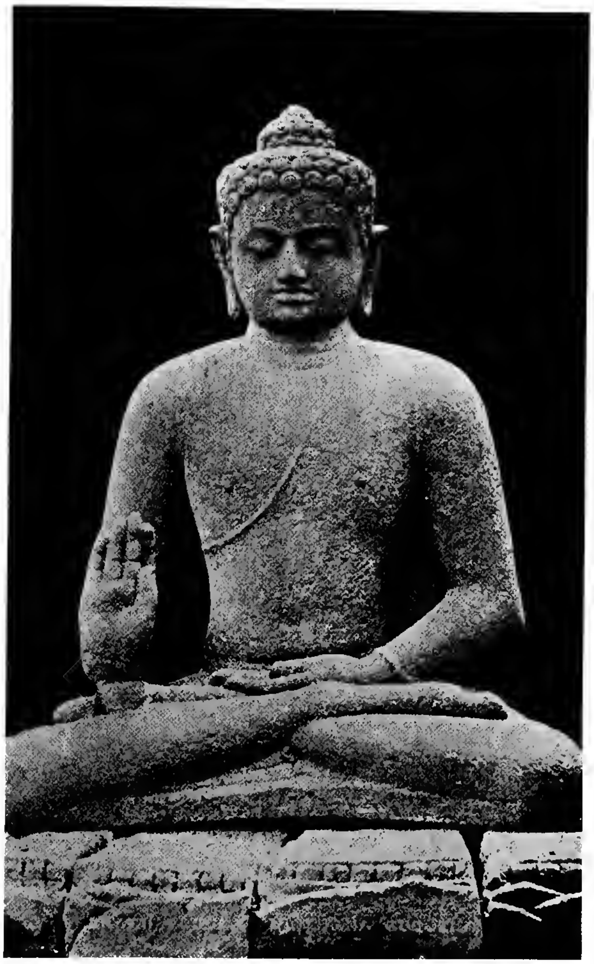


PLATE LII. Stone Buddha. Photo. by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy; Havell, *Ind. Sculpture and Painting*, Pl. II: No. 5, van Kinsbergen, *Oudheden van Java*.

Possibly Chinese teaching may be one of the causes of the excellence of the sculptures; but the subject requires study much deeper than any it has yet received, and at present it is impossible to solve the many problems suggested by the reliefs. The Indian sculptures which most nearly resemble the Javanese work are those executed under Chola patronage in the eleventh century (*ante*, Figs. 159–62).

Numerous ancient cities.

Notable sites, crowded with ancient buildings, are far too numerous in Java to be even named. The most important, perhaps, after Boro-Būdūr is Prambānam (Brambanam), an early capital, where the temples are said to include six large and 150 small ones, supposed to date from about the tenth century.



FIG. 201. ? Manjuśrī; Raffles Coll., B. M.; $6\frac{15}{16}$ inches high. (Photo. by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, Pl. II. 4.)

Detached images and bronzes.

The Javanese sculptures, in addition to reliefs, comprise multitudes of large detached stone images and small bronzes, of which only a small number of specimens can be illustrated here.

Sarasvatī.

From van Kinsbergen's plates I select a very pleasing image of Sarasvatī, consort of Brahmā and goddess of speech and learning, who is represented enthroned. The mongoose or ichneumon is her special attribute (Fig. 199).

The other illustrations are from photographs kindly supplied by Dr. Coomaraswamy and already published by him, and also, in part, by Mr. Havell.

Buddha.

The stone Buddha (Plate LII) is one of several similar images, nearly equal in

quality, which exhibit the Indian *yogī* ideal in an exceptionally dignified and agreeable manner.[1] The expressive modelling of the right hand deserves special commendation.

Prajñā-Pāramitā.

Figure 200 gives a side view of the beautiful image of *Prajñā-Pāramitā* now at Leyden, of which Mr. Havell has published a front view. The name is that of the most sacred book of the Mahāyānist scriptures, ascribed to Nāgārjuna, and thence transferred to a personification of Supreme Wisdom in female form. Mr. Havell, who regards the image as being 'one of the most spiritual creations of any art, Eastern or Western', compares it with the Madonnas of Giovanni Bellini.

Manjuśrī.

The little bronze (Fig. 201), supposed to represent Manjusrī, is one of the most attractive of the Raffles collection in the British Museum. The monstrosity of the extra arms must be endured.[2] The plan and limits of this book do not admit of further discussion of Indo-Javanese art.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

The principal references are collected by Mr. Phené Spiers in chap. iv of vol. ii of Fergusson, *Hist. of Ind. and E. Archit.*, 2nd ed., 1910.

The illustrations in Raffles' *History of Java* and Leeman's work on Boro-Būdūr are useless for purposes of art criticism. The only published plates available for such purposes are those in van Kinsbergen's atlas folio volumes entitled *Oudheden van Java* (*Antiquities of Java*), to be found in certain public libraries. Some of the sculptures have been reproduced recently by Mr. Havell, Dr. Coomaraswamy, Mr. Phené Spiers, and M. Foucher. The Oriental Art Society, Calcutta, is said to have acquired a large collection of photographs. The meaning of the *Lalita Vistara* series of reliefs is expounded by Pleyte, *Die Buddha-Legende in den Skulpturen des Tempels von Bôrô-Budur* (small 4to, Amsterdam, 1910).

M. Foucher's recent essay cited in the notes is of special value. The Gūjarāt traditions were collected by the late Mr. A. M. Jackson, I.C.S., in his article 'Java and Cambodia', forming App. IV of *Bombay Gazetteer* (1896), vol. i, Part I.

A comprehensive critical work dealing with the spread of Indian colonies, institutions, and art in the Malay Archipelago and the neighbouring countries on the mainland is badly wanted. Nothing of the kind seems to exist in any language.

SECTION IX. MEDIAEVAL JAIN SCULPTURE IN ALL INDIA.

Former extension of Jainism.

The Jain religion, now mostly confined to Rājputāna and the western provinces, was formerly, as already observed (*ante*, p. 11), far more widely extended than it is at the present day. In all ages Jains, like the adherents of the rival religions, freely enlisted the services of the sculptor. Numerous examples of Jain sculpture dating from mediaeval times are to be found in regions where the Jain religion is now non-existent. Almost all Jain images are so much alike that they may be disposed of summarily without the chronological and provincial classification indispensable for the discussion of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculpture.

Monotony of Jain images.

The excessive deference to ritual prescription, generally recognized as a defect in Hindu art, is carried to such an extremity by the Jains that images differing in age by a thousand years are almost indistinguishable in style. The uniformity which runs through the centuries extends all over India, so that little difference between

[1] e. g. Nos. 6, 7, 8 in van Kinsbergen's plates.

[2] The small bronzes in the British Museum are numerous. Several have been published by Dr. Coomaraswamy.

northern and southern productions is noticeable, and the genius of individual artists finds small scope for its display.

These observations apply chiefly to separate images. The Jains, as Mr. Walhouse has observed, delight in making their images of all substances and sizes, but almost always invariable in attitude, whether that be seated or standing. Most of the images belong to the Digambara school or sect, and are nude. Small portable effigies of the saints are made of crystal, alabaster, soapstone, bloodstone, and various other materials; while the large ones are carved from whatever kind of stone happens to be locally available. The seated statues are always posed in the cross-legged *yogī* attitude of meditation, with, so far as I know, only a single exception at Gwālior. The standing ones are ordinarily nude square-shouldered figures facing front, with the arms hanging straight down by the sides.

Numberless images of both kinds might be figured without adding anything to the reader's knowledge of Indian art. They differ one from the other merely in the degree of perfection attained in mechanical execution. Undoubtedly the most remarkable of the Jain statues are the celebrated colossi of Southern India, the largest free-standing statues in Asia, which are three in number, situated respectively at Sravana Belgola in Mysore, and at Kārkala, and Yenūr (or Venūr) in South Kanara. All three, being set on the top of eminences, are visible for miles around, and, in spite of their formalism, command respectful attention by their enormous mass and expression of dignified serenity.

The biggest, that at Sravana Belgola, stands about 56½ feet in height, with a width of 13 feet across the hips, and is cut out of a solid block of gneiss, apparently wrought *in situ*. That at Kārkala, of the same material, but some 15 feet less in height, is estimated to weigh 80 tons. The smallest of the giants, that at Yenūr, is 35 feet high. The three images are almost identical, but the one at Yenūr has the 'special peculiarity of the cheeks being dimpled with a deep, grave smile', which is considered to detract from the impressive effect.

The extreme conventionalism of Jain art is well illustrated by the fact that, whereas all the three colossi are substantially identical, save for the smile at Yenūr, the dates vary widely. The Sravana Belgola statue owes its existence to the piety of the minister Chamunda Rāya, who erected it about A. D. 983; while the Kārkala image was consecrated in A. D. 1432, and the Yenūr one as late as 1604. The character of all three, and of most standing Jain statues, except for certain varying minor accessories, is sufficiently indicated by Plate LIII, representing the Kārkala image.[1]

A passing reference may be made to the five groups of Jain images cut in relief on the face of the steep cliff below the fort of Gwālior, all executed between A.D. 1440 and 1473, of which several are colossal, one being 57 feet high. The south-western group includes a recumbent image of a sleeping female, 8 feet in length, and a com-

[1] References are, for Sravana Belgola statue—*Ind. Ant.*, ii. 129, Pl.; *Ep. Ind.* vii. 108, Pl. (good); Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 47, Fig. of face. Kārkala statue—*Ind. Ant.*, ii. 353, Pl.; *Ep. Ind.*, vii. 112 (with small, bad photo.). Yenūr statue—*Ind. Ant.*, v. 37, Pl.; *Ep. Ind.*, vii. 112 (with small, bad photo.).



PLATE LIII. Jain colossus at Kārkaḷa, South Kanara, Madras.
(From *Ind. Ant.*, vol. ii, p. 353, lithogr. plate, by permission.)

position consisting of a male and female seated with a child.[1] Images in such attitudes are extremely rare. The Gwālior reliefs are mere curiosities without artistic value.

In decorative sculpture, as distinguished from individual statuary, the Jains encouraged work of a high order of excellence and beauty, employed to adorn with the utmost possible magnificence the pillared chambers which were their favourite form of architecture. Nothing in the world can surpass for richness and delicacy of detail the marble columns and ceilings of the Mount Ābū temples (*ante*, Plates VI and VII), and it would be easy to fill a large volume with illustrations of more or less similar exquisite work in many localities.

In this place it will suffice to give a single unpublished illustration of a Jain temple in Mysore, dating from about the twelfth century, for which I am indebted to the Archaeological Survey of that State. The central Tīrthankara, or saint, is in the usual conventional style, while the subordinate figures exhibit in an exaggerated form some of the least pleasing peculiarities of Hindu art, and the design of the scroll-work is better suited for metal than stone. Nevertheless the general effect is sumptuous and decorative (Plate LIV).

Mr. Rice states that the façade of the Chandragupta *bastī*, a section of the ancient group of temples at Sravana Belgola, is 'a perforated stone screen containing ninety sculptured scenes of events in the lives of Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta', probably executed in the twelfth century by a sculptor whose name is recorded.[2]

I am not in a position to illustrate those interesting and unique compositions.

[1] Cunningham, *Arch. S. Rep.*, ii. 364–8.

[2] *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 5.

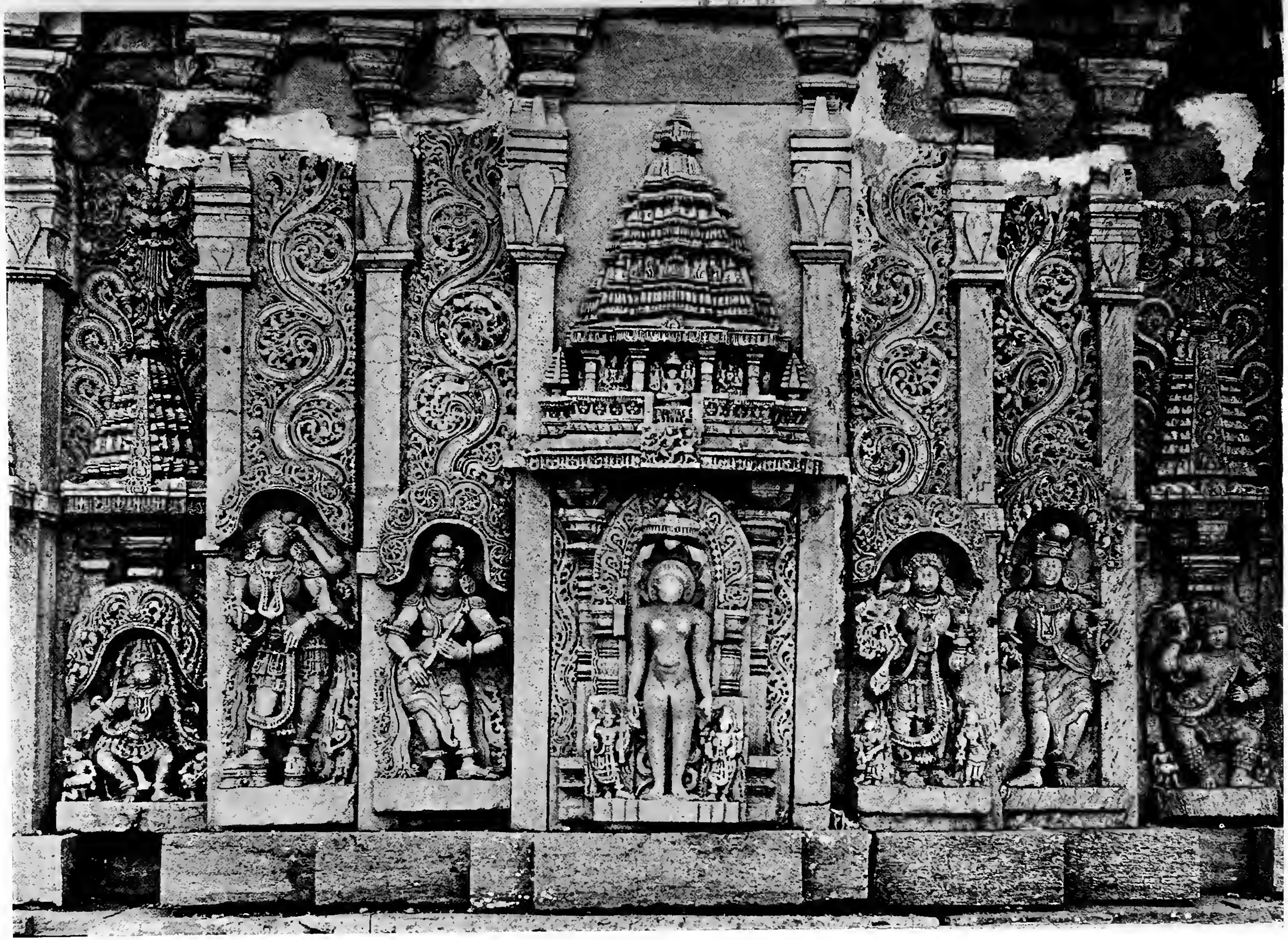


PLATE LIV. Jain sculpture and ornament on north face of Jinanāthpur Bastī, near Sravana Belgola, ? 12th cent.
(Photo. by Archaeol. Survey, Mysore.)

CHAPTER VIII

THE EARLY SCHOOLS OF HINDU PAINTING

Section I. General Observations.

Few, very few, people realize that the art of painting in India and Ceylon has a long history, illustrated by extant examples ranging over a period exceeding two thousand years, and that during the so-called Dark Ages the Indian and Ceylonese painters attained a degree of proficiency not matched in Europe before the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Nevertheless such are the facts. In this chapter and the next following the history of the art in India and Ceylon, so far as its practice was dominated by Hindu ideas, will be traced from the earliest times of which there is record until the present day; but, unfortunately, the incompleteness of the record compels the historian to leave many gaps in his narrative. The widest of those gaps lies between the close of the Ajantā series in the seventh and the introduction of the Indo-Persian style by Akbar in the sixteenth century. During that long period of more than nine hundred years hardly anything definite is known concerning the productions of Indian and Ceylonese painters. Abundant material exists for the history of the Indo-Persian school, which will be discussed in Chapter XIV. That school, although foreign in origin, bears ample indirect testimony to the continuity of the Hindu pictorial tradition. When the relations of Indian art generally to that of foreign countries come to be examined in Chapter XI, we shall find that Hindu painting, while related to the ancient schools of interior Asia, has merits peculiarly its own, and apparently deserves credit for substantial originality.

The ancient literature of India and Ceylon contains many references to pictorial art, the earliest, perhaps, being those in books of the Pāli Buddhist canon dating from some three or four centuries before the Christian era. Several passages in those books tell of pleasure-houses belonging to the kings of Magadha and Kosala in Northern India as being adorned with painted figures and decorative patterns, presumably similar to the earliest known frescoes in Orissa and at Ajantā.[1] Painted halls are also mentioned in the *Rāmāyana*, a Brahmanical epic of uncertain but early date; and allusions to portraits are frequent in the dramas of Kālidāsa and his successors from the fifth to the eighth century after Christ. The Ceylonese chronicle, the *Mahāvamsa*, composed probably in the fifth century, tells of the mural paintings decorating the relic-chamber of the Ruwanweli *dāgaba* constructed by King Duttha-gāmini about B.C. 150. The testimony of native writers is confirmed by that of the Chinese pilgrims in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, who notice several

[1] Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 96; citing *Vin.*, ii. 151; iv. 47, 61, 298; *Sam.*, 42, 84.

examples of celebrated Buddhist pictures; and by Tāranāth, the Tibetan historian of Buddhism, who, when writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, ascribes the most ancient pictures to the gods, and declares that they were so marvellous as to bewilder beholders by their realism.[1]

Range in time of extant remains.

The literary evidence thus summarily indicated would alone amply prove the early and continuous practice of the painter's art in both India and Ceylon; but it is unnecessary to labour the proof from books, because evidence of a more satisfactory kind is furnished by the considerable surviving remains of ancient painting from the second century before Christ; which, even in their present fragmentary and mutilated state, enable the modern critic to appraise the style of the early Indian artists, and to recognize the just claim of the art of India and Ceylon to take high rank among the ancient schools of painting. We will now proceed to give in this chapter an account of the extant remains of Indian and Ceylonese painting from the second century before Christ to the middle of the seventh century of the Christian era.

SECTION II. RĀMGARH HILL, ORISSA.

The oldest paintings.

The oldest Indian pictures, and, excepting the Egyptian, probably the most ancient extant specimens of Oriental painting, are found in the Jogimārā Cave of the Rāmgarh Hill in the Surgujā State, a wild region lying to the south of the Mirzāpur District and now attached to the Central Provinces.[2]

These pictures, apparently executed in the customary Indian method of fresco, which will be explained presently, are divided into concentric circles by bands of red and yellow, sometimes enriched with a geometrical design, these circles seemingly being again subdivided into panels. The general nature of the subjects of the four best preserved panels, copies of which are not available, can be understood from the following brief description:—

Description.

A. In the centre a male figure is seated under a tree, with dancing girls and musicians to the left, and a procession, including an elephant, to the right.

B. This panel exhibits several male figures, a wheel, and sundry geometrical ornaments.

C. One half of this panel merely shows indistinct traces of flowers, horses, and clothed human figures.

In the other half is seen a tree having a bird and apparently a nude child in its branches, while round the tree are grouped other nude human figures, wearing their hair tied in a knot on the left side of the head.

D. The upper part of one half of this panel contains a nude male figure seated and attended by three clothed men standing, with two similar seated figures and three more attendants on one side. In the lower part are depicted a house with the horse-

[1] *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, ch. xxiv, transl. Schiefner, p. 278. His testimony will be discussed in the next chapter.

[2] The spelling 'Surgujā', not 'Sirgujā', seems to be correct. The hill is situated in 22° 53′ N., 82° 55′ E., close to the small village of Udaypur in the Lakhanpurī Zamīndārī of the Surgujā State, transferred from the government of Bengal and Orissa to that of the Central Provinces.

shoe or so-called 'chaitya' window, an elephant, and three clothed men standing in front. Near this group are shown a chariot drawn by three horses and surmounted by an umbrella, and a second elephant with an attendant. In the second half of the panel the figures are generally similar in character.

The early date of the paintings, which are fairly well preserved, is attested by inscriptions, evidently contemporary, and by the style, which recalls that of the sculptures at Sānchī and Bharhut (*ante*, pp. 74, 80). They probably date from the second century, and cannot well be later than the first century before Christ. The subjects cannot be interpreted at present, but the nudity of the principal figures suggests a connexion with the Jain rather than the Buddhist religion, if the cave and paintings had any religious significance, which is doubtful. As regards technique, the designs are painted usually in red, but occasionally in black, on a white ground. The outlines of the human and animal figures are drawn in black. Clothing is white with red outlines, hair is black, and eyes are white. Yellow appears in the dividing bands only, and blue does not seem to occur. These particulars indicate a very primitive style.[1]

Section III. Ajantā.

The story of the art of painting in India is continued by the celebrated frescoes of the Ajantā caves in the west, ranging in date from about A.D. 50, or earlier, to 642, a period of some six or seven centuries, and constituting the most important mass of ancient painting extant in the world, Pompeii only excepted. The caves, twenty-nine in number, are 'excavated in the face of an almost perpendicular scarp of rock about 250 feet high, sweeping round in a curve of fully a semicircle, and forming the north or outer side of a wild and lonely glen, down which comes a small stream'. This glen or ravine, a scene of great natural beauty and perfect seclusion, admirably adapted for a monastic retreat, is situated about three and a half miles south-west from Fardāpur, a small town in the Nizam's Dominions, standing at the foot of a pass across the Indhyādri Hills, which divide the table-land of the Deccan from the Khāndesh District in the Tāpti valley, and four miles WNW. from the town of Ajantā (30°32′ N., 75°46′ E.), not far from the battle-field of Assaye.[2]

'The caves extend for a distance of about 600 yards from east to west round the concave wall of amygdaloid trap which hems in the stream on its north or left side, and vary in elevation from about 35 to 100 feet above the level of the torrent.' The numbers by which authors have agreed to designate them begin at the east end. Four of the excavations, Nos. IX, X, XIX, and XXVI, are churches (the so-called 'chaityas'), the rest being monastic residences, the 'vihāras' of English writers. Some have never been completed. The principal works are elaborate architectural compositions,

[1] The only information on the subject is recorded by the late Dr. Bloch in *Ann. Rep. A. S., Bengal Circle*, 1903–4, pp. 12–14; and *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1903–4, p. 130. No doubt the Director-General will seize the earliest opportunity to obtain copies of these interesting works. The premature death of Dr. Bloch is much to be deplored.

[2] Ajaṇṭā, or more correctly Ajīṇṭhā (Fleet, *Ind. Ant.*, xxii. 114).

executed in the solid rock, the nature of which is very inadequately expressed by the term 'caves'.

In 1879 paintings to a greater or lesser extent remained in sixteen caves, Nos. I, II, IV, VI, VII, IX, X, XI, XV, XVI, XVII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXII, and XXVI. The most important fragments were then to be seen in nine caves, Nos. I, II, IX, X, XI, XVI, XVII, XIX, and XXI, those in Cave XVII being the most extensive.[1] The most ancient excavations, Nos. VIII, XII, and XIII, have no paintings. No. XIII, perhaps the earliest of all, has polished walls, and may date from 200 B. C. Six of the caves, Nos. VIII, IX, X, XI (with some sculpture possibly later), XII, and XIII are concerned with the early Hīnayāna form of Buddhism, and may be considered to cover a period of about three and a half centuries from 200 B. C. to A. D. 150. All the others were dedicated to the Mahāyāna forms of worship. Nos. VI and VII may be assigned to the century between A. D. 450 and 550. The rest, namely Nos. XIV to XX, XXI–XXIX, and I–V seem to have been excavated between A. D. 500 and 642, several having been left incomplete. No. I was held by Fergusson to be the latest of the completed works.

The paintings are not necessarily of exactly the same age as the caves which they adorn. The most ancient unquestionably are certain works in Caves IX and X, partially overlaid by later pictures. These earliest paintings are so closely related to the Sānchī sculptures that they may be referred to approximately the same age, about the beginning of the Christian era, or earlier. They may be credited to the patronage of the powerful Āndhra kings of the Deccan, who, even if not themselves Buddhists, certainly put no obstacle in the way of Buddhist worship. So far as appears, no paintings were executed for centuries afterwards. The next in date would seem to be the Buddhas on the pillars in Cave X, with various forms of the nimbus and a style of drapery which brings to mind the sculptures of Gandhāra and early Christian art (Griffiths, Pl. 42, 43). These might be as early as A. D. 350, but may be considerably later.[2]

The bulk of the paintings unquestionably must be assigned to the time of the great Chalukya kings, A. D. 550–642; but some may have been executed under the patronage of the earlier Vākātaka kings of Berār. A Vākātaka inscription exists in Cave XVI. It is unlikely that any can have been executed later than the second date named, when Pulakesin II was dethroned and presumably killed by the Pallava king of the South. The resulting political conditions must have been unfavourable for the execution of costly works of art dedicated to the service of Buddhism, the Pallava kings having been, as a rule, ardent worshippers of Siva. The latest pictures, those in Cave I, may be attributed, for reasons to be explained presently, to the years between A. D. 626 and 642. The related paintings at Bāgh in Mālwā may be dated at some time in the sixth century, or the first half of the seventh.

[1] The amount remaining is now much reduced. In 1909–10 Mrs. Herringham found considerable remains only in Caves I, II, IX, X, XVI, and XVII (*Burlington Magazine*, vol. xvii, June 1910, pp. 136–8, with two Plates). See also her remarks in *Catalogue and Guide to the Indian Court, Festival of Empire*, published in July, 1911.

[2] According to Mrs. Herringham, these are the only paintings now left in Cave X. The wall-paintings described by Burgess in 1879 have disappeared.

The Ajantā paintings first became known to Europeans in 1819, but failed to attract much attention until 1843, when Mr. James Fergusson, the historian of architecture, published a description of them and persuaded the Directors of the East India Company to sanction the preparation of copies at the public expense. In pursuance of the orders of the Court, Major Gill, a competent and conscientious artist, was deputed some years later, and continued at work until the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857.[1] The copies then executed, thirty or more in number, were sent home from time to time, and with the exception of five, the last executed, perished in 1866 in a fire at the Crystal Palace, where they were exhibited. Nothing remains of the lost copies except a few small-scale outline engravings in Mrs. Speir's *Ancient India* (1856), and reproductions of them in *Ancient and Mediaeval India* (1869) by the same lady under the name of Manning, and also in the *Notes on the Bauddha Rock-Temples of Ajanta* (1879) by Dr. Burgess.

Since then fresh copies have been prepared between 1872 and 1885 by Mr. Griffiths of the Bombay School of Art, and his pupils, which have been partially published in two magnificent atlas folio volumes entitled *The Paintings of the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajanta, Khandesh, India* (1896). The India Office also possesses a fine volume of photographs arranged by Dr. Burgess.[2]

The Crystal Palace fire did not exhaust the ill-luck of these famous paintings. A subsequent fire at the South Kensington Museum destroyed or damaged many of Mr. Griffiths's copies, as shown in detail in the Appendix to volume ii of his work. The copies, more than a hundred in number, which escaped the fires are exhibited in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington, but many of them have been damaged, and their colouring is by no means true to the originals.

Publicity has been fatal to the originals, and the Government of H.H. the Nizam, in whose territories the caves are situated, has shown little concern for their preservation. Indeed, thirty years ago one of his subordinate officials wrought much damage by cutting out heads to present to visitors; and, shameful to say, Dr. Bird, a Bombay archaeologist, was guilty of the same crime with the intention of benefiting the Museum at Bombay. Of course, all the fragments of plaster thus abstracted crumbled to dust and were lost irretrievably. Much injury also has been done by smoke from the fires of Hindu ascetics camping in the caves, by the folly of irresponsible scribblers of various nationalities, and by the unchecked action of bats, birds, and nest-building insects.

The Director-General of Archaeology in India informs me that in 1903–4 wire screens were fixed up in all the more important caves, and a good deal of cleaning was done. In 1908 the Department submitted a scheme for further conservation to the

[1] His portrait appears in Plate 34 of Fergusson's scarce octavo work entitled *The Rock-cut Temples of India, illustrated by 74 photographs taken on the spot by Major Gill* (Murray, 1864); photo. No. 616 in *India Office List of Negatives*. Colonel Havelock of Cheltenham possesses another likeness of the artist.

[2] Mrs. Herringham states that the varnish applied by either Gill or Griffiths 'is now dirty and yellow, and has seriously spoiled the pictures'.

Government of the Nizam, and it is hoped that effective action may be taken. The Imperial Government cannot interfere directly in the internal administration of a protected State.

The long-continued neglect of these precious remains by the Government of H.H. the Nizam offers a painful contrast to the vigorous and effective action taken by the Government of Ceylon to preserve the fifth-century paintings at Sīgiriya which will be described in due course. At Ajantā the result of neglect and wilful injury is that the existing paintings are only a small fraction of those visible in 1819, when the caves were first brought to notice. Nevertheless, in spite of all mischances, enough either remains or has been recorded to indicate the course of Indian pictorial art for some six centuries or more.

Many of the paintings referred to in this chapter, which existed in 1879, when Dr. Burgess wrote, have since disappeared.

The Ajantā pictures may be correctly termed frescoes, although the process used is not exactly the same as any practised in Europe.

'The Indian practice of wall-painting at Ajantā, as elsewhere,' Mr. Griffiths observes, 'is in fact a combination of tempera with fresco. The hydraulic nature of Indian lime, or *chunam*, makes it possible to keep a surface moist for a longer time than in Europe, and the Indian practice of trowelling the work—unknown in Europe—produced a closer and more intimate *liaison* between the colour and the lime, and a more durable and damp-resisting face than the open texture of European fresco. The art has been practised all over India since the time of the Ajantā frescoes, and to this day houses, mosques, and temples are thus decorated. The modern method is first to spread a ground of coarse mortar (*chunam*) of the thickness of from half to one inch on the wall. This is allowed to stand for a day. If on the next day the ground is too dry, it is moistened, and then tapped all over with the edge of a small piece of wood of triangular section, to roughen it and give it a tooth. Then, with a coarse brush a thin coating of fine white plaster (*chunam*) is applied, and the work is allowed to stand till the next day, being moistened all the time. If the painting is to be highly finished, the ground is carefully smoothed with a small flat iron trowel about the size of a dessert spoon, which produces a surface on which the design is first sketched, or transferred by pouncing from a perforated drawing on paper, and then painted.

The outline is usually put in first in brown or black; local colour is filled in with flat washes, on which the details are painted.

The colours are ground with rice or linseed-water with a little coarse molasses (*gur*), and water only is used in painting. Then, when the painting is completed, it is again rubbed over with the same small trowel. . . . It is considered absolutely necessary that the work should be kept damp from beginning to finish, so that the plaster is not allowed to set until the completion of the picture. When once the smoothly trowelled surface is dry, it bears a distinct sheen or gloss and the colours withstand washing.

Between the methods of modern India and that employed at Ajantā, the only difference is that instead of a first coat of mortar, a mixture of clay, cow-dung, and pulverized trap rock was first applied to the walls and thoroughly pressed into its [*sic*] surface, when the small cavities and air-holes peculiar to volcanic rock and the rough

chisel marks left by the excavators served as keys. In some instances, especially in the ceilings, rice husks were used.

This first layer—which, according to our modern notions—promises no great permanence, was laid to a thickness varying from one-eighth to three-quarters of an inch, and on it an egg-shell coat of fine white plaster was spread. This skin of plaster, in fact, overlaid everything—mouldings, columns, carven ornaments, and figure sculptures—but, in the case of carved details, without the intervention of the coat of earthen rough-cast; and, from what remains, it is clear that the whole of each cave was thus plaster-coated and painted. The texture of the volcanic rock, which is at once hard, open, impervious to damp, and yet full of air-holes, is especially suitable for this treatment. Great pains were taken with the statues of Buddha; one in the small chamber to the right of the first floor of Cave VI is covered with a layer of the finest plaster one-eighth of an inch thick, so painted and polished that the face has the smoothness and sheen of porcelain.[1]

It will be seen that a parallel to the technique of the Ajantā paintings is scarcely to be found in the Italian frescoes. But it is evident from specimens of the Egyptian work in the British Museum that loam or clay mixed with chopped straw formed the substratum over which, as at Ajantā, a layer of fine plaster was laid to receive the final painting.

It may not be impertinent again to point out the exceeding simplicity of the Indian and Egyptian methods, which have ensured a durability denied to more recent attempts executed with all the aids of modern chemical science.'[2]

The foregoing description of the technique of the Ajantā paintings, based upon Mr. Griffiths's patient study for thirteen years on the spot, may be accepted with confidence as authoritative, although Mr. Havell may be right in adding that the pictures were sometimes touched up in tempera after the surface had dried. Italian workers in true fresco (*fresco buono*) often permit themselves the same liberty.

Observations of Mrs. Herringham.

But it will be well to supplement Mr. Griffiths's account by the recent observations of Mrs. Herringham, also an expert artist, who writes:—

'The technique adopted, with perhaps some few exceptions, is a bold red line-drawing on the white plaster. Sometimes nothing else is left. This drawing gives all the essentials with force or delicacy as may be required, and with knowledge and intention. Next comes a thinnish terra-verde monochrome showing some of the red through it; then the local colour; then a strengthening of the outlines with blacks and browns giving great decision, but also a certain flatness; last, a little shading if necessary. There is not much definite light and shade modelling, but there is great definition given by the use of contrasting local colour and of emphatic blacks and whites.'

Mr. Griffiths, it will be observed, does not mention the first outline in red.

[1] In Cave IX the early picture H which Mr. Griffiths exposed and copied, after removing a later damaged painting, was executed on a coat of finest plaster, $\frac{1}{32}$ inch thick, applied directly to the rock, and polished like porcelain.

[2] Griffiths, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[3] For a good summary account of the European processes see the article 'Fresco' in Chambers's *Encyclopaedia* (1905). Mr. J. L. Kipling, a competent authority, states that the fresco-painting on the walls of the mosque of Wazīr Khan at Lahore, 'which is very freely painted and in good style, is true fresco-painting, the *buono fresco* of the Italians, and, like the inlaid ceramic work, is now no longer practised, modern native decoration being usually *fresco secco*, or mere distemper painting' (*Lahore Guide*, 1876; quoted in Birdwood, *Industrial Arts of India* (1880), p. 228).

The nature of fresco-painting in any of its forms implies the use of a limited range of pigments capable of resisting the decomposing action of lime, and consequently composed of natural earths. At Ajantā and Bāgh the colours most freely used are white, red, and brown in various shades, a dull green, and blue. The white is opaque, mainly composed of sulphate of lime; the reds and browns derive their tints solely from compounds of iron; the green is a silicate, similar to the mineral now known as *terre verte*; and the blue is ultramarine, which was obtained in ancient times by grinding calcined lapis-lazuli, a costly semi-precious mineral usually imported from either Persia or Badakshān. The long panels of the ceilings in Cave II, dating from about A. D. 600, offer well-preserved examples of charming floral decorations in blue (Griffiths, Pl. 123–5). In the early paintings of the Rāmgarh Hill, Orissa (*ante*, p. 273), and the fifth-century works at Sīgiriya in Ceylon (*post*, Sec. 5 of this chapter), blue never occurs. At Ajantā, yellow, so largely used at Anurādhapura in Ceylon, apparently is very rare. The yellow of ancient painters is believed to have been always orpiment, a natural arsenic sulphide.

The subjects of the pictures, as distinguished from the purely decorative devices, are almost exclusively Buddhist. They include, of course, numerous figures of Buddha and representations of sacred objects and symbols. The more complex compositions for the most part deal with either the incidents of the life of Gautama Buddha or those related in the Jātaka stories, which narrates the events of his former births. In at least two cases the Jātaka story is indicated beyond dispute by a painted label, but the fragmentary condition of the pictures renders difficult the identification of most of the scenes. There is, however, no difficulty in recognizing in Cave X the tale of the six-tusked elephant, and a few other legends may be identified with more or less certainty.[1] Miscellaneous edifying Buddhist subjects, not taken from the Jātaka collection, include the Litany of Avalokitesvara; the Wheel of Life, formerly miscalled the Zodiac; and, supposing the identification to be correct, the Landing of Vijaya in Ceylon—all in Cave XVII. If, as seems to be highly probable, Fergusson was right in interpreting a famous scene in Cave I as the record of an embassy from Khusrū Parvīz, King of Persia to Pulakesin II, King of the Deccan, about A.D. 626, the subject of one large wall-picture is of a secular character. Certain smaller pictures on the ceiling of the same cave evidently must be connected with the embassy scene.

The high achievement of the Ajantā artists in decorative design executed with masterly skill is most freely exhibited in the ceiling panels of Cave I, painted in the first half of the seventh century (Fig. 202). Mr. Griffiths, who took so much pleasure in copying the designs, describes their variety as infinite, carried into the smallest details, so that repetition is very rare; fancy is given full play, and the

[1] In Cave XVII the story of Śibi Rājā, who gave his eyes to the beggar (No. 499; Cowell & Rouse, *transl.*, vol. iv, p. 250) is labelled. In Cave II the Kshāntivādin and Maitrībala *jātaka* pictures are accompanied by quotations from the *Jātaka Mālā* of Ārya Śūra, inscribed in characters of about the sixth century, the former being also labelled by name (Heinrich Lüders, 'Ārya Śūra's Jātaka-mālā und die Fresken von Ajaṇṭā', *Nachr. d. königl. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1902, p. 758). The story of the six-tusked elephant is No. 514 (Cowell and Francis, vol. v, p. 20).

simplest objects of nature, being pressed into the artist's service, are converted into pleasing and effective ornament.

'The smaller panels,' he observes, 'are ornamented with designs as varied and graceful as they are fanciful. Some with grotesque little figures, rich in humour and quaintly dressed in Persian turbans, coats, and striped stockings; gambolling amid fruits and flowers; dancing, drinking, or playing upon instruments; or chattering together; some with animals combined with the lotus, drawn with remarkable fidelity and action; as the elephant, humped bull, and the monkey; parrots, geese, and conventional birds singly and in pairs, with foliated crests, and tails convoluted like heraldic lambrequins, showing the upper and under surface of the ornament. Some contain the large pink lotus, full-bloom, half-bloom, and in bud, as well as the smaller red and white; some with the mango (*Mangifera indica*), custard apple (*Anona*



FIG. 202. Figures in spandril of central ceiling panel, Cave I, Ajantā. Griffiths, *op. cit.*, Pl. 113 (102).

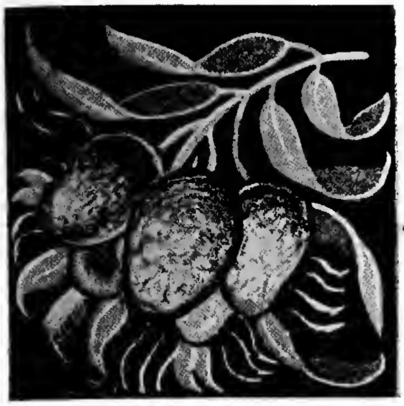
squamosa); a round fruit which may be the *bêl* (*Aegle marmelos*) or the lime (*limbu*); another that looks like the brinjal or aubergine (*Solanum melongena*), and many others.

The ornament in these panels is painted alternately on a black and red ground. The ground colour was first laid all over the panel, and then the ornament painted solidly upon this in white. It was further developed by thin transparent colours over the white.'[1]

The reader who desires to realize fully the justice of Mr. Griffiths's panegyric must study his numerous plates, or the full-sized copies in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington; or, best of all, Mrs. Herringham's recent copies. Here it is not possible to give more than a few specimens.

Cave II presents some equally good work. The circular panels (Griffiths,

[1] Griffiths, *op. cit*, pp. 41, 42.



A. Griffiths, Pl. 102, Fig. 1 *a*.



B. Griffiths, Pl. 104, Fig. 8 *h*.



C. Griffiths, Pl. 106, Fig. 1[illegible]



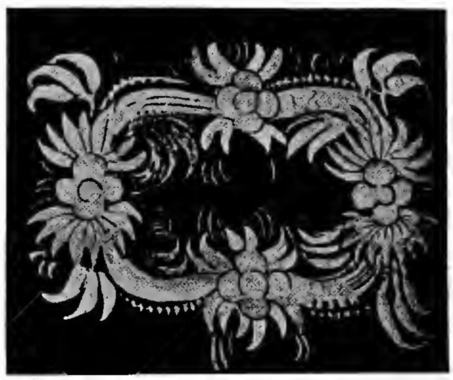
D. Griffiths, Pl. 106, Fig. 17 *j*.



E. Griffiths, Pl. 111, Fig. 49.



F. Griffiths, Pl. 131, Fig. 14; snake design on brown ground.



G. Griffiths, Pl. 132, Fig. 62; wreath design in blue and white on brown ground.

PLATE LV. Small panels from ceiling of Cave I, Ajantā.

Pl. 115, 117–19 coloured, and 120, 121 uncoloured) are very fine, the figures in the spandrils being particularly good and full of movement. These circular panels have a distant resemblance to the carved moonstones of Ceylon. The long ceiling panels (Griffiths, Pl. 122–31 coloured and 132 uncoloured) are admirable. Two small sections from Plate 131 with uncommon designs may be reproduced (Plate LV, F, G).

The decorative designs in Cave I include a minor picture of considerable interest painted on a bracket capital, which may claim a full plate (Pl. LVI), as in Mr. Griffiths's work (Pl. 114). The subject is that of two bulls fighting, and its treatment proves the artist's knowledge of animal form and his power of expressing vigorous action. The same subject, with variations of detail, is treated in a sculpture at the ancient cave of Bhājā, dating from about the beginning of the Christian era or earlier, and again in a sixteenth-century painting at Akbar's capital, Fathpur Sīkrī. It occurs also in a well-known sculpture in the Louvre, brought from the Doric temple at Assos in the Troad, and dating from about 500 B.C.[1]



FIG. 203. Figure from early painting H, Cave IX, Ajantā. (Griffiths, Fig. 50, p. 18.)

In the sixth-century Cave XVII, the charming floral designs combined with human figures on the panels of the pillars (Griffiths, Pl. 144–9) are closely related to the slightly earlier sculptured work on the Garhwā pillars in Northern India (*ante*, p. 166). The *kīrtimukha* grinning faces in Plate 146 recall sculptural forms common in Ceylon. As chaste decoration it would be difficult to surpass the frets in Griffiths, Plates 143 and 149.

The pair of lovers in a spandril of the central panel of the ceiling of Cave I is admirably drawn, and although forming only a subordinate member of a decorative design, is worthy of reproduction as a cabinet picture (Fig. 202).

We now proceed to describe, so far as space permits, characteristic examples of the larger pictures on the walls of the caves in chronological order. But the pictures being too large to admit of intelligible reproduction as complete compositions, except

[1] For Bhājā see Fergusson and Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India* (1880), p. 536; for Assos, Texier and Pullan, *Principal Buildings in Asia Minor*, Pl. I; or Texier, *Asie Mineure*, vol. ii, pp. 112–14. The Fathpur Sīkrī frescoes are reproduced by E. W. Smith, *Fathpur-Sikri*, vol. i, Pl. XI–XIII, XV*a*, *b*, *c*; CIX–CXX, and also partly in the *J. I. A. I.* (July, 1894), and Griffiths, *op. cit.*

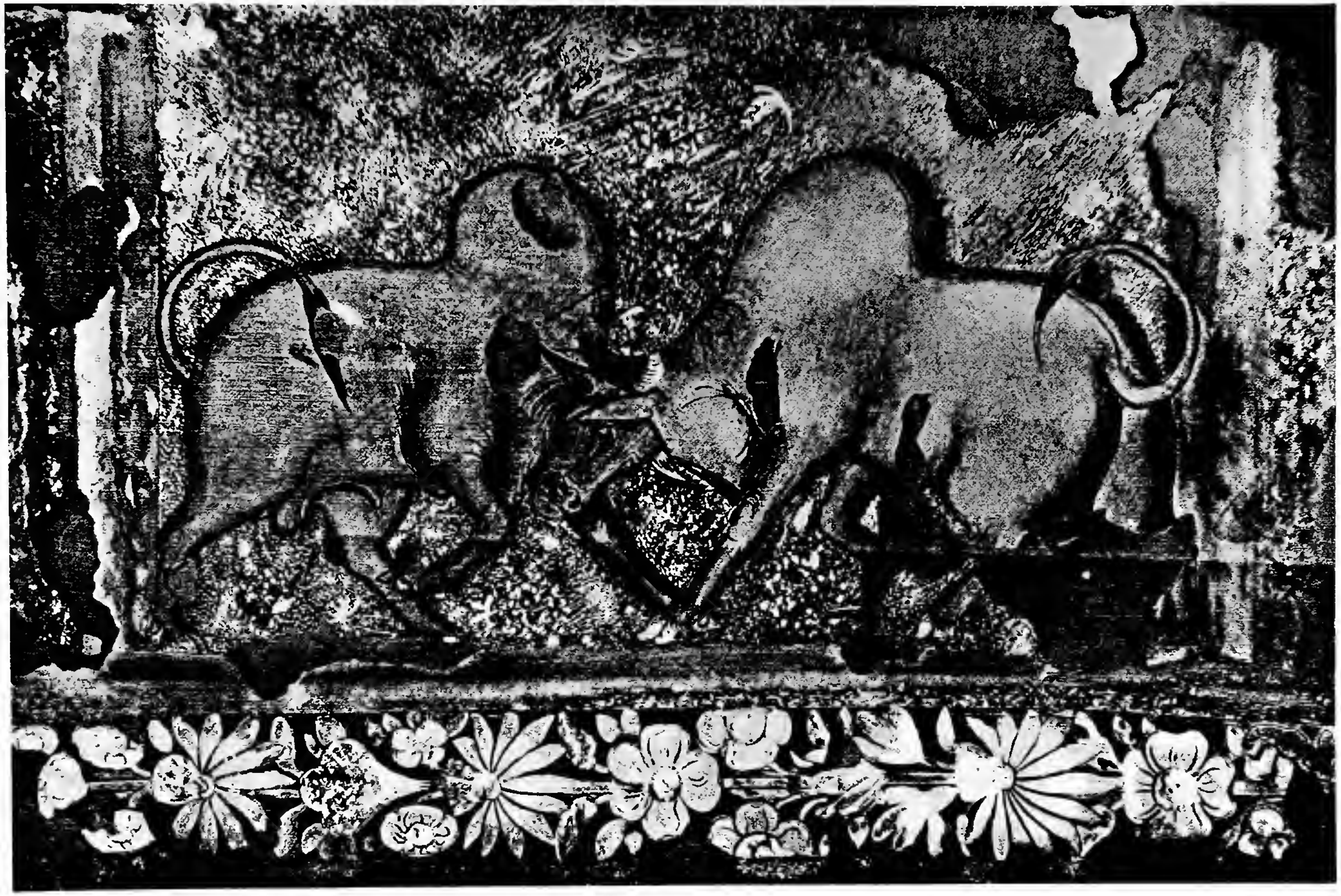


PLATE LVI. Bulls fighting; from bracket capital; Cave I, Ajantā.
(Griffiths, Pl. 114.)

on a scale far beyond the dimensions of this book, the illustrations will be confined to extracts from the paintings, which are generally overcrowded and lacking in the unity derived from skilled composition.

The earliest works, as already stated, are certain paintings in Caves IX and X, closely related to the Sānchī sculptures.

The seated woman is a pleasing example from the painting H in Cave IX (Fig. 203), which Mr. Griffiths exposed by removing a later and damaged picture. The old composition was painted on a thin porcelain-like skin of fine plaster applied direct to the rock.

In Cave X the remains of early paintings are, or were thirty years ago, more extensive. The fragments on the right-hand wall then consisted chiefly of elephants drawn in outline 'in a strikingly bold and true style' (Fig. 204).

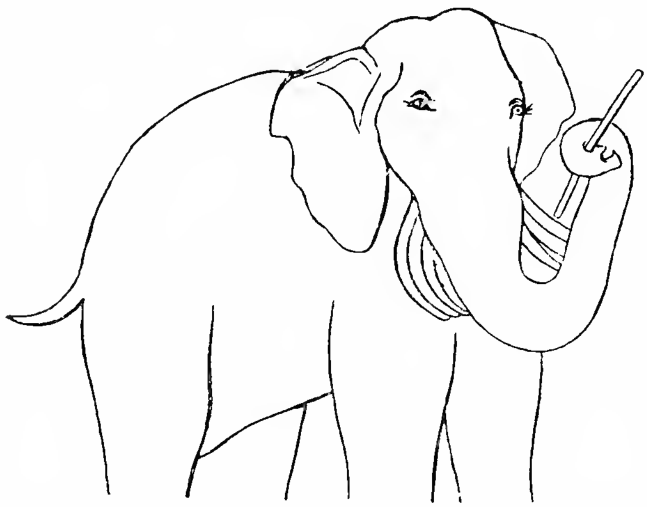


FIG. 204. Early sketch of elephant in Cave X, Ajantā.
(Burgess, *Notes*, Pl. VII, Fig. 2.)

On the left 'was a procession of men, some on foot, some on horseback, variously armed, some with halberts, and differently dressed; and behind were groups of women; but all have been defaced by native visitors within the last twenty years or less', that is to say, prior to 1879. Numerous heads and figures in these scenes, admirably drawn and full of spirit and character, are reproduced in Plates VIII–X of Dr. Burgess's *Notes*, from drawings preserved at the India Office, made by a Hindu student of the School of Art, Jayrao Raghoba. The group shown in his Plate X, a Rājā in the midst of eight female attendants, is unusually well composed. The perspective of the numerous figures is satisfactory, and the drawing of the hands and arms is particularly good (Plate LVII).

I am disposed to think that the figures of Buddha painted on the pillars of Cave X (Griffiths, Pl. 42, 43, and cover) are the next in date, and should be assigned



Plate LVII. Rājā and women, early painting ; Cave X, Ajanṭā.
(Burgess, *Notes*, Pl. X.)

to the fifth century, but they might be either later or earlier. The nimbus and draperies recall early Christian art and the sculptures of Gandhāra. The best is shown in Fig. 205. These are now (1910) the only paintings left in Cave X.



Fig. 205. A Buddha on pillar; Cave X, Ajantā.
(Griffiths, Pl. 42 *a*, reduced.)

The whole interior of Cave XVI was once covered with paintings of high merit dating from about A. D. 500, but even thirty years ago many of them had been destroyed. The plates in Mr. Griffiths's work include little from this cave, although his copies, except three burnt, are preserved at South Kensington.

The scene known as the 'Dying Princess', reproduced by Mr. Griffiths in 1874, was deservedly praised by him in glowing language, endorsed by Dr. Burgess and Mr. Fergusson, which merits quotation :—

'A lady of rank sits on a couch leaning her left arm on the pillow, and an attendant behind holds her up. A girl in the background places her hand on her breast and looks towards the lady. Another with a sash across her breast wields the *pankhā* [fan], and an old man in a white cap looks in at the door, while another sits beside a pillar. In the foreground sit two women. In another apartment are two figures; one with a Persian cap has a water-vessel (*kalaśa*) and a cup in the mouth of it; the other, with negro-like hair, wants something from him. To the right two *kanchukinīs* [female servants] sit in a separate compartment. . . . For pathos and sentiment and the unmistakable way of telling its story this picture, I consider, cannot be surpassed in the history of art. The Florentine could have put better drawing, and the Venetian better colour, but neither could have thrown greater expression into it. The dying woman, with drooping head, half-closed eyes, and languid limbs, reclines on a bed, the like of which may be found in any native house of the present day. She is tenderly supported by a female attendant; whilst another with eager gaze is looking into her face, and holding the sick woman's arm as if in the act of feeling her pulse. The expression on her face is one of deep anxiety as she seems to realize how soon life will be extinct in the one she loves. Another female behind is in attendance with a *pankhā*, whilst two men on the left are looking on with the expression of profound grief depicted in their faces. Below are seated on the floor other relations, who appear to have given up all hope and to have begun

their days of mourning, for one woman has buried her face in her hand and apparentl is weeping bitterly.' [1]

Other figures wearing the Persian cap appear in a second painting (No. 6 o Burgess) in the same cave, and may be compared with the representation of the Persian embassy and connected minor pictures in Cave I. The frequent introductior of Persians into the frescoes suggests a possible connexion of the pictorial art o India with that of Persia, which cannot be proved owing to the lack of Persian works of the same age or an earlier date.

Cave XVII, which is little later in date than Cave XVI, and thirty years ago, whatever may be the case now, could show more painting than any of the others,

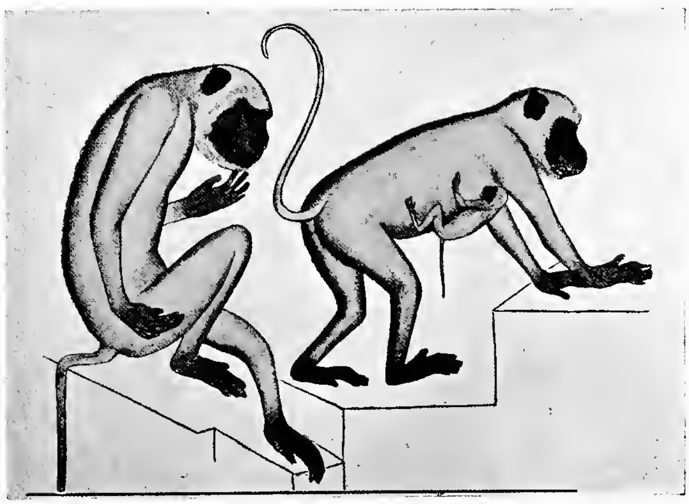


FIG. 206. Long-tailed monkeys; Cave XVII, Ajantā. (Griffiths, Fig. 26.)

may fairly be considered the most interesting of the series.[2] No less than sixty-one distinct scenes are described in Dr. Burgess's *Notes*. The two large pictures, reproduced in outline in his Plates XVIII and XIX, are so excessively crowded with figures and so deficient in unity of composition that they cannot be presented satisfactorily except on an enormous scale.

The representation in the left end of the verandah of the Buddhist Wheel of Life, commonly miscalled the Zodiac, is interesting rather as an illustration of popular Buddhist teaching in the sixth century than as a work of art. Similar pictures are still frequently exhibited in Tibetan monasteries and used by the Lamas for purposes of instruction. The dimensions of the Ajantā painting, now a mere fragment, are

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iii, pp. 25 *seqq.*, with uncoloured plate. The text is quoted in Burgess, *Notes*, p. 58. He numbers the painting as 5. The picture is not included in Mr. Griffiths's special work.

[2] Mrs. Herringham notes that 'in Cave XVI, slightly the earlier, nearly everything is obscured, but in Cave XVII many interesting subjects still remain intelligible'.

8 feet 7 inches by 5 feet 1 inch.[1] The huge painting indicated in Burgess's Plate XIX is supposed to represent the legend of the landing of King Vijaya in Ceylon and his coronation as described in the Pāli chronicles. Painting No. LIV (Griffiths, Pl. 82) gives the story of Sibi Rājā, already mentioned (*ante*, p. 279).

The artistic merits of the work in Cave XVII are best exhibited by the selection of details (Figs. 206, 207). The artists, excellent in single figures and in the delineation of animals and plants, were less successful in composing large pictures.[2]



FIG. 207. Woman carrying child; Cave XVII, Ajantā. (Griffiths, Fig. 71.)

Among the later caves, the temple or church Cave XIX, which is elaborately carved throughout and has its porch and whole front covered with beautiful sculpture, was considered by Mr. Fergusson to be 'one of the most perfect specimens of Buddhist art in India'. The paintings include many effigies of Buddha (Griffiths, Pl. LXXXIX), and some exquisite panels on the roof of the front aisle, as well as rich floriated patterns on the roofs of the side aisles. An example of tender sentiment may be given (Fig. 208). The subject recurs in Cave XVII.

We now pass to Caves I and II, No. I being probably the latest of the completed works.

Mr. Griffiths has devoted a large number of plates (Nos. 20–35 and 115–32) to

[1] The picture and its Tibetan counterparts are discussed fully by Col. Waddell in 'The Buddhist Pictorial Wheel of Life (Zodiac)' in *J. A. S. B.*, vol. lxi (1892), Part I, pp. 133–55, with plates. His Pl. VII corresponds with Griffiths, Pl. 56.

[2] But see Mrs. Herringham's criticism at the end of this Section.

Cave II, besides nine text illustrations. The individual figures are remarkable for clever drawing, the artist having apparently gone out of his way to invent specially difficult poses. Mr. Griffiths's figure 8, a woman prostrating herself, and figure 16, snake-hooded Nāgas, or water-sprites, are good examples of such *tours de force*. The



FIG. 208. Mother and child making an offering to Buddha; Cave XIX, Ajantā. (Griffiths, Pl. 89, Fig. 5.)

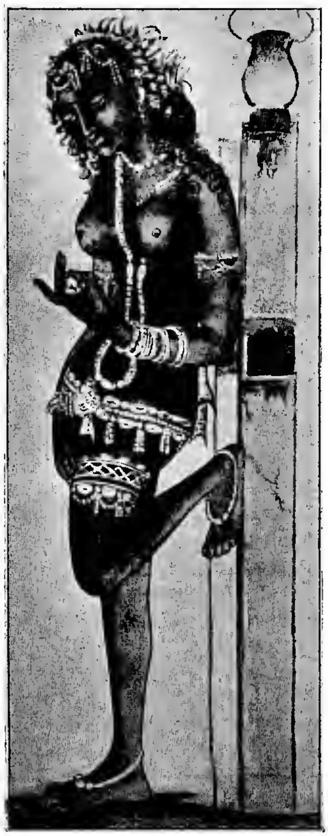


FIG. 209. Woman standing; Cave II, Ajantā. (Griffiths, Fig. 5.)

woman standing, with her left leg bent up (Fig. 5), is capital, the feet being as well drawn as the hands; and the woman in the swing (Fig. 66) is pleasing and life-like. Fig. 5 of Griffiths is reproduced (Fig. 209).

The elegant decorative designs of Cave I have been described and illustrated (*ante*, Fig. 202, Plate LV). The numerous large wall-pictures include the Temptation of Buddha, a subject also effectively treated in sculpture in Cave XXVI, not far removed in date (*ante*, Plate XXXIX). Another large picture, showing the reception of a Persian embassy by an Indian king with full court ceremonial, is of special interest because its approximate date may be fixed with a high degree of probability between Persian embassy, &c.

A. D. 626 and 628. If, as is almost certain, the Indian king represented is Pulakesin II, the sovereign of the Deccan, an embassy of Persians to him can have come only from Khusrū Parvīz, who was put to death in A. D. 628. An Arabic historian records the fact that in A. D. 626 Pulakesin sent presents to the Persian monarch, accompanied by letters to his sons, and such a mission must have been returned, although no literary record of the return embassy has survived. Pulakesin himself perished in 642.

Four smaller pictures placed symmetrically at the corners of the central square of the principal design of the roof, and all replicas of one subject, with variations, evidently have some connexion with the great embassy picture, which measures 15 by 6½ feet. The best of these small compositions has been illustrated by Mr. Griffiths both from a photograph (Pl. XCV, Fig. 4) and from a water-colour drawing (Pl. XCIV, Fig. 4). The colours of the latter seem to be too brilliant, and a more faithful reproduction by Mr. Griggs was published by Fergusson, which is here reproduced uncoloured by permission of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society (Fig. 210). Fergusson assumed that the principal personages depicted must be King Khusrū and his famous consort, Shīrīn but this attractive hypothesis cannot be said to be proved.[1]

The foregoing descriptions and illustrations will enable the reader to form a judgement concerning the aesthetic value of the Ajantā paintings, and I trust that nobody will be found to agree with the opinion expressed in Sir George Watt's book that they 'can hardly be classed among the fine arts'.[2] The pictures and decorative designs in the caves, when compared with Egyptian, Chinese, or other ancient paintings, which did not profess to show the relief effect of modern pictures, are fairly entitled to high rank as works of fine art. In judging them the critic should remember that the wall-paintings were executed on an enormous scale, some being more than 20 feet in diameter, and that they were intended to be looked at in the mass from a distance, and not in minute detail. Small reproductions on a page a few inches long cannot possibly give a just idea of the effects aimed at by the artists. Moreover, those artists were much concerned to tell sacred stories, and make their pictures serve for the edification of devout worshippers as instructive illustrations of the Buddhist Bible; whereas all the religious sentiment in the spectator on which they relied for sympathetic understanding is wanting in the modern European critic. Yet, in spite of the disadvantages inherent in small-scale reproductions and criticism

[1] J. Fergusson, 'On the Identification of the portrait of Chosroes II among the Paintings in the Caves at Ajantā' (*J. R. A. S.*, April, 1879); Rājendralāla Mitra, 'On Representations of Foreigners in the Ajantā Frescos' (*J. A. S. B.*, vol. xlvii (1878), Part I. pp. 66–72, and four uncoloured plates). His Pl. IV corresponds with Fergusson's plate and the small outline copy in Burgess, *Notes*, Pl. IV, Fig. 2.

[2] It is only fair to quote this dictum in full:—'*Painting.*—This may be said to be divided into three distinct styles. The Buddhist, exemplified by the frescos on the walls of the caves of Ajantā . . . The first mentioned is more decorative than pictorial, so that it can hardly be classed among the Fine Arts, and is therefore omitted from a description of what is intended to be an account of painting in the pictorial sense only. The earliest true pictures, therefore, of which we have any record are the productions of the old Moghul painters' (Sir George Watt, *Indian Art at Delhi* (1904), p. 454). The opinions recorded in the book are partly those of Mr. Percy Brown.

by judges out of touch with the spirit of the artists, the paintings stand the unfair test wonderfully well, and excite respectful admiration as the production of painters capable of deep emotion, full of sympathy with the nature of men, women, children, animals, and plants, and endowed with masterly powers of execution.



FIG. 210. Noble Persian (? Khusrū Parvīz) and Lady; from ceiling of Cave I, Ajantā. (*J. R. A. S.*, 1879.)

The considered verdict of Mr. Griffiths, the artist who spent thirteen years in the close, loving study of the paintings, may be accepted as a sound general criticism, not attempting to distinguish periods and styles :— Mr. Griffiths's verdict.

'In spite,' he writes, 'of its obvious limitations, I find the work so accomplished in execution, so consistent in convention, so vivacious and varied in design, and full of such evident delight in beautiful form and colour, that I cannot help ranking it with some of the early art which the world has agreed to praise in Italy. . . . The Ajantā workmanship is admirable ; long subtle curves are drawn with great precision in a line of unvarying thickness with one sweep of the brush ; the touch is often bold and vigorous, the handling broad, and in some cases the *impasto* is as solid as in the best Pompeian work. . . . The draperies, too, are thoroughly understood, and though the folds may be somewhat conventionally drawn, they express most thoroughly the peculiarities of the Oriental treatment of unsewn cloth. . . . For the purposes of art-

education no better examples could be placed before an Indian art-student than those to be found in the caves of Ajantā. Here we have art with life in it, human faces full of expression, limbs drawn with grace and action, flowers which bloom, birds which soar, and beasts that spring, or fight, or patiently carry burdens; all are taken from Nature's book—growing after her pattern, and in this respect differing entirely from Muhammadan art, which is unreal, unnatural, and therefore incapable of development.'[1]

Whatever be the value of the incidental criticism on Muhammadan art—a subject to be discussed in due course—Mr. Griffiths's hearty appreciation of the Ajantā frescoes is, in my judgement, just and well deserved.

In support of his comparison with the performance of the early Italians, he aptly cites the fragment of a fresco with heads of nuns by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, executed in the fourteenth century, and now in the Sienese Room of the National Gallery, as being 'singularly like the Ajantā work in colour, execution, and treatment; the forms being drawn with a delicate brown outline, and the flesh-tints and drapery flatly put in with very little modelling'. The obvious comparison with ancient Italian art was also made by Mr. Fergusson, who considered the Ajantā paintings to be better than anything in Europe before the time of Orcagna in the fourteenth, or even Fiesole (Fra Angelico) in the fifteenth century. Similarly Mr. Havell, another trained artist, who selects the charming Mother and Child in Cave XVII (Griffiths, Fig. 76) as the most attractive specimen of Ajantā art, finds in the frescoes 'the same intense love of nature and spiritual devotion as are evident in the sculptures of Borobodūr', and compares the 'exquisite sentiment' of the picture selected with the wonderful Madonnas of Giovanni Bellini'.[2]

Mr. Fergusson was of opinion that while the art of Ajantā resembled that of China in flatness and want of shadow, he had never seen 'anything in China approaching its perfection'. Forty years ago so little was known in England about Chinese art that this sentiment might pass muster, but Fergusson's dictum could not now be accepted in the light of fuller knowledge. It is interesting to set against it the deliberate judgement of Mr. Laurence Binyon, a learned connoisseur in the art of the Far East.

'The art of Ajantā,' he observes, 'is characterized by the strong outline which marks the early Asiatic style; the colouring appears to have been heavy and hot; the figures and faces are animated—there is force and individuality in them, a strong sense of life. We feel that the painters were possessed by their subject; they worked with fervour and devotion. . . . This, and the scale of the frescoes, make a forcible and imposing impression. Yet the art of Ajantā has not passed the primitive stage. With all the feeling for life in individual figures that the painters show, they betray as yet little of that instinct by which an art develops—the instinct

[1] Griffiths, *The Paintings of the Buddhist Caves of Ajantā*, pp. 7, 9; *Ind. Ant.*, iii. 28. The work done by the Bombay students shows that they were capable of appreciating the ancient models set before them. Many of the designs have been used for the decoration of pottery made at the Bombay School of Art. Examples are shown in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

[2] *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (1908), p. 164.

towards unity, towards the conception of a subject as a synthetic whole. Their compositions are crowded and incoherent. In details and in single groups and forms, on the other hand, there is grace, dignity and character. . . . What is lacking in the Ajantā paintings, what is so signally manifest in Chinese painting throughout its history, is that powerful creative instinct and aesthetic perception which make for synthetic unity in art, that sense of controlling rhythm and balance which inspires all fine design.' [1]

The expert criticisms above quoted all agree in being general in their terms. Mrs. Herringham, in the too brief article already cited more than once, carries the aesthetic valuation of the paintings farther by distinguishing various periods and styles. She holds that the frescoes 'fall into about six distinct groups, representing various schools and periods rather than the steady development of one school'. Going a little into detail, the critic proceeds :—

'I have already alluded to several styles and classes of painting in Caves 1 and 9, 16 and 17. There are, besides, later developments of the narrative style of Cave 17, which we find in Caves 1 and 2. These are (1) a more emphatic and stylistic manner, with more formalism in the drawing, more action and less tenderness; (2) a more popular, lively, and forcible dramatic narrative, with more incidents and less idealism.

In Cave 2 are three more distinct styles: on both the side walls of a secondary shrine we find four or five elaborately posed, nearly nude life-size figures. These are sinuous in outline, quite Cimabuesque in proportion, attitude and general feeling; the arrangement suggests bas-relief. The late date of this cave indicates the period of the painting. In a similar shrine on the opposite side are corresponding decorations, and the figures on the main west wall might, but for the type, be an assemblage of Chinese sages; they are drawn with a magnificent bravura. There is not much colour left, but the somewhat caligraphic drawing in forcible blacks and reddish browns is so freely executed that one scarcely regrets the destruction which has laid bare such vital work. On a separate part of this west wall there is a subject of men and white geese in a water-lily pool, which, though closely linked to the earlier definitely Indian types of painting, suggests the freedom and at the same time the perfect balance of the very best Chinese period. The colour scheme is very beautiful—brilliant white, deep purple-brown, a vivid but rich malachite-green, with touches of a clear red.

Further, in Cave 17 there are three paintings by one hand very different from all the rest. They are (1) a hunt of lions and black buck; [2] (2) a hunt of elephants; [3] and (3) an elephant salaaming in a king's court—the companion picture to No. 2. These pictures are composed in a light and shade scheme which can scarcely be paralleled in Italy before the seventeenth century. They are nearly monochrome (warm and cool greys understood), except that the foliage and grass are dull green.

[1] Laurence Binyon, *Painting in the Far East* (1908), pp. 35, 50. See also the same author's article, 'A Chinese Painting of the Fourth Century' in *Burlington Magazine*, Jan., 1904, p. 44. One Japanese work, the fresco in the temple of Hōriūji, which was repaired or built between A. D. 708 and 715, is quite Indian in character, and 'there seems no doubt that it is modelled upon the Ajantā frescoes' (*Painting in the Far East*, p. 87). Anderson gives the date as 607, but other critics date it a century later.

[2] Burgess, *Notes*, Cave XVII, No. 28.

[3] Ibid., Nos. 36, 37. I cannot trace the 'companion picture'. Burgess does not notice the distinctions of style.

The whole posing and grouping is curiously natural and modern, the drawing easy, light and sketchy, and the painting suggestively laid in with solid brush strokes—in the flesh, not unlike some examples of modern French painting. The animals—horses, elephants, dogs and black buck—are extremely well drawn.'

The development of criticism on the lines indicated by Mrs. Herringham would require a bulky monograph based on detailed notes taken on the spot by a competent expert. It is impossible to work out the differences of the supposed schools merely from the fragmentary published reproductions.[1]

Section IV. Bāgh.

The vigorous school of art which produced the Ajantā frescoes did not confine its operations to the caves at that place. Several similar excavations near Bāgh, a village or decayed small town in the Gwālior State, situated on an ancient road connecting Gūjarāt with Mālwā (22° 21′ N., 74° 48′ E.), exhibit traces of a set of works resembling in general style the Ajantā paintings, and at one time of almost equal importance. Unfortunately, the crumbling of the rock, and absolute neglect, combined with the effects of the smoke from vagrants' fires, have left hardly anything of compositions which once covered thousands of square feet.

The principal group of caves contains eight excavations, the largest being 94 feet square. The whole of the roof, walls, and columns of this great chamber was coated with fine stucco and decorated with paintings of high merit and infinite variety. Smaller remnants of painting may be still discerned in two other caves, and there is reason to believe that the work is not all of one period. Major Luard, the latest authority on the subject, thinks it possible that 'a specially deputed draughtsman might still, by constantly wetting the frescoes, copy some portion of the designs, which each rainy season is making more and more indistinct'.

But the paintings are so much decayed that the prospects of any considerable success in copying seem to be remote, and our knowledge of the work at Bāgh must depend mainly on the descriptions recorded by four writers. The caves were first visited in 1818 by Captain Dangerfield, whose account, published in 1820, was corrected and amplified in 1854 by Dr. Impey. His illustrations, which were used by Fergusson, and ought to be in the India Office Library, cannot now be found. In 1879 Dr. Burgess devoted two pages to a summary description of eleven sections of the paintings, and expressed the opinion that 'it would be well worth while if Mr. Griffiths could be spared with a few students for some months to preserve a pictorial record of these remains, before they are for ever lost'. Nothing, however,

[1] Mrs. Herringham has generously presented her copies of the frescoes to the India Society. They were exhibited in the Indian Section of the Festival of Empire (1911). In the *Catalogue and Guide to the Indian Court, Festival of Empire*, p. 92, Mrs. Herringham states that 'there are at least twenty different kinds of painting. Some pictures recall Greek and Roman composition and proportions, a few late ones resemble the Chinese manner to a certain extent, but the majority belong to a phase of art which one can call nothing except Indian, for it is found nowhere else.'

was done, and the full account of the caves recently published by Major C. E. Luard shows that very little of the painting is now discernible.[1]

The paintings appear to have rivalled those of Ajantā in variety of design, vigorous execution, and decorative quality, life being treated in both places with equal gaiety and hardly a trace of asceticism. Two of the Bāgh groups illustrate the performance of the *hallīsaka*, a kind of operetta or musical play, acted by a troupe of women led by a man. According to the books the female performers should number seven, eight, or ten. At Bāgh they are six in one case and seven in the other. They are represented as elaborately dressed, singing, and performing with much enjoyment on drums, cymbals, and other instruments. Our surprise at finding such gay scenes depicted on the walls of a Buddhist monastery may be lessened when we consider the nature of many of the sculptures at Mathurā (*ante*, pp. 134–41) and in the Aurangābād caves (*ante*, p. 178); but we do not know quite enough about the real nature of the later popular Buddhism in India to understand fully the significance of such frivolous sculptures and paintings.[2]

The Bāgh caves do not contain an inscription of any kind, and their date can be determined only by considerations of style. The judge's wig worn by many of the male figures and the transparent close-fitting robes connect the sculptures with the later Gupta rather than with the mediaeval period. The general character of the paintings is sufficiently known to make it certain that they are not earlier than the late works at Ajantā. Probably the paintings may have been executed between the middle of the sixth and that of the seventh century. I do not know who was the ruling power at Bāgh at that time.

The paintings include patterns executed in black and white with touches of Indian red, as well as works executed in 'excessively vivid' colours, with 'marked contrasts in blue, red, and yellow'. The two styles may belong to different ages. The small fragments which Captain Dangerfield and Major Luard succeeded in copying and publishing are not sufficiently characteristic to be worth reproduction.

SECTION V. CEYLON.

Having been constrained to comment upon the long-continued neglect of the Ajantā and Bāgh paintings, and the failure of the authorities of the Native States concerned to take the simple measures needed to save priceless works from destruction, it is a pleasure to turn to Ceylon and recognize the well-considered and successful policy of the island government with regard to the closely related frescoes at Sīgiriya.[3]

[1] References are:—DANGERFIELD, CAPT., 'Some Account of the Caves near Baug, called the Panch Pandoo, with three drawings' (*Trans. Lit. Soc., Bombay*, vol. ii (1820), pp. 194–204). IMPEY, DR., 'Description of the Caves of Bágh, in Ràth' (*J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, vol. v, pp. 543–73). BURGESS, J., *Notes on the Bauddha Rock-Temples of Ajantā* (1879), pp. 94, 95. LUARD, MAJOR C. E., 'The Buddhist Caves of Central India' (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxix, August, 1910, pp. 225–35, with plans and plates).

[2] For the definition of *hallīsaka* see Sylvain Lévi, *Théâtre Indien*, App. p. 30.

[3] Sīgiriya; also written Sīgiri, Seygiri, Higiri, Sigiri-gala, Sigiri-nuwara, and, in inscriptions, Sihigiri. The name, in all its forms, means 'Lion-hill', with reference to the passage connecting the

The marvellous citadel at that place, perched upon the summit of an isolated, tower-shaped hill, 600 feet high, and rising abruptly from the plain, was constructed as an impregnable refuge by the parricide king, Kāsyapa I, who reigned from A. D. 479 to 497. The rock-cut galleries leading to the tyrant's aerie having crumbled away in the course of ages, the summit had become inaccessible save to occasional adventurous cragsmen. The work of excavation, repair, and restoration undertaken in 1895 by the Government of Ceylon was carried on systematically under the capable guidance of Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Archaeological Commissioner, until its completion some ten years later, as recorded in Sessional Paper XX of 1909. The paintings, with which alone we are now concerned, have been secured by wire nettings and other devices in such a way that 'they can be examined closely, without difficulty, and in perfect safety; from one end of the caves to the other they are for ever secure from further damage'. The story of the operations, as related in Mr. Bell's *Reports*, terminating with the document cited above, is a most interesting record of successful wrestling with formidable engineering difficulties, and of the completion of a well-devised plan, without parsimony and without extravagance.

The paintings are found in two irregular rock-chambers, usually described as 'pockets', situated on the western cliff, about fifteen yards above the floor of the southern end of the gallery. Six such 'pockets' exist, but the remains of painting are confined to four, and those of any importance exist only in 'pockets A and B'—two rough, natural chambers forming a cave $67\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, divided into two sections by a cramped ledge. 'Pocket B,' $41\frac{1}{4}$ feet long, is comparatively roomy, whereas 'Pocket A', $26\frac{1}{4}$ feet in length, is cramped.

The paintings comprise twenty-one half or three-quarter-length female portraits, besides the hand of another figure. Seventeen of these are in 'Pocket B' and only five in 'Pocket A'. The figures in the more spacious chamber B are mostly above life-size, while those in chamber A, where space was limited, are below life-size.

In 1889 Mr. A. Murray succeeded with great difficulty in obtaining copies of thirteen figures in either pastel or coloured photographs, now preserved in the Colombo Museum. His meritorious work, performed when the 'pockets' were all but inaccessible, has been superseded by a magnificent series of facsimile copies made in oils on canvas by Mr. Perera, which also are exhibited at Colombo. These copies, which are described as reproducing with minute accuracy every detail of the originals in size, colour, and all other respects, have been carefully photographed. Some of the photographs have been reproduced in Mr. Bell's *Reports* and Mr. Havell's book, and a selection is now given from copies liberally supplied by the Government of Ceylon.

The paintings were executed on a carefully prepared surface formed by the application of fine lime-plaster from a quarter to half an inch thick laid on a bed about half an inch in thickness, composed of tempered clay mixed with kaolin, and

galleries, which was wrought in the shape of a gigantic lion. The hill stands in the Inamaluwa Koralē of the Mātalē District, Central Province, about twenty miles almost due west from the mediaeval capital, Polonnāruwa.



Plate LVIII. Sīgiriya frescoes; 'Pocket B,' Figs. 3, 4.
(Photo. 1113, A. S., Ceylon.)

strengthened by the admixture of rice-husks, with, perhaps, some cocoa-nut fibre. Mr. Bell believes that the pictures were wrought in tempera on a dry surface. The process, possibly, did not differ much from that used at Ajantā. Except that Fig. 14 in 'pocket B' has a black background, the range of colours is confined to three—red, yellow, and green. The blues, so conspicuous at Ajantā and Bāgh, are absent.

The subject is a procession of noble ladies carrying flowers, and attended by female servants, all moving in the direction of the Pidurāngala Buddhist temple to the north of the hill, as if about to make offerings at that shrine. All the figures are fully clothed from the waist downwards in coloured *kambaiyas*, and above the waist in short-sleeved jackets made of the finest material, and in some cases barely indicated by a line of deeper colour.

The noble ladies are painted in pale yellow or orange, their attendants being distinguished by a greenish complexion. All the women are decked with a profusion of ornaments. Each ends below in a cloud-like mass, a peculiarity best explained by Mr. Bell's suggestion that it is due to the irregular form of the cramped rock space available, on which the artist could not have drawn the legs without unsightly distortion. The suggestion made by another author that the clouds are intended to indicate the divine character of the personages appears to be incorrect. In accordance with the usual Indian practice, the figures were first outlined in red and black, and then painted in, not necessarily by the same hand. In one instance it is apparent that the outline was not exactly followed.

The photographs selected give a good idea of the style. Figures 3 and 4 in Plate LVIII seem to me to be the best. Figures 7 and 8 (Plate LIX) are nearly as good. The drawing of Figures 11 and 12 (Plate LX) is not so satisfactory.

The date of the frescoes in the closing years of the fifth century is fixed with sufficient accuracy by the known limits of the reign of Kāsyapa I, A. D. 479 and 497. They are, therefore, practically contemporary with the paintings in Cave XVI at Ajantā; and all critics recognize the fact that the art of Sīgiriya is closely related to that of Ajantā. For instance, the lady carrying a lotus in Plate LIX, may be compared with the similar figure in Cave II at Ajantā, as reproduced in Griffiths, Plate XXXI. But the limitation of the colours and the total absence of blue in the Ceylonese paintings are important differences, and I do not think that the Sīgiriya work equals the best at Ajantā. Mr. Havell is bold enough to credit the ladies of Sīgiriya with 'Botticellian grace', a criticism which may not meet with universal acceptance. But, whatever may be the final verdict of experts as to the intrinsic merits of the Ceylonese paintings, there can be no doubt that they are extremely remarkable productions of their age, and well deserving of careful study and serious criticism. There is nothing to indicate who the Ceylonese artists were, whence they came, or how they learned their skill.

The Sīgiriya figures, although by far the most important and interesting, are by no means the only remains of ancient painting in the island. Numerous traces of early wall-paintings have been detected at Anurādhapura, of which the best preserved are those on the walls of the detached building ('frontispiece' of Smither)



Plate LIX. Sīgiriya frescoes; 'Pocket B,' Figs. 7, 8.
(Photo. 1254, A. S., Ceylon.)



Plate LX. Sīgiriya frescoes; 'Pocket B,' Figs. 11, 12.
(Photo. 1260, A. S., Ceylon.)

on the eastern side of the Ruwanweli *dāgaba*. Besides white, three primary colours, yellow, red, and blue, are used, the yellow and blue being sometimes combined to pro-



Fig. 211. *Kinnara* and lotuses: Ruwanweli, Anurādhapura. (Smither, Pl. XXXII, Fig. 1.)



Fig. 212. Dwarf: Ruwanweli, Anurādhapura. (Smither, Pl. XXXII, Fig. 3.)

duce green. Yellow in various shades is the favourite, and was obtained from the natural arsenic sulphide called orpiment. The blue is indigo, not lapis lazuli.

The style of the specimens reproduced in colour by Mr. Smither is distinctly

antique and closely allied to that of the later Ajantā paintings, being characterized, as they are, by bold free-hand execution of curves, with a truthful and at the same time decorative treatment of plant motives. Two examples are offered, Figs. 211, 212, which may be dated at any time from the sixth to the eighth century. The date of the building of the *dāgaba*, of course, gives no clue to the date of mural decorations, which, in all probability, were retouched from time to time on the old lines. The colours are white and tints of brownish yellow.

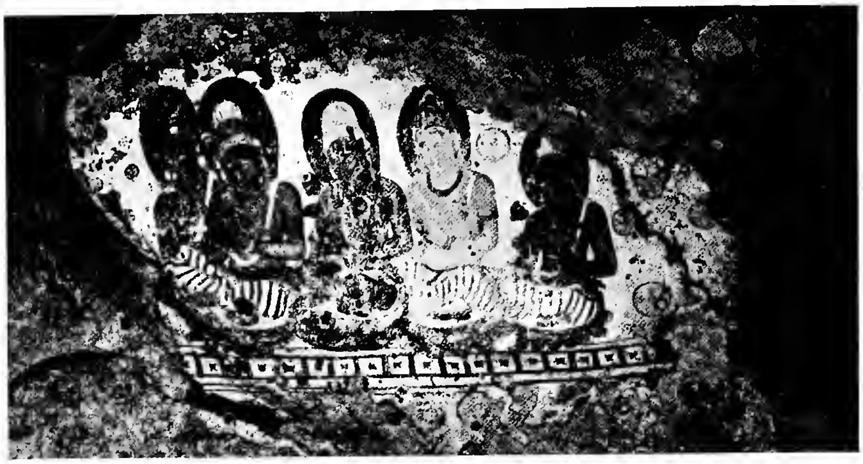


FIG. 213. Cave painting at Tamankaḍuwā (Pulligoda galkanda). (Photo. 272 A. of A. S., Ceylon.)

Ancient paintings are necessarily so rare that a work hitherto unpublished cannot be passed over, although it is of but slight intrinsic importance. Mr. Bell discovered two caves at a place called Tamankaduwā (Pulligoda galkanda), in a southerly direction from Kudā Ulpota and Dimbulāgala, North Central Province, one of which contains a painting of five men, with halos and conical head-dresses, seated in an attitude of adoration. The colours are said to be 'well preserved', but no further details are recorded, and the 'short inscription' in the adjoining cave does not appear to have been deciphered. The age of the painting, therefore, is doubtful, but, so far as I can judge from a photograph, it must be of early date, possibly of the seventh century (Fig. 213). It may, however, be later.

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CHAPTER IX

HINDU PAINTING, MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN

SECTION I. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

WITHIN the limits of India proper the history of the art of painting comes to an abrupt stop at the close of the Ajantā series in A. D. 642. Between that date and the introduction of the foreign Persian style by order of Akbar, more than nine hundred years later, in or about A. D. 1570, we possess practically no direct knowledge of Indian painting, and are largely dependent for indirect knowledge on the recent discoveries in Chinese Turkistan, still accessible only in part. It is clear, as will be explained more fully in Chapter XIV, that the Hindu artists of the sixteenth century who so quickly mastered the Persian technique and made the foreign style their own, with Indian modifications, must have been prepared by training in indigenous methods. Indeed, concerning one artist of that time, Daswanth, the fact is on record that he had been painting all his life. But hardly a scrap of the work of the mediaeval Hindu schools, within the limits of India, prior to the reign of Akbar, has survived, and any opinion that we may form concerning its character must be based mainly upon more or less probable conjectures and inferences.[1]

The preservation of numerous specimens of Hindu pictorial art from 1570 is due to the introduction by Akbar of the practice of painting small pictures on paper, which were collected in albums or as book illustrations and preserved in royal and princely libraries, so richly stocked that the comparatively small remnant saved from destruction amply serves the purpose of the historian of art. I am not aware of any evidence that similar libraries filled with illuminated manuscripts had been formed before Akbar's time by either the Hindu princes or the Sultans of Delhi. Humāyun, Akbar's father, possessed a library which must have been incorporated in the Mughal imperial collections. Most of the mediaeval Hindu painting probably was executed in the form of 'Indian fresco' on the walls of temples and palaces. Work of the kind is extremely perishable, unless when applied to the walls of secluded caves such as those of Ajantā and Bāgh. The older Hindu palaces having almost all disappeared, and many hundreds of the ancient temples in Northern India having been destroyed by order of idol-hating Muslim sovereigns, no specimen of mediaeval Hindu fresco survives that can be called ancient.

The only extant wall-paintings on a Hindu building of considerable age in

[1] The only surviving specimens known to me are the Nepalese miniatures in MSS. published by M. Foucher (*post*, Sec. III) and the Tirumalai Jain paintings (*post*, Sec. VI of this chapter).

Northern India are the decorations, dating from either the seventeenth or eighteenth century, on the old palace at Bikanīr in Rājputāna. The designs, representing a heavy thunderstorm with lightning playing through the clouds, and storks circling below, are said to be not only curious but beautiful. The work is described as displaying conspicuously Chinese feeling, a fact easily accounted for when we remember the long-continued influence of Chinese art on Persian painting and the Indo-Persian school, which will be discussed when the productions of that school come under consideration. Unfortunately, reproductions of the Bikanīr paintings are not available. The small illustration of the flower-like cloud forms in Sir George Watt's book is too trifling to be of use. The same conventional mode of depicting clouds is said to be found on the hide shields of Tonk and to recur over and over again on objects of various kinds throughout Rājputāna and Central India.[1]

The blank in the history of Hindu painting due to the non-existence of ancient pictures cannot be filled up from literary notices. The Hindus have never taken sufficient interest in art for its own sake to write treatises, practical, historical, or critical, on the subject. As already observed (*ante*, p. 8), the vast literature of India contains only two passages dealing directly with the history of art, namely, Abūl Fazl's notice of the introduction of Indo-Persian painting, which will be discussed in Chapter XIV, and the remarks recorded in 1608 by Tāranāth, the Tibetan historian of Buddhism. His notes, notwithstanding their vagueness, a feature characteristic of the author's work, give information of importance not recorded elsewhere, and may be considered conveniently in this place.

Tāranāth's Chapter XXIV, entitled 'The Mode of Origin of Image-Making', professes to record a summary history of Indian Buddhist art, plastic and pictorial, from the earliest times to the author's day.[2] He treats of painting, sculpture, and bronze-casting together, apparently assuming the high antiquity of all the three arts as dating even from the remote age prior to 'the disappearance of the Teacher', that is to say, 500 B.C. in round numbers. He specially alludes to the superlative excellence of the earliest wall-paintings, which he ascribes to the gods, and declares that after the death of Buddha equally good work continued to be produced for several hundred years.

The succession was then carried on by the Yaksha, or spirit artists employed by Asoka [250 B.C.], and next by the semi-human Nāgas under the control of Nāgārjuna [*cir.* A.D. 200; Amarāvatī]. After Nāgārjuna it seemed as if the knowledge of art had vanished from among men; no regular succession of artists could be traced, although individuals of genius made exceptional efforts.

But later [? in fifth or sixth century] appeared Bimbasāra of Magadha, an artist skilled equally in the use of brush and chisel (*Meissel- und Bildwerke*), who founded the 'Middle Country' [*scil.* Magadha] school, and produced works equal in merit to those of the gods [*scil.* pre-Asokan].

[1] *Indian Art at Delhi*, pp. 162, 170 (woodcut), 180.

[2] Schiefner, *Târanâtha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien, aus dem Tibetischen übersetzt*, St. Petersburg, 1869.

Proceeding with the parallelism between the most ancient and the mediaeval works, the author tells us that the achievements of the Yakshas employed by Asoka were equalled by the paintings and other masterpieces wrought by Sringadhara, a native of Maru [Mārwār or Jodhpur in Rājputāna], the founder of the school of the 'Ancient West'.[1]

The Nāga productions of Nāgārjuna's time were rivalled by the creations of Dhīmān and his son Bitpālo, natives of Varendra [Bengal], who lived during the reigns of Devapāla and Dharmapāla. Both father and son were skilled alike as painters, sculptors, and bronze founders. Bitpālo, who remained in Bengal, was regarded as the head of the 'Eastern' school of bronze-casting. But his disciples in painting being numerous in Magadha [South Bihār], he was also held to be the chief of the 'Later Middle Country' school of that art, whereas his father was considered to be the head of the 'Eastern' school of painters.

In Nepāl the earliest art resembled the work of the 'Ancient West' school. But later work in both painting and bronzes was more nearly related to that of the 'Eastern' school. The latest artists of Nepāl had no distinctive style.

In Kashmīr, we are told, the earliest artists followed the style of the 'Middle Country School of the Ancient West'. This obscure phrase, difficult to interpret, may refer to a Magadhan variation of the Rājputāna school of the 'Ancient West' founded by Sringadhara in the seventh century. May not the explanation be that Lalitāditya, the most powerful king of Kashmīr, who conquered Kanauj about A. D. 740, introduced into his ancestral kingdom artistic novelties from the conquered realm?

The Kashmīr school, which subsisted until the author's time (A. D. 1600), practised new fashions in both painting and sculpture (*Malerei und Bildnerei*) introduced by Hasurāja. It seems possible that he may be identical with Haṁsarāja, one of the ministers of Queen Diddā in A. D. 1000 (*Rājat.*, transl. Stein, Bk. vi, l. 350).

Tāranāth sums up his sketch of art history by the observation that wherever Buddhism prevailed skilful imagers of the gods were found, but as Islam advanced they disappeared, and when Hinduism got the upper hand they were replaced by unskilful performers. In conclusion he notes that in Burma and the South the making of images continued, although no specimens from those countries had reached Tibet; and that in the South three artists named Jaya, Parojaya, and Vijaya had a large following.

In the hope that future research may further elucidate the history of the various schools subsequent to Nāgārjuna as outlined by Tāranāth, I give his statements in tabular form with brief annotations.

[1] The 'Ancient West' school cannot possibly mean that of Gandhāra, as supposed by M. Foucher (*Iconographie bouddhique*, 1900, p. 184).

SCHOOLS OF PAINTING AND SCULPTURE SUBSEQUENT TO NĀGĀRJUNA (*cir.* A.D. 200), ACCORDING TO TĀRANĀTH.

No.	*School.*	*Founder.*	*Relative Rank.*	*Period.*	*Remarks by V. A. S.*
I.	'Middle Country' (= Magadhan)	Bimbasāra of Magadha	Equal to pre-Asokan art	King Buddhapaksha (? 5th or 6th cent.)	Covers the Gupta school, in part.
II.	'Ancient West'	Śringadhara of Maru (*scil.* Mārwār or Jodhpur)	Equal to Asokan art	King Śīla.	Probably Śīlāditya Guhila *of Mewār* or Udaipur, flor. A. D. 646. See sculptures described *ante*, Chap. VII, Sect. 4, p. 205.
III.	'Eastern'	Dhīmān of Varendra (Bengal)	Equal to art of Nāgārjuna's time	Kings Devapāla and Dharmapāla	Tāranāth erroneously places Devapāla before Dharmapāla, who reigned about A.D. 780 to 844. Dhīmān thus falls within first half of 9th cent.
IV.	'Later Middle Country' (= Magadhan)	Bitpālo, son of Dhīmān. (But in bronze-casting Bitpālo was regarded as head of the 'Eastern' school	———	Ditto	Bitpālo may be placed in reign of Devapāla, *cir.* A.D. 844 to 892. Apparently in sculpture we may trace the Mediaeval Bihār school back to Bitpālo and the Orissan school back to Dhīmān. See *ante*, Chap. VII, Sect. 2.
V.	Nepāl (1)	———	Resembled No. II	———	Perhaps introduced in 7th cent. by Harsha Śīlāditya *of Kanauj*.
	(2)	———	Resembled No. III.	———	Perhaps influenced by the powerful Pāla dynasty in 9th and 10th cent.
	(3)		Nothing distinctive	To A.D. 1600	
VI.	Kashmīr (1)	———	Resembled 'Middle Country School of Ancient West'	———	Perhaps Tāranāth may mean an Eastern form of 'Ancient West' (No. II) school introduced by Lalitāditya after his conquest of Kanauj, *cir.* A.D. 740?
	(2)	Hasurāja	———	———	Can Hasurāja be Haṁsarāja, minister of Queen Diddā, A.D. 1000 (*Rājat.*, Bk. vi, l. 350)?
VII.	Southern India	Jaya, Parojaya, Vijaya	———	———	———

Chronological data. At first sight the statements of the Tibetan historian seem to be wholly in the air and incapable of verification even in part. But closer examination throws some light upon them. The whole history (excluding the earliest ages) is comprised within the period of 1400 years lying between the age of Nāgārjuna, *cir.* A. D. 200, and the time of Tāranāth, A. D. 1600.

The mention of King Śīla and the Pāla kings gives two clues to the chronology of that long interval. Śīla cannot well be the famous Harsha Sīlāditya of Thanēsar and Kanauj, who reigned from 606 to 647 and had no concern with Rājputāna. The reference to King Śīla in connexion with a school in Rājputāna almost necessarily implies that the sovereign referred to had local connexions with that country. Such

ι prince, exactly suitable, is found in Śīlāditya, one of the earliest Guhila Rānas of Mewār (Udaipur), who is known to have been alive in A. D. 646 (V. S. 703), and so to ıave been to some extent contemporary with Harsha Śīlāditya of Kanauj.[1] We know vith sufficient precision the age of the schools Nos. III and IV, founded respectively)y Dhīmān and his son, Bitpālo, and contemporary with the Pāla kings, Dharmapāla ınd Devapāla, who reigned from about A. D. 780 to 892.[2] If, then, we place School No. II, the 'Ancient West', in the middle of the seventh century, everything fits vell together. We may, therefore, assume as a working hypothesis that King Śīla neans Śīlāditya Guhila of Mewār, that the school of the 'Ancient West' originated in Rājputāna during the seventh century, and that it became the model of the earliest Buddhist art in Nepāl.

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The historian's classification, it should be observed, applies alike to three distinct 'orms of art, namely, painting, stone sculpture, and bronze-casting. The only excep- ion is that Bitpālo, as painter and sculptor, was reckoned the head of the 'Later Middle Country' (Magadhan) school, but as a bronze founder was held to belong to he 'Eastern' (Bengal) school of his father, Dhīmān.

The ancient Indian artists, like Cellini and the other great craftsmen of the Renaissance, were able to turn from one material to another without difficulty, and to vork with equal success as painters, sculptors, or bronze founders. Similar versatility vas displayed by the Bhīlsā ivory carvers, who executed some of the stone reliefs at Sānchī, and by the earlier craftsmen of the Maurya age, who readily applied to stone he skill previously acquired in working materials of a less permanent kind.

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The fact that a notable school of painting existed in Southern Rājputāna during he seventh century may have some bearing on the problem of the development of he art at Ajantā and Bāgh. Of course, painting must have been known in Rājputāna ong before Sringadhara introduced an improved style. In his time the ruling clans vere of foreign, Central Asian descent, and it may well be that his improvements vere based on elements derived from Transoxiana or Western Turkistan. But all such speculations lack a basis of definite evidence, and must remain bare possibilities.

Section II. Chinese Turkistan.

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The explorations carried on since 1896 by Dr. Stein, Professor Grünwedel, Dr. v. Le Coq, and other savants, in the vast regions of Chinese Turkistan, lying ıorth of Tibet, to the west of China, and both north and south of the Taklamakān Desert ('Gobi' of the older maps), have revealed 'sand-buried' and other ruins full of the remains of ancient civilizations.[3] Those remains, which include thousands of nanuscripts written in many scripts and languages, known and unknown, also com- prise multitudes of works of art, pictorial and plastic, which, by their characteristics, nark Chinese Turkistan as the meeting-ground of Hellenistic, Indian, Persian, and Chinese forms of civilization.

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, 1910, pp. 188, 189.

[2] V. A. Smith, 'The Pāla Dynasty of Bengal' *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, p. 245).

[3] The word 'Gobi' simply means 'desert' (Stein).

The wide extension of Indian languages, literature, and art from the second century of the Christian era thus demonstrated has been a surprise to the learned world, but the huge mass of material collected is so unmanageable that many years must elapse before 'the most interesting subject', as Dr. v. Le Coq calls it, of the relations between the early civilizations of India, Persia, China, and the Far East can be worked out so as to admit of firmly established conclusions. The accumulations brought back by Dr. Stein from his second expedition, known to be full of fascinating material, some of which I have seen, have been hardly touched as yet; and the, perhaps, equally bulky and valuable collections of the recent German and French explorers have been only imperfectly examined. At present, therefore, it is not possible to present in a few pages a satisfactory abstract of the new knowledge concerning the diffusion of Indian art and learning in the Chinese Turkistan countries. The paintings seem to be assignable mostly to the seventh or eighth centuries, and so help to fill up the gap in the story of Indian painting between Ajantā and Akbar. In this section no more can be attempted than a slight indication of the extent to which Indian schools of painting, modified by external influences, penetrated Turkistan, and, through it, the Far East.

The discoveries made by Dr. Stein during his first expedition to the south of the Desert having been published in considerable detail, a fair idea can be formed of the achievements of painters following Indian models more or less closely during the seventh and eighth centuries in Turkistan.

Numerous fresco or distemper paintings on wood and plaster were found at a place called Dandān-Uiliq, which was abandoned soon after A. D. 791. All these works may be referred with confidence to the eighth century, and thus afford evidence of a sufficiently dated stage in the evolution of Indian painting when exposed to the influence of the Persian and Chinese schools. A few of the more striking examples are reproduced by permission.

One of the best preserved paintings is that on a panel (D. vii, 5), 15 inches high and nearly 7 inches broad, which represents two sacred or princely personages, mounted, one on a piebald Yārkandi pony and the other on a camel (Fig. 214). The nimbus behind the head of each rider indicates either his high rank or his sacred character. The artists of the Mughal court in India were accustomed to give this emblem of sanctity to the emperors and even to members of their families, and in Khotan during the eighth century the same practice seems to have prevailed. The picture speaks for itself so clearly that detailed description is unnecessary, but the blending of Indian and Chinese features in the face of the horseman may be noted, and the free drawing of the camel deserves commendation. The horseman is repeated on D. x, 5 (Stein, Pl. LXII), but the identity of either figure has not yet been determined.

The ugly picture on the obverse of panel D. vii, 6, measuring $12\frac{3}{4} \times 8$ inches, representing a three-faced, four-armed deity, supposed to be a Tantric form of Avalokitesvara, squatting on a chequered cushion supported by two white bulls, is purely Indian, and is so closely related to the modern Lamaist compositions that it might be described as the oldest extant Tibetan painting. The body and front face



PLATE LXI. Persian Bodhisattva; rev. of wooden panel, D. vii, 6, from Dandān-Uiliq. (Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Pl. LXI.)

of the deity are dark blue, the face on the proper right, with a feminine expression, is white, and the demoniac face on the proper left is yellow. The outline is drawn in thick black lines, and the work has little aesthetic merit (Stein, Pl. LX).

The reverse of the same panel offers a surprise by presenting a picture of a four-armed Buddhist saint or Bodhisattva in the guise of a Persian with black beard and whiskers, holding a thunderbolt (*vajra*) in his left hand. The combination on one panel of this almost purely Persian figure with the Indian image on the other side suggests questions, at present insoluble, concerning the forms which Buddhism may have assumed in Iranian lands. The art, seemingly of higher quality than that of the obverse picture, is certainly more pleasing. The four arms are a distinctly Indian feature (Plate LXI). The existence of this queer figure may help us in some measure to understand the introduction of Persian figures into the Buddhist pictures of Ajantā, which may yet be proved to be an Indian development of Central Asiatic Buddhist art. But that hypothesis at present lacks historical support.



FIG. 214. Mounted princes or saints; wooden panel from Dandān-Uiliq. (Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Pl. LIX, D. vii, 5.)

The most interesting of the Dandān-Uiliq paintings is the fresco depicting some legend connected with a female water-sprite, probably the tale told by Hinen Tsang of the minister who married the widow of the Nāga king in order to secure the flow of water over the lands of Khotan. However that may be, the design and execution of the composition are of considerable merit, and well illustrate the variety of elements combined in the mediaeval art of Khotan. The pose of the lady, whose figure in the original projects about 18 inches above the water, is plainly a reminiscence of some Hellenistic Venus, such as the de' Medici or the Capitoline, and the vine-leaf guarding her modesty equally recalls the conventional fig-leaf. Her ornaments are Indian, her face Chinese. Thus in this one figure we can trace the meeting of the three civilizations, Greek, Indian, and Chinese. The seated figures are more Chinese in type than anything else. I do not perceive any Persian factors in this work (Fig. 215).

Another painting (D. x, 4), more primitive in style, illustrates the story of the Queen of Khotan, a Chinese princess, who secretly introduced silk cocoons into her

adopted country by concealing them in the folds of her head-dress. The central effigy of the princess, boldly sketched with a few etching-like strokes, will suffice as an example of the style (Fig. 216). It will be observed that the head of the princess, like the heads of the three other persons in the picture, is surrounded by a nimbus or halo, apparently affording clear evidence that in Khotan art of the eighth century, as



FIG. 215. Water-sprite, &c.; fresco at Dandān-Uiliq. (Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Pl. II.)

in Mughal art of the seventeenth, the nimbus was given to persons of royal birth as well as to divinities and saints. The lady's features are Indian rather than Chinese.

Sketch of camel and calf.

Further east, at Endere, between Niya and Cherchen, in ruins of somewhat earlier date than those at Dandān-Uiliq, Dr. Stein found a scrap of faded fresco on stucco with 'delicate and harmonious colouring', and an Indian-ink sketch on paper depicting a Bactrian she-camel suckling her calf, drawn in the fewest possible bold

strokes with considerable spirit and vigour. A slight attempt to indicate the solidity or roundness of the body has been made by adding a wash of faint colour round the contours (Fig. 217). The drawing seems to have been executed with a brush, not a pen, and is free from conventionality.



FIG. 216. Chinese princess; fresco at Dandān-Uiliq.
(Stein, *Anc. Kholan*, Pl. LXIII, D. x, 4, central figure.)



FIG. 217. Bactrian camel; Indian-ink drawing on paper from Endere.
(Stein, *Anc. Kholan*, Pl. LXXIX, E. i, 19, a; p. 438.)

The countries to the north of the great desert have proved to be equally fertile in finds of astonishing richness. At the ruined city of Idiqūt-i-Shahri the German explorers found the remains of Buddhist, Manichean, and Nestorian buildings and art associated in such a way as to show that for centuries the adherents of the rival creeds managed to live together. Ultimately, in or about the ninth century, the Buddhists

were massacred by the Chinese, a fact of which Dr. v. Le Coq discovered terrible proof when he opened a chamber filled with the skeletons of monks and other signs of ruthless slaughter. At this site curious votive flags, both Manichean and Buddhist, were found, with designs painted on plaster applied to long strips of cotton, in the manner still practised by Tibetan Lamas.

At Yār-Khoto, to the west of Turfān, paintings on silk, described as being exquisitely wrought and harmoniously coloured, were obtained. Dr. Stein has brought home from his second expedition a large quantity of similar silk designs obtained in a walled-up temple near the Kan-su border, many of which are in the finest condition.[1] The Yār-Khoto pictnres are both Manichean and Buddhist, the latter never failing to retain a distinctly Indian character. At the Bäsäklik monastery Dr. v. Le Coq discovered wall-paintings executed on a surface of plaster composed of loam and chopped straw.

The pictures at Chiqqan Kōl and Toyoq are in the archaic Indian style, whereas in other places the Indian features have been much modified by Chinese and Persian influence. It is evident that the Turkistan paintings range over a long time, and that, when their sequence shall have been worked out, much light will be thrown upon the development of the pictorial art of Asia, including India.

Students of Chinese and Japanese painting have been aware for some years past that the specially Buddhist forms of art in China were derived from India through Khotan, and passed on through Korea to Japan, the principal agent in the transmission to Korea, and so to Japan, having been Weï-chï I-song, son of Bajna of Khotan. Bajna was one of the numerous foreign artists in the service of the Chinese Emperor, Yang-ti (A.D. 605–17), and had been preceded at the imperial court by two Indian monks, with names something like Kabōdha and Dharmakuksha. Both Bajna and his son, according to Chinese critics, worked in a foreign, that is to say, Indian manner, and enjoyed high repute as Buddhist artists. The marked Indian element in early Japanese art is thus amply accounted for.[2]

Although the descent of the specially Buddhist varieties of the art of the Far East from India, and more particularly from Indo-Greek prototypes in Gandhāra on the north-western frontier, is abundantly proved, the evidence does not warrant the larger inference drawn by Mr. Anderson that 'a previously undeveloped art' in China was dependent upon importations from India for its growth and development.[3] The earliest extant Chinese painting, the fourth-century picture by Ku K'ai-chih in the British Museum, does not show the slightest trace of either Indian or Greek influence. Buddhist pictures form but a single subdivision of Chinese painting, the subjects of which, according to Professor Giles, may be classified under seven heads, namely—(1) history, (2) religion (including Buddhism and Taoism), (3) landscape, (4) flowers, (5) birds, (6) beasts, and (7) portraiture.[4] Excepting the Buddhist designs under the

[1] A series was exhibited in the Indian Court of the Festival of Empire, 1911, and described by Dr. Stein in the *Catalogue* of the Court, pp. 14–26.

[2] Hirth, *Ueber fremde Einflüsse in der chines. Kunst*, pp. 34, 38, 39, 43–60.

[3] Anderson, *Descriptive and Hist. Catal. of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Pictures*, in the B. M. (1886), p. 482.

[4] *An Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art*, 1905, p. 7.

second head, China learned nothing, and had nothing to learn from 'the land of the Brahmans'. I am disposed to agree with Mr. Binyon, who finds in China 'if not the parent art of Asia, its earliest mature flower in painting'.[1]

Mr. Griffiths thought that he could discern marks of Chinese influence in the paintings at Ajantā; and he may be right, although such marks are not very distinct, and may, perhaps, be explained as derived from the common stock of Asiatic art. However that may be, the art of Ajantā certainly produced no effect upon the general development of painting in China; and in Japan the only conspicuous instance of imitation of the Ajantā style is the wall-painting in the temple of Hōriūji at Nara, supposed by some critics to date from A. D. 607, but according to others about a century later.[2]

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SECTION III. TIBET AND NEPĀL.

I. *Tibet.*

The art of Tibet is so closely related to that of Nepāl that the paintings of both countries may be grouped together. The style is a combination of Indian and Chinese characteristics, traceable back to the earlier style of Turkistan, specimens of which have been cited in Section 2 of this chapter (*ante*, pp. 308–12). Nepāl probably imitated Indian painting before Tibet was sufficiently civilized to do so. According to Tāranāth (*ante*, p. 305) the earliest Nepalese school followed the model of the school of the 'Ancient West' founded by Sringadhara of Mārwār in the seventh century, while subsequent Nepalese artists inclined rather to favour the methods of the Bengal 'Eastern' school of the ninth century. No specimens assignable to either of those periods are now known to be extant, except possibly the miniatures in two MSS. examined by M. Foucher, which may belong to the 'Eastern' school. The latest Nepalese artists before Tāranāth's time in A.D. 1600 are said to have had 'no special character'. All the existing specimens of Nepalese painting, with the exception of the miniatures in the MSS., apparently are later than the seventeenth century. Most of the extant Tibetan pictures are believed to be not older, but it is not possible to determine exact dates. I have not been able to obtain good examples of Nepalese painting; Tibet, however, supplies a considerable number of works deserving of respectful notice.

[1] *Painting in the Far East* (1908), p. 48.

[2] A tracing (No. 148, Anderson's *Catal.*) is in the B. M. Mr. Okakura favours the later date.

Painting is still extensively practised by Tibetan Lamas for the purposes of their ritualistic worship and as a source of income. Usually the compositions are depicted on long narrow banners of either silk or cotton. They may be painted either directly on the fabric or on a coat of plaster applied to it. Pictures on paper also exist. The silken banners obtained by Dr. Stein from a walled-up temple near the Chinese frontier, and dating from the seventh or eighth century, closely resemble those now made by the Lamas, who follow strictly prescribed ritual rules. The Lamas also execute frescoes on the temple walls, some of which, according to travellers, are remarkable compositions.

Tibetan painting is generally more a matter of skilled craftsmanship than of fine art. The canonical process of manufacture has been fully described by Godwin Austen, who explains in detail the way in which a figure of Buddha is built up. The draughtsman, who hardly deserves to be called an artist, starts by drawing a long vertical rectangle, within which are inscribed a medial perpendicular line and sundry horizontal parallels at prescribed distances. The different organs of the body are then plotted out for insertion at certain intersections of the lines. For example, the face is plotted from the starting-point determined by the intersection of the medial perpendicular with the transverse line No. 17. The remaining parts of the body are worked out in a similar way, and other sacred objects, such as a *stūpa* (*chorten*, or *dāgaba*) are imaged on like principles.[1] Travellers tell us that the monks of the Greek communities at Mount Athos manufacture the sacred *ikons* in an equally mechanical fashion. It is obvious that such a practice is fatal to the development of creative art in the representation of objects of worship.

The examination of specimens of Tibetan ritualistic paintings confirms the expectation formed from knowledge of the mechanical process enjoined, and reveals very slight artistic merit in most of them. They are redeemed from contempt chiefly by the colouring, which is often rich and harmonious, shades of indigo blue in particular being combined with black in a very effective manner. The execution of details, too, is often finished with characteristic Indian minuteness.

I dissent strongly from the enthusiastic praise bestowed upon Tibetan art by Mr. Havell. The banner of Buddha Amitābha (his Plate XLIX),[2] described as 'splendid in drawing, colour, and composition', strikes me as a hard, lifeless piece of formalism, in which the features of the principal figure are barely indicated. The assertion that the hideous, sprawling, eight-armed deity and his attendants which form the subject of Mr. Havell's Plate LI are 'full of spirituality and the most refined artistic feeling' seems to my judgement to be wholly without justification. In the small figure of Asoka at the top of the same plate (enlarged as Plate L) the critic

[1] 'On the System of outlining the Figures of Deities and other Religious Drawings, as practised at Ladak' (*J.A.S.B.*, Part I, vol. xxxiii (1864), p. 151, with plates). 'Il est de règle, quand il s'agit de personnages, qu'on commence toujours par les yeux, qui, aussitôt terminés, doivent être purifiés au moyen de prières et de formules d'exorcisme de peur que quelque démon ne vienne à en prendre possession; c'est ce qui explique que tous les peintres sont des Lamas' (de Milloué, *Bod-Youl ou Tibet*, p. 295).

[2] *Indian Sculpture and Painting.*

sees 'shining through Chinese and Tibetan superstitions, a reflection of the spirituality of the art of Ajantā, and some of the true sentiment of Indian art which inspired the sculptures of Boro-Būdūr'. My eyes see formal, mechanically drawn contours, a featureless face, and fingers like hooks. But the colouring, as usual, is harmonious and pleasing.

The British Museum possesses a considerable collection of Tibetan banner-paintings on silk, mounted on rollers, kept partly in the Print Room, where the best of those brought by Col. Iggulden are preserved, and partly in the Ethnographical Department. Most of the pictures are distinctly Chinese in style, with little trace of Indian influence on the art, as distinguished from the subjects. But a few are more Indian than Chinese. One such is No. $\frac{1905}{5\cdot 20}$, 63 (measuring 2 feet 3 inches x 20 inches), with an embroidered border. The central figure is a seated Buddha of Indian style in the 'earth-touching' pose. The numerous minor figures in the scenes covering the field are, however, Chinese. An unpleasant Tantric Bodhisattva of little artistic value is depicted on No. $\frac{1905}{5\cdot 20}$, 57. The most characteristically Tibetan specimen, combining Indian with Chinese peculiarities, is No. $\frac{1905}{5\cdot 20}$, 62, which possesses considerable beauty as a scheme of colour, dark indigo blue predominating. The central figure is a horrible and repulsive Yama, or Death, wearing a garland of skulls. The field is mostly occupied by a series of scrolls in dark tints, of distinctively Tibetan form. In the upper section three small figures, a seated Buddha in Chinese costume, with on each side a Bodhisattva, or Tibetan Lama, wearing a tall, conical head-dress, are tolerably well executed. The painting does not look old, and its merit lies mainly in the colouring.

The Tibetan pictures on cotton exhibited on the screen in Room VIII of the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, include only one of any aesthetic interest, No. 2451 from the Schlagintweit collection, but even that is not of high quality.

The considerable collection of Tibetan drawings and paintings, presented by Mr. Brian Hodgson to the Institut de France and still preserved there, has had the good fortune to have been described by two eminent scholars, M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire and M. A. Foucher. M. St. Hilaire, who formed a higher estimate of the artistic quality of a set of ten numbered paintings in the collection than M. Foucher can accept, criticized them generally in the following terms :—

'Mais les monuments de sculpture et de peinture que nous venons de passer en revue sont très loin d'être dénués de mérite; le dessin en est quelquefois très pur, les attitudes des personnages sont élégantes et naturelles. Il y a même, quoique plus rarement, une onction profonde dans la physionomie du Buddha et des principaux Bhikshous. . . . La composition est ordinairement régulière, quelquefois vaste et très bien ordonnée, comme l'atteste la description que j'ai donnée plus haut du troisième tableau tibétain.'

No. 3, alluded to in the passage quoted, depicts various Buddhas and a crowd of worshippers. It is marred by the debased sensuality of the uppermost scene representing a Dhyānī-Buddha holding his Sakti, or female counterpart, in close embrace.



Plate LXII. Buddha, with worshippers on earth and in clouds.
('Tibet, No. 5', Institut de France.)

The Buddhism of Tibet has travelled far from the chaste asceticism of Gautama. The sculptures of Mathurā prove that similar corruption had invaded the Buddhist church in very early times. M. St. Hilaire considered No. 9, a large work measuring $1\frac{1}{4}$ metre in length by 70 cm. in breadth, to be 'd'un travail presqu'aussi délicat que celui du numéro 3'. No. 10, which includes representations of devil-dances performed by Lamas wearing horrible masks, like those in the Gandhāra relief (*ante*, Plate XXX), is also commended.

M. Foucher has kindly selected No. 5 as being one of the best and most suitable for reproduction (Plate LXII). It depicts Buddha in the 'earth-touching' pose surrounded by a host of worshippers on earth and in the clouds, and is framed in a pretty border. The figures of the adoring Lamas are numbered, I do not know why. Similar numbers are inserted in other pictures. I cannot think very highly of the picture as a work of art, apart from the colouring, which is, of course, lost in a photograph.

The most interesting department of Tibetan, as of Mongolian, pictorial art is that of portraiture. The painted portraits should be compared with the bronze statuettes described *ante*, pp. 198–200. Excellent specimens of this branch of Tibetan art, which is less conventional than the pictures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, are included in a packet of twenty-four 'Pictorial Illustrations of Tibetan Buddhism' in the Hodgson collection of the Institut de France. By the kindness of M. A. Foucher, who made the selection, I am able to offer two unpublished reproductions of these remarkable works, depicting holy Lamas, one of whom is 'paisible', and the other 'terrible'.

The portrait of the 'paisible' Lama is charming. His countenance shows something of the 'onction profonde' detected by M. St. Hilaire, and it is easy to believe that a young Tibetan saint bred in a monastery may look exactly like this presentment. The accessories are treated with delicate good taste, and the effect of the coloured original must be pleasing (Plate LXIII).

The picture of the 'terrible' Lama is more curious than beautiful. He is seated on a tiger-skin, and seems to have evoked by his incantations the fearsome demon, perhaps Yama, or Death, with a chaplet of skulls, who appears on the right. The magician apparently is terrified by the success of his spells (Plate LXIV). All these Tibetan pictures represent fingers and toes with odd exaggeration. The flower-like cloud forms are the same as those already noticed in the wall-paintings of the Bikanīr palace (*ante*, p. 304).

The valuable collection of objects illustrative of Buddhism formed by Prince E. Ukhtomskij, and now preserved at the Museum of the Emperor Alexander III, St. Petersburg, includes many Tibetan and Mongolian pictures, of which select specimens, including portraits, have been engraved in outline as illustrations of the Catalogue in Russian prepared by Prof. A. Grünwedel. The kindness of the author of the Catalogue and of Prince Dy. H. Ukhtomskij permits me to reproduce two of those illustrations, belonging to a miscellaneous class, and Prof. Grünwedel has supplied me with explanations in English.



Plate LXIII. Portrait of young Lama; Tibetan School.
(Hodgson Collection, Institut de France.)



PLATE LXIV. Portrait of a Lama evoking a demon; Tibetan School.
(Hodgson Collection, Institut de France.)

The first chosen is Mongolian rather than Tibetan, but the religion and art of Mongolia are so closely connected with those of Tibet, and through Tibet with India, that the picture will not be out of place here. The figure of a Buddha or a Bodhisattva seated on the clouds in the corner is quite Indian, the rest of the composition is on Chinese lines. The 'White-bearded Old Man', originally a Mongolian tutelary deity of the earth, the foe of all evil-doing, becomes Kshitipati ('Lord of the Earth') in Indian Buddhism; is identified in China with the genius of long life; in Japan with one of the eight gods of happiness; and now in Mongolia, at Urga and other places, with St. Nicholas of Moscow (Fig. 218).



FIG. 218. 'The White-bearded Old Man'; the Mongolian tutelary deity of the earth; Indian *Kshitipati*.
(No. 114 in Grünwedel's *Catalogue of the Ukhtomskij collection.*)

The Repentant Monster.

The second illustration (Fig. 219) is one of a set of thirty block-prints used by Tibetan Lamas as patterns for 'pouncing', or stencilling, sacred pictures on *kakemonós*, or silken strips. To the upper left of the picture we see Buddha Sākyamuni, clad in Indian fashion, expounding to four disciples the story of the dead sea-monster whose bones lie on the shore. Once upon a time, in a previous birth, the Buddha had been that monster and got his living by devouring men and other creatures. The boat with its occupants shown below was rushing into the monster's jaws, when one of the crew invoked the holy name of Buddha. The abashed monster allowed his prey to escape, preferring to die of starvation rather than incur the guilt of despising the sacred name. The boat then came safely to land, as shown in the upper part of the composition. Ancient art frequently repeats an object or person in two or three situations in a single picture, and this block-print follows the old traditional

practice. This queer Tibetan legend may possibly prove to be the key to the enigmatic medallion at Bharhut (Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharhut,* Plate XXXIV, 2), hitherto unexplained, which represents a gaping sea-monster in the act of swallowing



FIG. 219. The Repentant Monster.
(No. 1, p. 32, Grünwedel's *Catalogue of Ukhtomskij collection.*)

a boat with three men, while a second boat with a similar crew appears to be drifting to like destruction.[1] As a work of art, the interest of the sketch reproduced lies chiefly in its freedom from the formal conventionalism of most Tibetan pictures. The Ukhtomskij collection includes many examples of orthodox paintings on regulation lines.

II. *Nepāl.*

Nepalese art a variety of Tibetan.

Very little can be recorded concerning the pictorial art of Nepāl, which, as known to us, is only a modern variety of the Tibetan school.[2] The extant specimens are all Buddhist, and seem to possess little aesthetic value. The Hodgson collection in Paris includes ten pictures, two of which have been reproduced by M. Sylvain Lévi in his learned work, 'Nepāl'. The first of his plates is a reduced copy of No. 6, a large pen-and-ink drawing, 2 m. 85 cm. long and 1 m. high, believed to have been prepared to the order of Mr. Brian Hodgson. The subject is a religious procession in honour of Matsyendra (*alias* Padmapāni or Avalokitesvara), marching round the walls of a town in the valley. The drawing is carefully executed and shows a know-

[1] M. Foucher suggests that the monster may be Rāhu, the eclipse demon.

[2] Originally the art may have been practised in Nepāl earlier than in Tibet, but if it was, no specimens have been brought to light, save the miniatures in MSS.

ledge of linear perspective presumably due to European teaching, but as a specimen of Indian art it is of no interest. M. Lévi's second and larger folding plate reproduces in six sections a photograph of the illustrated manuscript giving the sacred legend of Nepāl. This work, too, possesses little merit as art.

The Nepalese Buddhists are fond of constructing magic circles (*maṇḍala*) crowded with figures of Buddhas, worshippers, monks, lotus-plants, and other sacred persons or things, believing that the maker or user of such a picture will have a claim on the protection of all the influential beings and lucky objects depicted. No. 10 of the Hodgson collection is such a magic circle, filled with more than 200 figures. Magic circles in Hodgson collection.

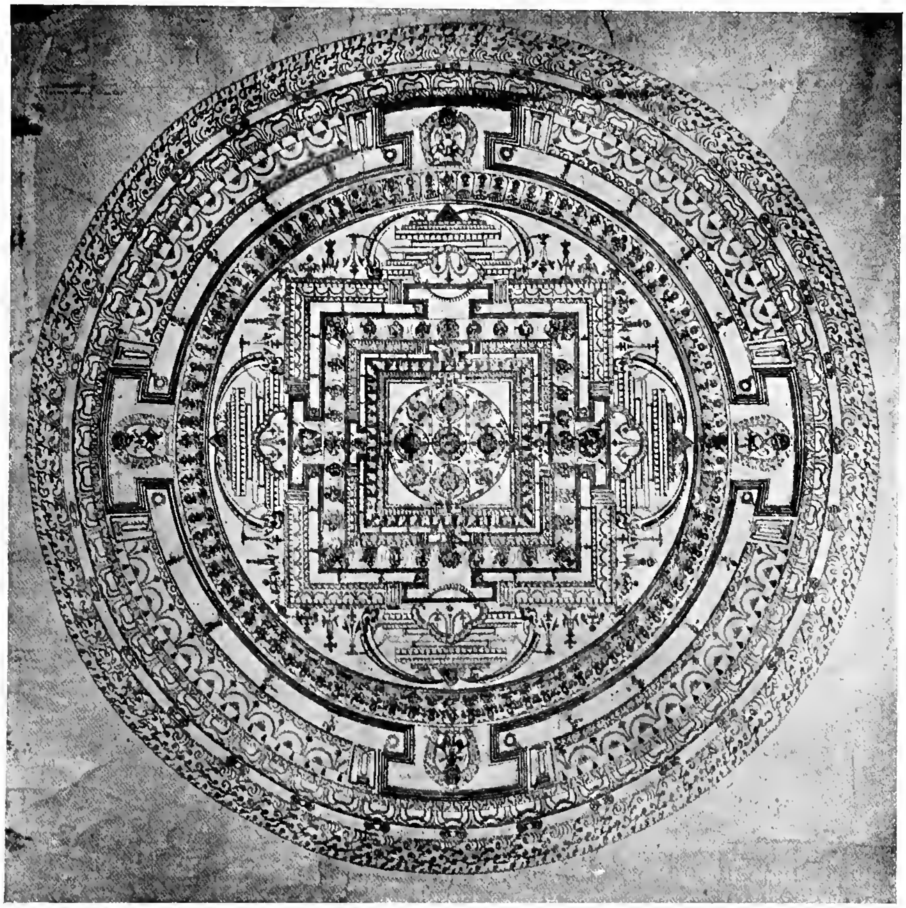


FIG. 220. A magic circle, Nepalese School.
('Nepāl,' No. 7, Hodgson Collection, Institut de France.)

Another magic circle, No. 7 of the Hodgson collection, selected by M. Foucher, is reproduced in Fig. 220. The design is delicately executed, showing good draughtsmanship of minute details, but otherwise the work is not interesting.

The silken magic circle in the British Museum (MS. Add. 8898) is accompanied by a description from the competent pen of Col. Waddell. The composition, as Magic circles in

a whole, is ugly and barbarous, not worth copying, though the floral border is pretty.

The only relics of an ancient school of Nepalese painting are the miniature illustrations of two manuscripts, Add. 1643, Cambridge, and A. 15, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, which have been minutely studied and in large part reproduced by M. Foucher.[1] Unfortunately, the age of the manuscripts and miniatures is not quite certain, but probably both date from the eleventh century. The older document, that at Cambridge, cannot be later than A.D. 1015; the Calcutta manuscript may be some fifty years posterior in date. The miniatures, numbering 85 in Add. 1643, and 37 in A. 15, equal in height ($0^{m}.055$) the narrow strip of palm-leaf on which the text is written, and each depicts a holy place, a sacred personage, or an incident in Buddhist legend. Most of them being plainly labelled, they are of high archaeological and historical value, but from the purely aesthetic point of view are not of much account.



FIG. 221. Jambhala of Ceylon; min. No. 18 of MS. Add. 1643, Camb. (Foucher, Pl. IX, 2)

The technique is simple. The outlines were drawn in red ink and filled in with colour washes, only the five canonical colours being used—white, blue, red, yellow, and green. The designs evidently transmit an ancient tradition, and are the production of an art long stereotyped; but, notwithstanding the mechanical monotony of treatment, M. Foucher holds that these little paintings, although not masterpieces, cannot be regarded as merely vulgar daubs. They have been drawn and coloured by illuminators 'très suffisamment maîtres de leurs moyens'. If they date from the eleventh century, they may represent the 'Eastern' school of Dhīmān, which according to Tāranāth was favoured in Nepāl at about that time.

The labels indicate that the artist or artists had a surprising knowledge of distant countries, implying an active communication between the most widely separated Buddhist lands. The paintings include representations of images or buildings, not only in every part of India, but in Northern China, Java, and Ceylon. For instance, one of the miniatures in the Cambridge MS. (Foucher, Plate IX, 2) depicts the obese 'Jambhala of Ceylon' (*Sinhaladvīpe Jambhalaḥ*), the popular god of riches (Fig. 221), in a form not quite identical with, but closely resembling Dr. Coomaraswamy's bronze statuette (*ante*, Fig. 196), which could be identified with certainty from M. Foucher's photograph, here reproduced by permission, as a sample of the style of these curious little paintings.

[1] Similar miniatures are executed in Tibet (de Milloué, *Bod-Youl ou Tibet*, p. 237), but I am not in a position to cite examples. Good specimens, dating from the seventeenth century, or earlier, are inserted in a manuscript of the *Kah-gyur* ('Tibétain 10') in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Blochet, 'Inventaire,' *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 1899, p. 265).

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ST. HILAIRE.—*Journal des Savants*, 1863, pp. 111, 112, 175–88. FOUCHER, A.—' Catalogue des peintures népalaises et tibétaines de la collection Brian-Hodgson' (*Mémoires Acad. des Inscriptions*, 1ère sér., t. xi, p. 34). This article corrects certain errors of detail in St. Hilaire's description. *Étude sur l'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde* (Paris, 1900, 1905). GRÜNWEDEL, PROF.—*Catalogue* (in Russian, *Obzor sobrania predmetov lamaskago kulta Z. Z. Uchtomskago*) *of Prince Ukhtomskij's collection*; St. Petersburg, 1905; being No. VI (2nd fasc.) of *Bibliotheca Buddhica*. *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*; being a *Guide* (*Führer*) to the same collection. DE MILLOUÉ, L.—*Bod-Youl ou Tibet* (*Le Paradis des Moines*), Paris, 1906. *Petit Guide Illustré au Musée Guimet*, Paris, 1905.

Other references are given in the footnotes. Students wishing to go more deeply into the subject may consult various works on Tibet, Nepāl, and Buddhism. I notice in the *Catalogue of the Library of the Director-General of Archaeology, India*, p. 222, a catalogue by J. Deniker and E. Deshayes of 'Œuvres d'art et de haute curiosité du Tibet . . . collection G.' sold in Paris, in 1904.

SECTION IV. KĀNGRĀ.

The fort of Kāngrā, or Nagarkōt, to the north of the Panjāb, renowned for centuries as one of the most nearly impregnable strongholds of India, but reduced to a mass of ruins by the earthquake of 1905, guarded the capital of a small Hill State, governed by independent Hindu Rājās for many ages until 1621, when it The Kāngrā School.



FIG. 222. Rāmdayāl, &c., goldsmiths of Kāngrā, at work (black and white).

fell before the arms of the Emperor Jahāngīr.[1] In the secluded and beautiful valley of Kāngrā a distinct school of painters has survived to this day, representing ancient Hindu tradition grafted on the technique of the Mughal or Indo-Persian school. The works of the local artists are so numerous that two hundred and fifty examples were shown at the Delhi Exhibition of 1902–3. A considerable collection is preserved in the Central Museum, Lahore, from which my illustrations are taken.

[1] The effects of the earthquake are described with numerous illustrations by Dr. Vogel in *Ann. Rep. Arch. S., India*, for 1905–6, pp. 11–27. A fine lithograph of the Kāngrā Fort is in the Honourable C. S. Hardinge's *Recollections of India*, London, 1847. Restoration work is in progress (1910).

Subjects.

The subjects, both religious and secular, are varied. The kindness of Mr. G. Wathen, Curator of the Lahore Museum, has supplied me with photographs of seven works selected by him as the best, and coloured sketches of the same prepared by Mrs. Wathen indicate the effect of the originals. A detailed list of the seven pictures is given in the note at the end of this section. The forest scene is not a success, the monkeys being ridiculous, and curiously like the illustrations of the advertisements of a well-known brand of soap. The portrait of the European officer is an ill-drawn failure, and that of the Mahārājā is stiff and poorly executed.



FIG. 223. Snake-charmer, by Kapūr Singh of Amritsar (ochre-coloured garments).

Selected examples.

The oldest picture is that of the string of seven camels laden with tents and other baggage, which probably dates from the eighteenth century, and is good. In my judgement the best of the set is the black-and-white drawing of five Kāngrā goldsmiths or *sunārs* at work, two of whom are shown using the primitive blowpipe commonly employed in Eastern lands. Dr. Coomaraswamy praises this work as 'full of close observation and curiously modern in effect'. The first clause of the criticism is just, but the second has not much force, as the drawing does not seem to be very old (Fig. 222).[1] The realistic portraits of the snake-charmer (Fig. 223) and the Jogī (Fig. 224) also are excellent. Both are the work of Kapūr Singh, an artist resident at Amritsar, outside the Kāngrā District. They are said to be only about thirty years old, and thus afford proof that until a very recent time artistic skill of considerable excellence still existed. Mr. Wathen informs me that the paintings now executed are of very poor quality. Presumably, if adequate patronage were available, the indigenous capacity could be stimulated and work equal to the old produced. Dr. Coomaraswamy mentions 'a mauve iris, drawn with a faithfulness and grace which

[1] 'The Present State of Indian Art' (*Modern Review*, Allahabad, July, 1907).

recall a Ruskin flower or leaf study'[1]; and Mr. C. H. Read's fine collection includes a replica of the subject, also capitally executed, which may be assigned to the Kāngrā school. I do not know of any other example of the school in European collections.[2]



FIG. 224. A Kanphata ('split-ear') Jogī, or Muhammadan fakīr, by Kapūr Singh of Amritsar (black robe, yellow head-dress with peacock feathers).

[1] 'The Present State of Indian Art' (*Modern Review*, Allahabad, July, 1907).

[2] The set sent by Mr. Wathen comprises :—

1. Forest scene showing Rāma, Sītā, and Lachhman, with monkeys in attendance, and the snowy range of the Himalayas in the distance. The tree in the foreground is good. Colours moderately bright.

2. Black-and-white drawing of Rāmdayāl, &c., goldsmiths.

3. An English officer, supposed to be Sir Hector Barnes, about 1850, seated on a chair.

4. The snake-charmer.

5. The Kanphata Jogī.

6. Mahārājā Jagat Singh of Ambar (Jaipur), who came to the throne in 1803. It is not certain that this is Kāngrā work.

7. String of seven baggage camels (three photographs), appropriately coloured.

SECTION V. EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PAINTING, CHIEFLY MYTHOLOGICAL.

During the eighteenth century Hindu artists trained in the style of the Indo-Persian school, which forms the subject of Chapter XIV, ceasing to interest themselves in scenes of courtly life or aristocratic amusement, often devoted their talents to the illustration of the imaginative conceptions and legends of their own mythology. From the merely technical point of view the numerous works thus produced might be regarded as a variety of the Indo-Persian class, descended from the book illustrations of the *Razmnāma* and similar works translated from the Indian languages into Persian by Akbar's order; and it would be possible to treat them simply as such. For instance, the British Museum Catalogue, in the description of the manuscripts, Or. 4769, 4770, truly states that 'the drawings are remarkable for their extreme delicacy, the minute delineation of every detail, and the richness and artistic choice of colour'—precisely the qualities which distinguish the best Indo-Persian work.[1] But the subjects and inspiration of the drawings in those volumes are so thoroughly Hindu that to discuss the contents along with the Indo-Persian pictures would be inconvenient. The two series, although closely related in technique, are essentially distinct in spirit, and it is more satisfactory to regard the Hindu mythological works as forming a separate class.

In the course of the subsequent discussion of Indo-Persian art emphasis will be laid upon the undoubtedly necessary inference that the Hindu artists, who quickly and successfully assimilated Persian teaching, must have had previous training upon Hindu lines. The practically total loss of all specimens of native Indian painting between Ajantā and Akbar precludes us from tracing the evolution and history of mediaeval indigenous art. We can only guess what that art may have been by studying the modified Indian art of Turkistan described in Section II of this chapter, and examining the character of the illustrations by Hindu artists in the books prepared for Akbar's library.

The Persian adaptation of the *Mahābhārata*, entitled the *Razmnāma*, has a preface by Abūl Fāzl, dated A. D. 1588. The best copy, now at Jaipur, which is said to have cost £40,000, contains 169 pictures, or 'miniatures', most of which have been reproduced in the magnificent volume edited by Colonel Hendley. The traditional skill of the Hindus in drawing animals, especially monkeys and elephants, is well illustrated by the works of the artist named Bābū, as for example Plate XXI in Colonel Hendley's book. The Hindu tradition is also apparent in the treatment of trees and plants, and in the use of indigo blue as the colour for the bodies of divinities. Many of the pictures are purely Hindu in feeling—e. g. Plate XXIX by Kānha, representing antelopes gambolling in a forest; Plate XIII by Tulsī, the choice by Damayantī of Nala as her husband (reproduced in Pl. LXV); and Pl. LXXVIII—Rāja Sudarsan and his wife as hermits—by Jaswant and Tārā.

After Akbar's time Hindu work, that is to say, work with specially Hindu characteristics, is little in evidence until the eighteenth century, when the political

[1] These two volumes were sold for £250 at the Beckford sale.



PLATE LXV. Damayantī choosing Nala as her husband; from Jaipur *Razmnāma*.
(Pl. XIII of Hendley, *Memorials of the Jeypore Exhibition*, vol. iv.)

changes consequent upon the battle of Plassey (1757), no doubt, must have had a stimulating effect upon Hindu activity. Multitudes of works were then produced, mostly Indo-Persian in technique, but thoroughly Hindu in subject and feeling. Probably, as Dr. Coomaraswamy thinks, several distinct local schools may be distinguished; but the detailed examination of the pictures is not yet advanced sufficiently to warrant such nice discrimination. The examples preserved vary enormously in merit, many being coarse daubs, others of middling quality, and a few of high excellence.

Some, like the illustrations in Or. 4769, 4770, mentioned above, believed to be the work of a Pārsī artist, and probably dating from the early years of the century, emulate the meticulous delicacy so much affected by Shahjahān's artists. But most of the works of the class are executed in a broader style, apt to degenerate into coarse daubing. Indigo blue is largely used for the bodies of divinities, and the scheme of colour generally is not quite the same as in Indo-Persian work.

The technical and artistic qualities of the pictures are often obscured by the choice of repulsive subjects essentially unfit for artistic treatment. The hideous, grotesque, and horrible figments of Hindu imagination run wild cannot be made tolerable to the aesthetic sense by any cleverness or delicacy of execution. Hindu artists love to depict the ten incarnations of Vishnu, and no doubt edify their fellow believers, but no amount of edification to an orthodox Hindu can give the more grotesque and disgusting incarnations a right to figure as subjects for works of art. The fine volume, Or. 4769 in the British Museum, already referred to, is utterly spoiled from the aesthetic point of view by the subjects selected. The companion volume, Or. 4770, provides more agreeable representations of incidents from the *Mahābhārata*.

Happily, the inexhaustible fountain of Hindu mythological imagination provides a group of subjects which invite the freest play of fancy, and give unlimited opportunities for artistic treatment. During the eighteenth century, the class of material alluded to, the symbolism connected with the 'musical modes', was exploited by numerous artists, whose works were eagerly collected by Warren Hastings and his contemporaries and brought by them to Europe, where they now enrich various libraries, museums, and private collections. The works in question, known as *Rāgmālās*, or 'Garlands of Musical Modes', are characterized by singular tenderness of sentiment, and present examples of some of the best pictorial work ever produced in India. Such praise applies, of course, only to specimens of the highest class. The collections include much rubbish.

Before proceeding to describe and reproduce a few select typical examples, an attempt must be made to give some notion of the strange manner in which Hindu thought associates music with painting. Even with the help of such exposition as I am able to offer, on the authority of Sir William Jones, who had some practical knowledge of both arts, it is not easy for the European mind to discover any real bond of union between a given picture and the sounds which it is supposed to

symbolize. Personally, I am wholly unable to trace the connexion, and can discuss the paintings simply with reference to their aesthetic value as expressions of Hindu sentiment, imagination, and observation of nature. I do not know anybody who could explain why a particular design was appropriated to certain music. The association of the various musical modes with the seasons—a subject sufficiently obscure in itself—does not help me much to realize the ideas underlying the pictorial symbolism, and I cannot judge how far any selected work is to be commended for its significance as a suggestion to the eye of certain musical combinations of sounds. To some extent the general nature of the subject appropriate to the illustration of each 'musical mode' was fixed by rule or tradition, but the treatment allowed free scope to the exercise of each individual artist's fancy and skill. The *Rāgmālā* illustrations are of special interest because of their freedom from the fetters of immutable rules, bondage to which has been the chief support of the common belief that India possesses no fine art.

On the understanding that the lists of musical modes as given by various authorities differ considerably, although the scheme explained below is that most generally accepted, Sir William Jones's exposition may now be quoted:—

'The different position of the two semitones in the scale of seven notes gives birth to seven primary modes; and, as the whole series consists of twelve semitones . . . there are in nature (though not universally in practice) seventy-seven other modes [12 × 7 = 84 − 7 = 77] . . . but the Hindu arrangement is elegantly formed on the variations of the Indian year, and the association of ideas, a powerful auxiliary to the ordinary effect of modulation.

The Modes in this system are deified; and as there are six Seasons in India, namely, two Springs, Summer, Autumn, and two Winters, an original *Rāg*, or God of the Mode, is conceived to preside over a particular season; each principal mode is attended by five *Rāginīs*, or Nymphs of Harmony; each has eight sons, or Genii of the same divine art; and each *Rāg*, with his family, is appropriated to a distinct season, in which alone his melody can be sung or played at prescribed hours of the day or night. . . .

By appropriating a different mode to each of the different seasons, the artists of India connected certain strains with certain ideas, and were able to recall the memory of autumnal merriment at the close of the harvest, or of separation and melancholy (very different from our idea at Calcutta) during the cold months; of reviving hilarity on the revival of blossoms, and complete vernal delight in the month of *Madhu*, or honey; of languor during the dry heats, and of refreshment by the first rains, which cause in this climate a second spring. . . .

The inventive talents of the Greeks never suggested a more charming allegory than the lovely families of the six *Rāgas*, named in the order of seasons . . . *Bhairava*, *Mālava*, *Srī Rāga*, *Hindola* or *Vasanta*, *Dīpaka*, and *Megha*; each of whom is a genius or demi-god, wedded to five *Rāginīs*, or nymphs, and father of eight little genii, called his *putras*, or sons. . . . These and similar images, but wonderfully diversified, are expressed in a variety of measures, and represented by delicate pencils in the *Rāgmālās*, which all of us have examined, and among which the most beautiful are in the possession of Mr. R. Johnson and Mr. Hay.' Sir William Jones was of opinion that the symbolism sketched in the foregoing extracts 'may be considered as

the most pleasing invention of the ancient Hindus, and the most beautiful union of painting with poetical mythology and the genuine theory of music'.[1]

Perhaps some of my readers who may happen to be skilled musicians will be able to understand the matter better than I can.

I have not been able to trace the collection of *Rāgmālās* mentioned by Sir W. Jones as having been formed by Mr. Hay; but that of Mr. R. Johnson, the banker of Warren Hastings, was acquired by the India Office Library after the owner's death. The sixty-seven volumes include sixteen of *Rāgmālās* (Nos. XXX–XLIV, and LXI), varying widely in value. Vol. xxx is good. Picture No. 9, *Sārang Rāginī*, represented as a woman caressing antelopes, is a pleasing expression of tender Hindu sentiment.

Vol. xxxiv is of special interest because it contains thirty-five pictures signed by the artists, Udūt Singh (Nos. 1–18, 24, 30), and Mohan Singh (Nos. 19–23, 25–9, 31–5). The work entitled *Dhanāsarī Rāginī* (No. 27) by Mohan Singh—a slightly tinted, boldly executed sketch of a woman seated under a tree—is well composed and produces an effect like that of an etching (Plate LXVI).

Vol. xxxv includes a good example of the subject of a lady (*Mālkōs Rāg* 2nd) offering worship (*pūjā*) to a four-headed image of Brahmā, which recurs in vol. xli, where it is treated by Gobind Singh. The almost identical subject, in which a *lingam*, the symbol of Mahādēo, is substituted for the four-headed image, which also is probably a *Rāginī* picture, has been painted charmingly by several artists. The best example that I have seen is a picture (Johnson Coll., vol. l, fol. 1) by Rāi Fath Chand, which depicts a princess, attended by four women, doing reverence to a *lingam* standing on a marble platform in a palace garden. The same motive is prettily rendered in Haughton's engraving from an unknown original in Moor, *Hindu Pantheon*, Pl. XXII, which excited the warm admiration of Prof. Albrecht Weber.[2] Unfortunately, the engraver allowed himself to take some liberties, and his work cannot be accepted as a perfectly faithful transcript.

An anonymous picture from Bābū Sītarām's collection, labelled 'Umā worshipping Siva', reproduced (Plate LXVII) from a photograph kindly supplied by Dr. Coomaraswamy, may serve as a sample of its class. The landscape in that work shows traces of European influence; in Rāi Fath Chand's work the background is Indo-Persian.

The deities, Mahādēo and Pārvatī, so often represented by sculptors as seated together in conjugal harmony, were equally good subjects for the less conventional art of the draughtsman and painter. A creditable rendering by Mohan Singh is in volume x of the Johnson collection; but the best version is that in a picture

[1] Sir W. Jones, 'On the Musical Modes of the Hindus' (*As. Res.*, iii. 55–87); *Works*, vol. xiii (ed. 1807), p. 312. The essay in the *Researches*, written in 1784, was enlarged subsequently. Sir William died in 1794. Strange tales of the magic power ascribed to the singing of certain *Rāgs* are recorded by Mr. C. T. Naidu in *Ind. Ant.*, xxx (1901), p. 319.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, vi. 349.



Plate LXVI. Dhanāsarī Rāginī, by Mohan Singh, 18th cent. (Johnson Coll., vol. xxxiv, fol. 27.)

reproduced by Haughton in Plate XVII of Moor's *Hindu Pantheon.* 'The painting or drawing from which Plate 17 is engraved, is, I think,' the author writes,



FIG. 225. Dharmrāja on black bull.
(B. M., Or. 4770, fol. 8.)

'the most beautiful and highly finished thing I ever saw. I purchased it at Poona for forty rupees (five pounds), but for some time the seller demanded a hundred (twelve guineas) for it.'[1]

[1] Major E. Charles Moor, of the Rosery, Great Bealings, Ipswich, grandson of the author of the *Hindu Pantheon*, exhibited the original of the plate as No. 1163 in the Indian Court of the Festival of Empire, 1911. The happy days when forty rupees were equal to five pounds have long passed away. The present equivalent is £2 13*s.* 4*d.*



Plate LXVII. Umā worshipping Siva (photo. by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy).

Volume xlii of the Johnson collection, like volume xxxiv, is of special interest as containing a large number of pictures signed by Udūt Singh, Gobind Singh, Mohan Singh, and Ghulām Razā. Four of these, namely, three (Nos. 19, 22, 25) by Udūt Singh, and one (No. 12) by Ghulām Razā, are indecent, the only pictures of the Indo-Persian and Hindu schools, among the hundreds examined by me, to which such a reproach can be applied. Artistically, the twelve contributions by Ghulām Razā are the best. A portrait by him is on fol. 30 of volume lxiv of the same collection.

The Beckford volumes in the British Museum, Or. 4769, 4770, already noticed more than once, contain some excellent ideal portraits of Hindu deities, with elegant floral borders. I select for reproduction Yama, the Indian Pluto, riding on his buffalo, nearly all in black and white (Plate LXVIII); Dharmrāja, as judge of the dead, on his black bull (Fig. 225); and Byās (Vyāsa) Muni, the supposed compiler of the Vedas, who is represented standing, and holding a rosary. His body is 'wheat-coloured', his skirt purplish-grey, and his turban pink (Fig. 226).



FIG. 226. Byās (Vyāsa) Muni. (B. M., Or. 4770, fol. 26.)

The picture, no doubt purely imaginary, of the famous twelfth-century king Pirthirāj Chauhān, with his queen Urchhī (B. M. Or. 4769, fol. 26), is beautifully delicate work, freely enriched with gold, too elaborate for successful reproduction.

The album, B. M. Add. 11,747 (No. 97 of *Catal. of Hindī and Panjābī MSS.*), although labelled as a 'Collection of drawings, costume, &c., of the Persians', contains a *Rāgmālā* and many other pictures of Hindu subjects. The explanations of *Rāgmālās* are often written in the Hindī language and character, in this volume and others.

B. M. Add. 22,363 is a collection of twenty-eight rather large pictures 'in fine Indian style of the eighteenth century, with illuminated borders'. Most of the pictures represent incidents of Eastern tales, passages in the life of Krishna, or some of the *Rāginī* figures. But the best things in the book are the brown hawk on the obverse, and the two camels, on the reverse, of fol. 28, which are not specially Hindu, and may date from the seventeenth century. The camels are reproduced in Fig. 256 in Chapter XIV. The other collections of eighteenth-century Hindu paintings in the British Museum do not merit special notice.



PLATE LXVIII. Yama, god of Death, on buffalo.
(B. M., Or. 4769, fol. 26.)

The Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, possesses many manuscripts adorned with illustrations of Hindu mythology, among which a copy of the *Bhāgavata Purāna* ('Sanskrit-Devanagari,' No. 1), with seventy-six high-class paintings, seems to be the most notable.[1]

H.H. the Mahārāja of Benares is the fortunate owner of a beautifully written and sumptuously illustrated manuscript of the poem by Tulsī Dās, commonly called the *Rāmāyana*, but properly named the *Rāmcharit-mānas*. The book, which is guarded with jealous care, forms five volumes, richly bound in Benares brocade. The illustrations, more than five hundred in number, face each page, and are said to have cost Rs. 160,000. They appear to have been executed at some time in the eighteenth century, but are not signed. The technique generally seems to be that of the Indo-Persian school, gold and silver enrichments being freely used. The subjects, figures, faces, and composition are thoroughly Hindu. His Highness having placed at my disposal nine excellent photographs of selected pictures, three of them are now reproduced.

Plate LXIX is a queer composition, apparently intended to serve as a frontispiece. The figure under the tree in the left upper corner is labelled as a portrait of the poet, but how far it can claim to be a likeness I cannot say. In the right upper corner his teacher (*guru*) is depicted reading aloud to a party of disciples. Lower down, we find the magic cow, Kāmadhenu, a great snake, Rāma and Sītā, with various other persons and objects mentioned in the poem. The drawing is stiff and formal, and the Chitrakūt hill is represented in a purely conventional manner.

The next example selected for publication, Plate LXX, ranks much higher as a work of art and evidently is by another hand. It is, indeed, a well-composed and beautiful picture. The child demi-god and his adoring, yet tenderly watchful, mother, so placed in the centre as to rivet the attention of the beholder, are admirably drawn. The female attendants at the sides are perfectly true to nature and typical of Hindu womanhood. The perspective is unusually accurate, and there is no over-crowding. No doubt the original must have many beauties which cannot be seen in a photograph, but even in the reproduction the picture appears to me to be one of the best achievements of Hindu art.

The third picture chosen, Plate LXXI, is more in the style of the Indo-Persian court scenes. The rich landscape in the distance shows traces of the influence of European paintings.[2]

The active patronage afforded to artists by the rulers of Jaipur and Alwar

[1] Blochet, 'Inventaire' (*Revue des Bibliothèques*, 1899, p. 259).

[2] The 'Childhood of Rāma' has been published as the frontispiece to Mr. G. A. Grierson's profoundly learned work, 'The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan' (Extra No., *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, 1888–9), and in Mr. Growse's translation of the *Rāmcharit-mānas*. Seventy of the pictures have been crudely reproduced in an illustrated edition of the poem, edited by the Nāgarī Pracharinī Sabhā, and published by the Indian Press, Allahabad, 1903. The MS. is slightly described in Mr. E. Greaves's work, *Kashi the City Illustrious, or Benares* (Indian Press, Allahabad, 1904, p. 94). The Mahārāja possesses another MS. of the poem written in Samvat 1704 = A.D. 1647–8, only twenty-four years after the author's death.



Plate LXIX. From Benares MS. of *Rāmcharit-mānas*: Tulsī Dās in left upper corner; his *guru* reading in right upper corner; Kāmadhenu, the magic cow; the hill of Chitrakūt, with Rāma, Lachhman, and Sītā, &c.

(By permission of H.H. the Mahārāja.)

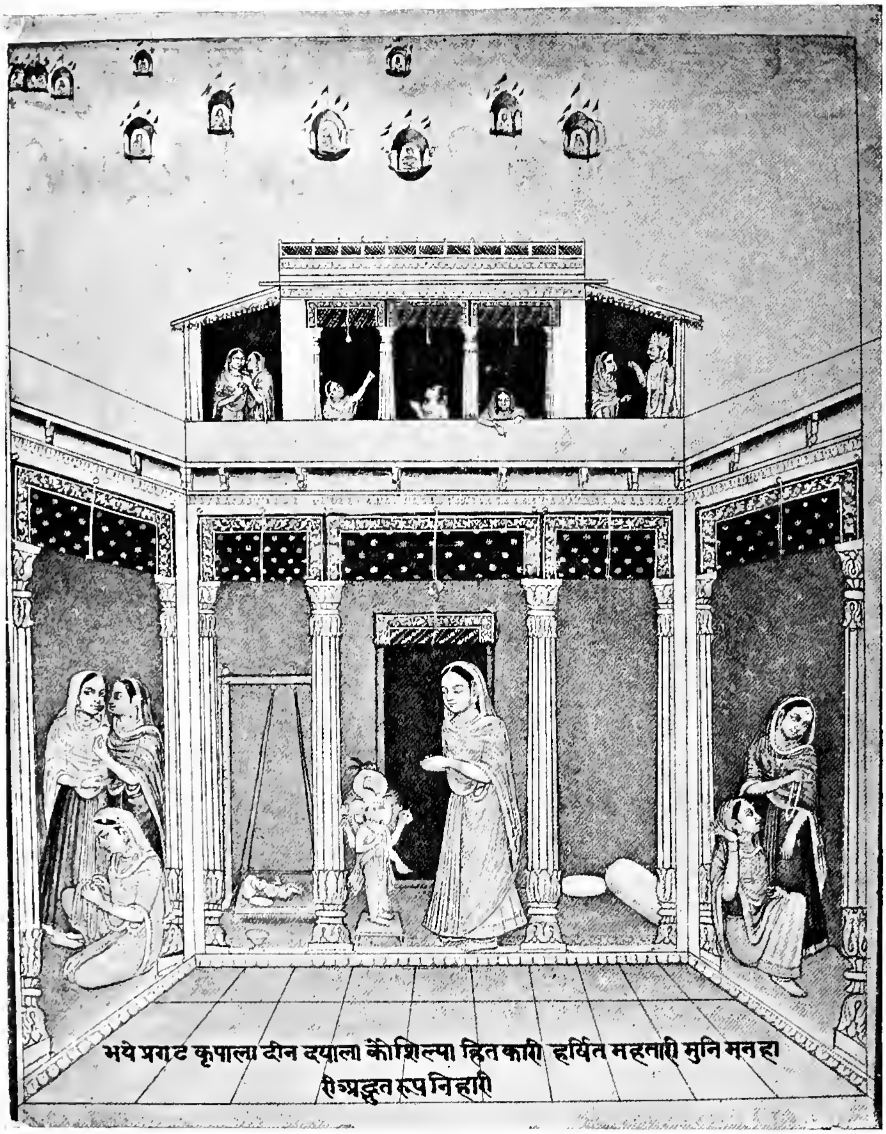


PLATE LXX. Rāma's Childhood; photo. from the Mahārāja of Benares' MS., and published in *J.A.S.B.*, Part I, vol. lvii (1888), Special No., frontispiece.



Plate LXXI. The court of Ajodhya; from Benares MS. of *Rāmcharit-mānas.*
(By permission of H.H. the Mahārāja.)

in Rājputāna has kept art alive in those States. By the kindness of Col. Hendley I am enabled to reproduce a falcon and a vase of flowers, copied by a modern artist from an old Jaipur painting, which are not much inferior in delicacy of execution to seventeenth-century work (Figs. 227, 228). In the original the vase is pale blue, and the flowers brightly coloured.

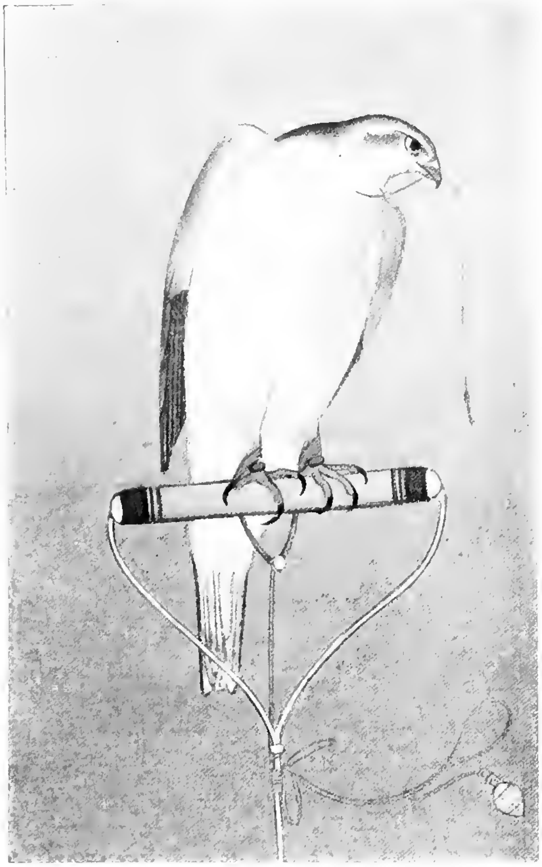


FIG. 227. Falcon; copied by a modern artist from old Jaipur painting.
(Property of Col. Hendley, C.I.E.)

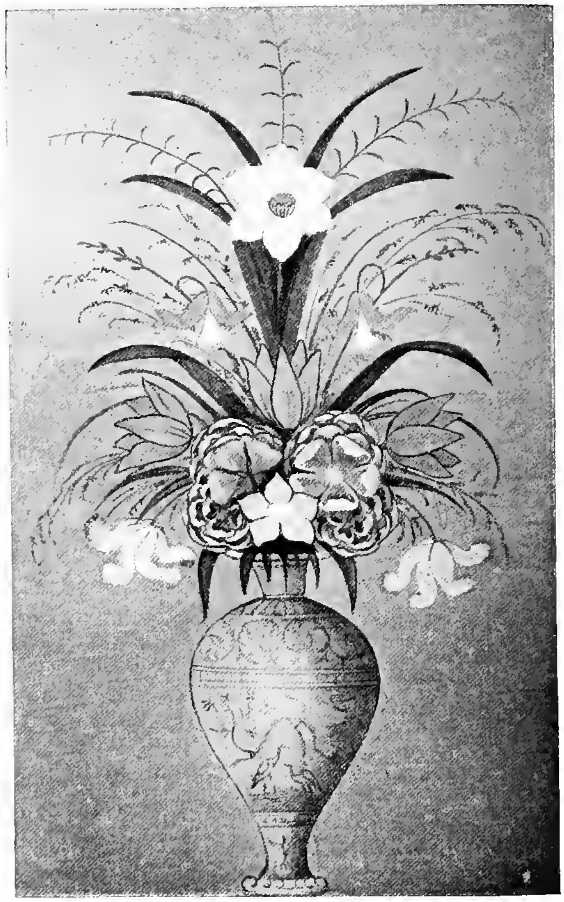


FIG. 228. Vase of flowers; copied by a modern artist from an old Jaipur painting.
(Col. Hendley, C.I.E.)

The portrait of Mahārāja Mān Singh of Jodhpur (Fig. 229), painted by Jīwan in 1818 and copied by Chhaju Lāl in 1893, also the property of Col. Hendley, is a good illustration of modern debased work in the Indo-Persian style. Its defects are too obvious to need detailed exposition. In the original the chair is coloured sepia, the robe is white, and the scarf dark blue.

Probably the best example of modern book illustration in the Indo-Persian style is the manuscript *Gulistān* of the Alwar Library prepared for Mahārāja Bannī Singh (1824–57), an ardent art collector and liberal patron. The pictures have been

sumptuously reproduced under Col. Hendley's direction in *Ulwar and its Art Treasures* (Griggs, 1888). The text of the manuscript was written by Āgā Mirzā of Delhi in the course of twelve years; the beautiful borders were designed and painted by Nathū Shah and Kari Abdul Rahmān of Delhi, and the illustrations



FIG. 229. Mahārāja Mān Singh of Jodhpur; by Jīwan (A.D. 1818); copied by Chhaju Lāl (1893). (Property of Col. Hendley, C.I.E.)

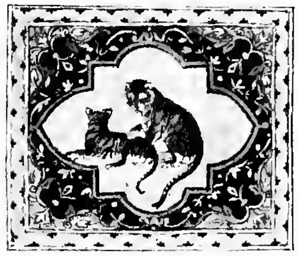


FIG. 230. Tigers; from Alwar *Gulistān*. (Col. Hendley, C.I.E.)

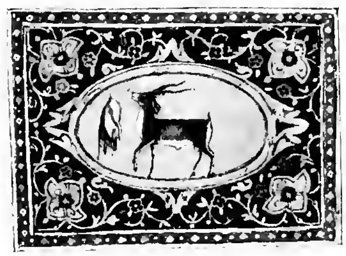


FIG. 231. Black buck; from Alwar *Gulistān*. (Col. Hendley, C.I.E.)

are the work of Ghulām Ali Khan and Baldēo of Alwar. The small medallions or panels done in gold and colours, reproduced in Pl. LXIV–LXVI of Col. Hendley's work, are exquisitely wrought. Two are here given from a separate sheet of copies lent by Col. Hendley (Figs. 230, 231).

Section VI. Southern India.

The Jain holy place at Tirumalai, to the south of Vellore, in the North Arcot District, Madras, is remarkable as possessing the remains of a set of wall and ceiling paintings ascribed, on the evidence of inscriptions, to the eleventh century (*Ep. Ind.* ix. 229). Traces exist of still older paintings covered up by the existing works. The principal design now visible is a circular wheel, three feet in diameter, painted on plaster applied to the brick wall of a chamber at the foot of the rock overhanging the temple. The nave of the wheel is occupied by a Jain saint (*Tīrthankara*) seated cross-legged in the usual manner, and flanked by two attendants with fly-whisks. The rest of the surface of the wheel is divided into twelve compartments, separated by as many spokes, and each filled by a crowd of worshippers, mostly men. But one compartment contains twelve white-robed nuns, nine of whom have brown faces, the remaining three being tinted greenish-blue; and another compartment is occupied by oxen, elephants, and leopards as representatives of the animal creation adoring its Lord. Traces of flying figures are visible in the spandrils between the circumference of the wheel and the edges of the square black panel on which it is painted. The whole surface appears to have been covered with a black wash on which the design was superimposed. The colours, white, shades of brown, and a little greenish-blue, are not brilliant.

The ceiling of the upper story, formed by the underside of the overhanging rock, is similarly plastered and painted with neat but spiritless designs of a purely conventional kind. The wheel possesses little merit as a work of art, and is interesting rather as a proof of decadence than for its own sake. The contrast with the Ajantā designs is worth noting. By the courtesy of the Government of Madras and Mr. A. Rea, Superintendent of Archaeology, the sheet of coloured drawings of the paintings has been placed at my disposal, but an accident has prevented reproduction of the wheel. The minor designs are not worth copying.

At Conjeeveram, the ancient Kānchī, the capital of the Pallava kings in the early centuries of the Christian era, two old Brahmanical temples, Kamākshi Amman and Vamtharāja Perumal, are prettily decorated with coloured distemper patterns composed of geometrical forms and neat floral devices, of uncertain date. The general effect is no better than that of a cheerful wall-paper.

The second temple named is further adorned by paintings, probably modern, of the extraordinary 'mixed figures', specimens of which occur occasionally in albums of Indian drawings. One of the Conjeeveram pictures represents a male archer mounted on an elephant, of which the body, limbs, and trunk are made up of nine female musicians, whose forms are combined with much perverted ingenuity. The companion picture represents a female archer riding a horse similarly compounded of five figures. According to a book in the India Office Library (No. 309, 29 F. 8) the male rider is 'Manmadah', and the female is his consort, 'Kuthee Davee.' Such grotesque freaks of design are painfully vivid illustrations of the degradation suffered by art when an exuberant fancy is allowed to run riot unchecked by good

taste; and unhappily such aberrations are the rule rather than the exception in the later Hindu art, especially of the South.

Wall-paintings of subjects from the epics, executed during the reign of Mahārāja Mārtanda Varma of Travancore, and existing on the walls of the inner temple of Srī Padmanabha Swāmi at Trivandrum, are said to be good, but are so placed that it is impossible to photograph them. Miniature portraits of the Mahārājas, going back to the early part of the eighteenth century, are kept in the palace at Trivandrum, but no information concerning their origin, technique, or artistic value is available.[1]

Certain paintings, dating probably from the eighteenth century, on the roof of the Jangam Math, or monastery, at Anegundi in the Rāichūr District of the Nizam's Dominions, depict *fakīrs*, or ascetics, their followers and admirers, with considerable spirit and vigour, but are not worth reproducing.[2]

Section VII. Ceylon.

The Sinhalese people from the earliest times to the present day have loved to decorate their innumerable sacred buildings with brightly coloured edifying pictures. Unfortunately, the combined effects of human violence, continued through the wars of many centuries, and the ruthless energy of tropical nature have left few remains of really ancient paintings, as we have seen in Chapter VIII, and the works of later mediaeval date have not fared much better.

Certain pictures of *jātaka* stories painted on the walls of the Mahā Damala Saya shrine at Polonnāruwa, the twelfth-century capital, are said to resemble the Sīgiriya frescoes rather than modern work, but I am not in a position to fix their age, or to present copies of them.[3]

The paintings on the roof of the Dambulla rock-temple, about fifteen miles south-west of Sīgiri, considered by some people to be the best example of Buddhist art in the island, are described by Tennent as being 'highly coloured illustrations of scenes in the history of Buddhism, such as the landing of Wijayo, the preaching of Mahindo, and the combat of Dutugaimini and Elala'. So far as I can ascertain, no reproductions of them are available. They cannot well be older than the close of the twelfth century, when King Nissanka Malla restored the temple, which had been sacked by the Tamils of the mainland, and it is possible that they may be of much later date, or they may be old work touched up and renewed from time to time.

Mr. Cave has published a photograph of a picture in the Alu-vihari rock-temple, representing the torments of hell and a procession of elephants, which does not look very old.[4]

The decadent art of the eighteenth century was liberally patronized by the pious king, Kīrti Srī Rāya Simha, who reigned from A.D. 1747 to 1778. The extant *jātaka*

[1] *Travancore Manual*, vol. iii, p. 263.

[2] Coloured plates 32, 33, executed between 1793 and 1803, in Mackenzie MSS., vol. i, India Office Library; Wilson, *Catalogue*, ccxxiii. 1.

[3] Coomaraswamy, *Med. Sinhalese Art*, p. 178.

[4] Cave, *Ruined Cities of Ceylon*, 4th ed., p. 125, and plate; Tennent, *Ceylon*, 5th ed., vol. ii, p. 578.

pictures then painted on the walls of the Ridī Vihāra and at Degal-doruva by Silva-tenna and other artists certainly are extremely effective as decoration, even if they cannot be ranked as high art. Dr. Coomaraswamy has given, in the frontispiece to his valuable work on the eighteenth-century art of the island, a brilliant reproduction of a processional scene by Silva-tenna. The composition strangely resembles the Egyptian wall-paintings, the figures being all drawn in profile, in the most formal conventional style. Most of them are depicted of golden colour, marching across a bright red ground.[1] Many similar paintings, possibly of less merit, exist elsewhere.[2]

Section VIII. The Modern Schools.

I. *Pictures in European Style.*

At the Delhi Exhibition of 1902–3 many examples were shown of the oil-paintings and water-colours produced in considerable quantities of late years by students trained in European methods, chiefly at the Government Schools of Art in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Lahore. In Sir George Watt's book Mr. Percy Brown, now (1910) Principal of the Calcutta School of Art, criticizes the Delhi exhibits as follows :—

'Until its introduction from Europe, there was no oil painting of any kind practised throughout the country, but the number of pictures executed in the medium shown in the Exhibition reveals the fact that oil picture painting as a branch of study, as well as a means of livelihood, is being taken up seriously by a rapidly increasing class. Some of the work displayed in the Eastern Hall of the Exhibition was remarkably good; in the life studies the modelling and feeling of living flesh being well reproduced, and one or two landscapes showed an atmosphere and a consideration for composition which is [*sic*] worthy of remark. Much, however, of the work shown was of a very ordinary character, the drawing being decidedly defective, and the technique and colouring in most cases crude.'[3]

The most prominent representative of the Europeanized school of Indian artists was the late Rāja Ravi-varma of Travancore, a connexion of the Mahārāja of that State. His works, which are extremely numerous, achieved wide popularity, and have been freely vulgarized by oleographs and other cheap modes of reproduction. The Rāja practised both portrait and landscape painting, and four of the portraits in the Banqueting Hall, Madras, are from his brush.[4] He was assisted by his relative,

[1] A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art; being a Monograph on Mediaeval Sinhalese Arts and Crafts, mainly as surviving in the eighteenth century, with some account of the structure of society and the status of the craftsman* (4to, 1908, Essex House Press). The 'peasant art' discussed in that original and suggestive book has little concern with the subject of this work.

[2] *E.g.* at Lenagala rock-temple (Bell, *Report on Kegalla District* (1892)), p. 30.

[3] *Indian Art at Delhi*, p. 457.

[4] The four portraits are those of the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, Sir Arthur Havelock, and the Ladies Mary and Caroline Grenville (Col. H. D. Love, R.E., *Descriptive List of Pictures in Government House and the Banqueting Hall, Madras* (Government Press, Madras, 1903), p. 132. I am indebted to the Government of Madras for a copy of Col. Love's handsome and scholarly volume.

Rāja Rāja-varma, and other members of his family. He had received instruction from Theodore Jensen and other European artists who visited Southern India, as well as from Alagri Naidu, a native of Madura, in the Madras Presidency, who was patronized by Swāti Tirumal, Mahārāja of Travancore from 1829 to 1847, and was considered in his day to be the best painter in India after the European fashion. Ravi-varma had a formidable rival in Ramaswamy Naidu, a member of the clan of Nāiks at Madura, who was considered to excel in portrait painting.

Stimulated by the active encouragement of the royal family of Travancore, the Gaikwār of Baroda, and other wealthy patrons, Ravi-varma turned his attention to the illustration of the Hindu legends and epics.

Criticism of Ravi-varma's works.

In his own country his works in that kind are regarded as masterpieces and adequate expressions of Indian feeling. At the hands of recent critics in Europe they have met with a different reception.

'The art,' writes Mr. Havell, 'which truly reflects the fictitious culture of Indian universities and the teaching of Anglo-Indian art schools, is exhibited in the paintings of Ravi-varma, who is the fashionable painter of modern India for those Indians who do not ignore Indian art altogether. . . . Certain it is that his pictures invariably manifest a most painful lack of the poetic faculty in illustrating the most imaginative Indian poetry and allegory; and this cardinal sin is not to be atoned for by any kind of technical skill in the execution.'[1]

Dr. Coomaraswamy, a fellow mystic, is still more severe, and declares that

'theatrical conceptions, want of imagination, and lack of Indian feeling in the treatment of sacred and epic Indian subjects are Ravi-varma's fatal faults. . . . His pictures are such as any European student could paint, after perusal of the necessary literature and a superficial study of Indian life.'[2]

In a more recent publication the same author gives his opinion with greater brevity and somewhat less severity to the effect that

'the late Rāja Ravi-varma was the best known of these painters in a purely European style, but neither he nor any other workers of the pseudo-European school attained to excellence. His work at the best reached a second-rate standard.'

Probably this last quoted judgement is not far wrong. I have not seen the painter's work, and know it only from coarse prints, among which the portrait of 'Sukēsi, the Beauty of Malabar', seemed to be the most pleasing composition.[3]

[1] *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 251.

[2] *Modern Review* (Allahabad), vol. ii, p. 107.

[3] Thirty-five of Ravi-varma's pictures are reproduced in an illustrated collection of Hindī poems, entitled *Kavitā Kalāp* (Allahabad, 1909), edited by Mr. Mahavīra Prasāda Dirvedi, and shown to me by Dr. Grierson. That book also contains prints of pictures in a similar style by Braj Bhūshan Rāi Chaudhri, Bābū Vāmapad Bandhopadhyāya, and Srīyut M. V. Durandhar. The prints are too rough for reproduction, courteously permitted by the editor. A list of Ravi-varma's works and an enthusiastic appreciation of his art will be found in V. Nazam Aiya, *Travancore Manual*, vol. iii, p. 263, a compilation which is a rich mine of information.

II. *The Bengālī Nationalist School.*

'The work of the modern school of Indian painters in Calcutta,' Dr. Coomaraswamy writes, 'is a phase of the National reawakening. Whereas the ambition of the nineteenth-century reformers had been to make India like England, that of the later workers has been to bring back or create a state of society in which the ideals expressed and implied in Indian culture shall be more nearly realized.'

This new movement on the art side has been enthusiastically supported by Mr. E. B. Havell, late Principal of the Calcutta School of Art, who felt keenly the futility of training Bengāli students on purely foreign methods, alien to their nature, and sought to turn their attention to the productions of the Indo-Persian and eighteenth-century Hindu schools as being more expressive of Indian ideals. With some difficulty Mr. Havell persuaded the authorities to let him have his way, and replace a collection of poor European works by a choice selection of Indian paintings. He found in Mr. Abanindro Nāth Tagore, now Vice-Principal of the School of Art, a willing coadjutor, and a painter of considerable power. Mr. Havell recognized in his colleague a real artist 'who has come to pick up the broken threads of Indian pictorial tradition', and credited him with 'giving us a true interpretation of Indian spirituality, and an insight into that higher world, the fairy land of Eastern poetry and romance, which Eastern thought has suggested'.[1]

The critic proceeds to say that

'if neither Mr. Tagore nor his pupils have yet altogether attained to the splendid technique of the old Indian painters, they have certainly revived the spirit of Indian art, and besides, as every true artist will, invested their work with a charm distinctively their own. For their work is an indication of that happy blending of Eastern and Western thought, from the full realization of which humanity has so much to gain.'

These rather large claims are founded on a series of small works described in the *Studio* as 'water-colour drawings', and very far indeed from having 'attained to the splendid technique of the old Indian painters', which they do not attempt to rival. The more sober criticism of Dr. Coomaraswamy is more closely in accordance with the facts.

'The subjects chosen by the Calcutta painters,' he observes, 'are taken from Indian history, romance, and epic, and from the mythology and religious literature and legends, as well as from the life of the people around them. Their significance lies in their distinctive "Indianness". They are, however, by no means free from European and Japanese influence. The work is full of refinement and subtlety in colour, and of a deep love of all things Indian; but, contrasted with the Ajantā and Mughal and Rajput paintings which have in part inspired it, it is frequently lacking in strength. The work should be considered as a promise rather than a fulfilment. So regarded, it has very great significance for the future of Indian Art.'[2]

Mr. Roger Fry holds a poor opinion of the work of the modern artists. 'Such

[1] *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, pp. 256, 257.

[2] *Catalogue of the Indian Court, Festival of Empire*, 1911, p. 106.



PLATE LXXII. The exiled Yaksha, by Abanindro Nāth Tagore.
(Photo. by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.)

pictures as that of "The Siddhas of the Upper Air",' he observes, 'show that, however anxiously these artists strive to adopt the formulae of their ancestors, the spirit that comes to expression is that of the American magazine illustrator. Nothing, indeed, could provide a stronger proof of the profound corruption which contact with European ideas has created in Oriental taste than these well-intentioned but regrettable drawings.' [1]

The leader of the school, Mr. Abanindro Nāth Tagore, began as a painter in oils, after the European fashion, but soon abandoned the oils medium, and devoted himself to the 'water-colour drawings'. Many works by him and his pupils have been exhibited at meetings of Societies in London, and reproduced in Mr. Havell's book or in periodicals. One specimen, therefore, may suffice—the picture of the 'Exiled Yaksha', or demigod, an illustration of a passage in Kālidāsa's poem, the *Meghadūta*, or 'Cloud Messenger', by Mr. Tagore (Pl. LXXII). Another good picture is 'The Flight of Lakshman Sen' by the late Mr. Surendra Nath Gangooly (Mr. Havell's Pl. LXXVIII). Other pupils of Mr. Tagore deserving mention are Nanda Lal Bose, Ishwari Parshad, a descendant of hereditary painters at Patna, Gogonendra Nath Tagore, brother of Abanindro Nath, Asit Kumār Haldar, and Hakim Muhammad Khan.[2]

All well-wishers to India will join in the hope that the promise shown by this new Bengāli school may lead to something more important than the works hitherto produced. Probably all critics will agree that nothing of high worth can be created by men who merely seek to imitate foreign models. If modern India is to evolve a new art of her own it must have its roots in the Indian past and appeal to Indian sentiment. 'L'art dans l'Inde sera indien, ou il ne sera pas' [3]; but 'to be, or not to be, that is the question' which at present no man can answer.

[1] *Quart. Rev.*, 1910, p. 237.

[2] See *Studio* for 1902, 1905, 1908; *Modern Review* (Allahabad), May, 1907; Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, Pl. LXXIII–LXXVIII.

[3] M. le comte Goblet d'Alviella, *Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce* (Paris, 1897), p. 94.

CHAPTER X

HINDU MINOR ARTS

SEVERAL classes of Hindu minor works of art, which cannot properly be treated under the major heads of sculpture and painting, demand notice, and may be grouped together conveniently in a single chapter. Strict chronological arrangement being impracticable, the selected objects are classified, chiefly with regard to material, under the heads of (1) coinage; (2) gems, seals, and jade; (3) jewellery; (4) reliquaries and gold images; (5) silver *paterae* and bowls; (6) copper vessels; (7) wood-carving; (8) ivories; (9) terra-cottas and clay figures. Merely a small selection of specially interesting artistic works is offered, no attempt being made to discuss generally the industrial arts. Classification.

SECTION I. COINAGE.

The early punch-marked and cast indigenous coins of India make no pretence to artistic excellence. Regular double-die coinage with royal portraits and legends recording kingly names and titles was an importation from Europe which never became thoroughly acclimatized. The brilliant realistic portrait dies of Eukratides and other Indo-Greek rulers on the north-western frontier between 200 and 100 B.C., never successfully imitated by Hindu die-cutters, cannot be claimed as the production of Indian artists. Fergusson's proposition that the history of Indian art is 'written in decay' is absolutely true in the numismatic field, all Indian attempts to carry on Hellenistic tradition in coin types being failures. For some reason or other the foreign practice of cutting well-designed coin dies did not interest the artists of India, who never produced even one coin of high merit. Numismatic art.

The few tolerably good specimens are collected in Plate LXXIII. They belong to two periods, that of the foreign Kushān or Indo-Scythian sovereigns about A.D. 100, and that of the earlier kings of the native Gupta dynasty in the fourth century. Kushān coins.

Figs. 1 and 2 are gold coins of the Indo-Scythian king, Wima or Hima, commonly called Kadphises II, who conquered the Panjāb at some time in the first century of the Christian era. They show a fairly successful attempt at realistic portraiture. The reverse bears the purely Indian device of Siva and his bull.

Figs. 3 and 4, which seem to be authentic, recognizable portraits of the great Kanishka (? A.D. 78 to 123), are curiously superior in design and execution to the contemporary effigy on the Peshāwar reliquary (*post*, p. 358). Figs. 5 and 6 similarly give distinctive portraits of Huvishka, the second successor, and probably son of Kanishka. The later Kushān coinage is barbarous or semi-barbarous.

A temporary revival in the die-cutter's art, obviously based on European models, took place in the reigns of the earlier Gupta kings of the fourth century, whose best efforts are shown in Fig. 7, the Tiger type of Samudra-gupta; Fig. 8, the Archer type of the same king; and Fig. 9, the unique Retreating Lion type of his son and successor, Chandra-gupta II. This last is the best coin ever struck by a native Indian sovereign.[1] Many of the coins of Chandra-gupta II are quite barbarous. After A. D. 400 no Hindu coin is worthy of mention in a history of art.

SECTION II. GEMS, SEALS, AND JADE.

The allied art of engraving gems and seals with artistic designs equally failed to attract Indian taste, although the lapidaries of India were unsurpassed in manual skill and had models of the highest class before their eyes in the numerous Greek gems imported.[2] Gems and seals of Hindu origin are sufficiently common, but very few can claim any considerable degree of artistic excellence. From the British Museum collection I was able to select only three trifling examples, of slight merit, as reproduced in Plate LXXIII. Fig. 10 represents in chalcedony a lion, with the symbols of Taxila, as seen on the coins of that city. Fig. 11 exhibits on a seal of green schist the device of a king on an elephant receiving a wreath from a Victory; and Fig. 12, with a conventional lion, is photographed from an ancient clay impression of a seal presumably bronze, like two closely related seals also in the British Museum. The legend is *Śrī Sūrya-mitrasya*, '[the seal] of Śrī Sūrya-mitra.'[3]

A few other more or less artistic Indian seals are recorded, some of which were excavated from *stūpas* in Afghanistan. One of the most remarkable specimens of such seals is that figured in *Ariana Antiqua*, Pl. I, 7, an oval sard engraved with two figures squatted in the Indian manner, and interpreted as Krishna and Rādhā, but more likely to be Buddhist. Several Indian gems, including three with representations of the Indian humped bull or cow, have been described and engraved by Raspe.[4]

I cannot trace a wonderful object briefly described by Mr. King—a sardonyx of great intrinsic value, six inches in height and width, and nearly the same in thickness, engraved with a representation of Buddha seated in a cave, surrounded by numerous attributes, and all cut with marvellous skill.[5] The subject evidently was the visit of Indra, as treated in the Gandhāra and Mathurā sculpture (*ante*, Figs. 51, 60). The late General Pearse's rich collection of gems and seals, recently bought by the Government

[1] The coins figured in Pl. LXXIII are: (1) Kadphises II (Wima), obv., not in *Catalogue*; (2) the same, obv., Gardner, *Catal. of Greek and Scythic Kings*, Pl. XXV, 8; (3) Kanishka, obv., ibid., Pl. XXVI, 16 (in text 17, by mistake); (4) the same, obv., ibid., Pl. XXVI, 15 (16 in text); (5) Huvishka, obv., ibid., Pl. XXVII, 9; (6) the same, obv., ibid., Pl. XXVIII, 9; (7) Samudra-gupta, Tiger type, B.M. Eden; (8) the same, Archer type, obv., B.M. Eden; (9) Chandra-gupta, B.M. All the coins are gold. Another variety of the Retreating Lion type has been discovered recently.

[2] For the Sanskrit treatises on gems, see Finot, L., *Les Lapidaires indiens*, Paris, 1896.

[3] Published by Mr. Rapson in *J. R. A. S.*, 1901, p. 104, Fig. 7.

[4] *A Descriptive Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, London, 2 vols., 4to, 1791, Pl. XIII.

[5] *Antique Gems and Rings*, London, 1872, p. 87. The object is said to have come from a *stūpa*. Mr. King did not name the owner.



Plate LXXIII. Hindu Coins and Seals in British Museum, and jewellery.

of India, is not yet available for study, and I am unable to offer any other instances of truly Indian gems or seals deserving of notice for their artistic qualities. Mr. Parker has published a remarkable large intaglio seal obtained from the very early Yaṭṭhāla *dāgaba* in Ceylon, which he believes to have been made in India in the third century B. C. The subject is a king seated on a peculiar basket-work chair, with a 'rustic' back of curved rods. The gem (0·8″ × 0·64″) evidently was a royal signet put into the relic chamber in honour of the relics.[1]

The unsurpassed skill of the Hindu lapidaries in working the most refractory stones is best exemplified by the great jade (or ? jadeite) tortoise, found many years ago in the bank of the Jumna near Allahabad, and now exhibited in the British Museum, Room IV. It is $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and must be one of the largest known works of art in jade (Plate LXXIV, Fig. A). Mr. King observes that 'for fidelity to nature and exquisite finish' it is 'worthy of the ancient Greeks'. The tortoise plays a prominent part in Hindu mythology, and we shall presently notice an exquisite example of the treatment of the subject in ivory.

Section III. Jewellery.

The prevalence in India of the practice of cremation deprives the archaeologist of the chance of obtaining the rich sepulchral deposits so abundant in other countries, and the frequent catastrophes to which nearly every Indian town of importance has been subject have involved the destruction of countless hoards of private wealth. Ancient jewellery of intrinsic value is consequently very rarely found in India. The few examples known are believed to have all come from the relic chambers of *stūpas* or *dāgabas*, in which it was customary to deposit valuables at the time of dedication, in honour of the relics. The most artistic specimens extant are a pair of pendants bought, with other minor articles, from a dealer at Rāwal Pindī, and alleged to come from the site of Taxila, but conjectured by Mr. Marshall to be part of a hoard found in the Yūsufzai subdivision of the Peshāwar District, and to date from the third century of the Christian era. The better preserved pendant is reproduced in Plate LXXIII, Fig. 13.

'The lower half of the ornament consists of a fanciful design, on either side of which is an infant Eros riding on a winged sea-lion, with four chains and bells suspended beneath him. . . . The Erotes and sea-monsters appear to have been cast in a mould, and afterwards chased with a graver's tool; the hair of the boys is very carefully worked, and falls on their shoulders in a natural row of ringlets. Their wings, and the wings and ears of the monsters, both front and back, were inlaid with paste, a fragment of which, of blue-green colour, still remains in one of the ears. A very similar figure of a boy riding on a sea-lion, but without wings, occurs on a golden plaque discovered with a great many other relics on the northern bank of the Oxus in ancient Persia [and now in the British Museum]. . . . As to the influences traceable in the designs and technique of these articles of jewellery, the seemingly Western features which they exhibit . . . are the Erotes riding on sea-lions, the granulated decoration, and the clusters of gold drops; while the Eastern and Indian elements are discernible in the

[1] *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 494, Fig. 156.

incrustate gems, the pendant chains and bells, the *stūpa*-like design of the medallion, Fig. 3 [not reproduced], and perhaps also in the floral *motif* of the upper portion of Figs. 1 and 2 [the pendants].'

The ornaments presenting this hybrid character may be presumed to be of Indian workmanship, designed in accordance with the principles of the widely diffused art of Western Asia.[1]

The Hindus, as Mr. King observes, were among the earliest of mankind to attain to mechanical perfection and facility in the treatment of the hardest stones, executing with facility many operations which would baffle the skill of the most expert modern lapidary; such as boring fine holes with the greatest precision, not merely through the sardonyx, but even through the sapphire and ruby.[2] The components of the broken jewellery deposited with the relics of Buddha in the very ancient Piprāwā and Bhattiprolu *stūpas* include many examples of minute leaves and other pretty trifles wrought in various hard stones with the most exquisite delicacy. All considerable collections of Indian antiquities comprise numerous specimens of pierced beads made of various precious and semi-precious stones, which display the complete mastery of the old craftsmen over the most difficult materials.[3]

Section IV. Reliquaries and Gold Images.

Numerous reliquaries or caskets—made of various materials, gold, silver, bronze, rock-crystal, &c.—have been excavated from *stūpas* in India and the neighbouring countries. Most of these, while of high archaeological interest, are of little account as works of art. One such may be briefly noticed because of the testimony borne by its contents to the disputed date of Kanishka, a matter which I have been obliged to touch on more than once. The reliquary referred to was found in the Ahīn Pōsh tope or *stūpa* at Jalālābād in the valley of the Kābul river, and is now in the Gem Room of the British Museum. It is simply a plain octagonal cylinder (if the expression be allowable) with a knob at each end set with green stones and almandine garnets. It contained one coin of Kanishka and one of Kadphises II (Wima). Lying around it were fourteen other coins of the same kings, with one piece of Huvishka, the successor of Kanishka, and one each of Domitian (A.D. 81–96), Trajan (A.D. 98–117), and Sabina Augusta, wife of Hadrian (A.D. 117–138). These facts plainly suggest, although they do not absolutely demonstrate, that Huvishka, the latest of the three Indian kings, must have been the builder of the *stūpa* and the contemporary of Hadrian. That natural inference is strongly confirmed by the additional facts that the single coin of Huvishka was in good condition, whereas some of the coins of his immediate predecessor, Kanishka, were 'much worn', and those of Kadphises II were 'very

[1] Marshall, 'Buddhist Gold Jewellery' (*Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1902–3, pp. 185–94, Pl. XXVIII). For 'Indian Jewellery' generally, see the exhaustive treatise by Col. Hendley, C. I. E., in *J. Ind. Art*, vol. xiii, fully illustrated.

[2] King, *Antique Gems and Rings* (1872), pp. 86, 87.

[3] For Piprāwā, see *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 573 and plate. For Bhaṭṭiprolu, see Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, vol. xv of *A. S. Rep.*, *New Imp. Series*.

much worn'; while the one coin of Sabina Augusta was 'considerably worn'. In all probability, therefore, the coins were deposited not earlier than A.D. 130, Sabina having assumed the title of Augusta in 117. This evidence, not noticed or considered by Mr. R. D. Banerji, harmonizes so well with his view, based on inscriptions, that Huvishka reigned alone from A.D. 123 to 140, Kanishka having died in the former year, that at present I accept that theory of the chronology.[1] The dates to be assigned to the sculptures discussed in Chapters IV and V of this work depend in large measure on the date of Kanishka.

Two reliquaries, namely, that from the Bīmarān *stūpa* in the British Museum and that from Kanishka's *stūpa*, lately discovered at Peshāwar, can fairly claim rank as works of art, and are of considerable importance in the artistic history of India.

The first-named casket, found long ago by Masson in the foundation deposit of No. 2 Bīmarān *stūpa* to the north of the road between Kābul and Jalālābād, and now in the British Museum, was associated with freshly minted coins of Azes I, and may, therefore, be dated about the beginning of the Christian era, or rather earlier. It is made of pure gold, about $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, and 2 inches in diameter, studded with rubies, and adorned with repoussé Buddhist figures and decorative designs (Plate LXXIV, Fig. B). Both the upper and lower rims are studded with *balās* rubies, separated by a four-petalled ornament of the kind known as *śrī-vatsa*. The circumference between the jewelled lines is divided into eight niches, which enclose four distinct figures, each repeated. Flat pilasters with sunken panels separate the niches, which are crowned by arches, circular below and pointed above. The interspaces, or spandrils, are filled up by cranes with outstretched wings. All the details are finely executed, and the whole composition takes high rank as a specimen of ancient goldsmith's work. The four distinct figures are (1) Buddha in the attitude of benediction; (2) lay follower, with his hands clasped in adoration; (3) a male ascetic, with twisted hair and a water-pot in his hand; and (4) a female disciple, praying. Nos. 2 and 4 are shown in the photograph. M. Foucher's engraving shows Nos. 1, 3, 4. Birdwood's figure places No. 3 in the centre, with No. 2 on the proper right and No. 1 on the proper left. The style bears a general resemblance to that of the earlier Gandhāra sculptures, with the important difference that the quasi-Corinthian capital, characteristic of Gandhāran art, is absent. The form of the arches also is not exactly the same as that of any Gandhāran sculpture known to me, and I think that the reliquary may be regarded as a precursor of the Gandhāra school.[2]

The little gold statuette of Buddha in the British Museum (Plate LXXIV, Fig. C) evidently must havecome, like the casket, from a *stūpa* deposit. Small gold or silver

[1] For the coins, &c., see *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1879, pp. 77, 209, 212, Pl. II, III, XI. A fragment of a *Roman* Ionic capital was obtained from the *stūpa*, as well as Corinthian capitals. In India proper Vāsishka intervened between Kanishka and Huvishka, but the latter probably succeeded Kanishka directly as Emperor.

[2] The casket or reliquary is described and engraved in *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 53, Pl. III, and Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, p. 51, Fig. 7; and also by Birdwood, *Industrial Arts of India*, Pl. I. An open lotus is neatly incised on the bottom. The pilasters of the tope or *stūpa* were plain, quasi-Doric, with arches enclosed in double lines of mouldings, a clear indication of early age.

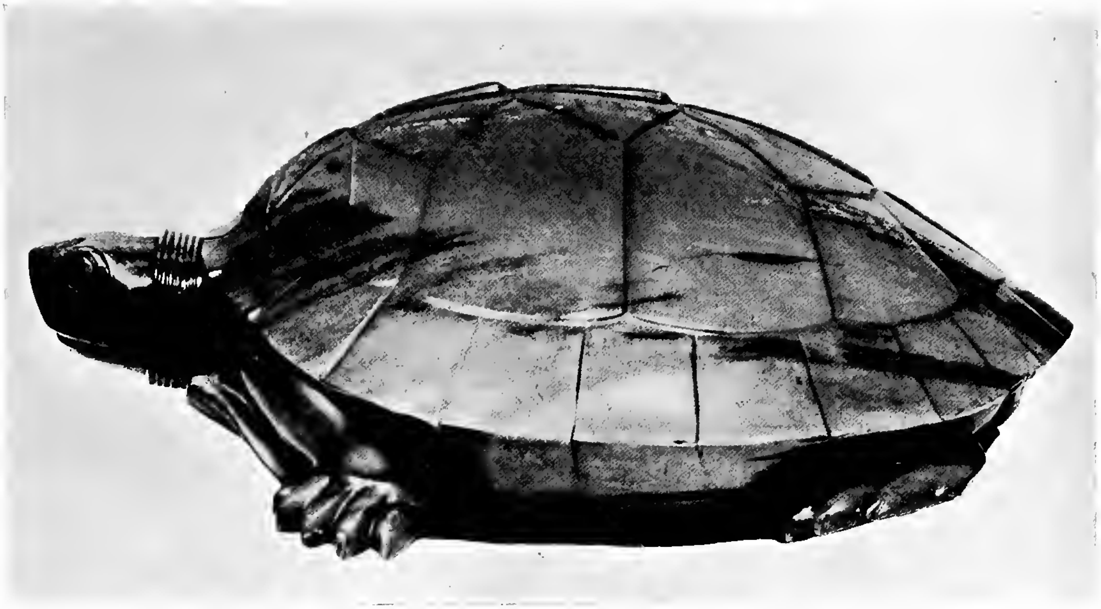


Fig. A. Ancient Jade Tortoise, British Museum; $17\frac{1}{2}$ in. long. (From a photo.)



Fig. B. Bīmarān gold reliquary, British Museum. (Full size, from a photo.)



Fig. C. Gold Buddha, British Museum. (Full size, from a photo.)

Plate LXXIV. Jade and gold objects.

images of Buddha have been frequently enshrined in the *dāgabas* of Ceylon.[1] Although the feet of the British Museum statuette are coarsely executed, the figure and hands are fairly well modelled. The style suggests the Gupta period, about A.D. 500.

The second casket or reliquary claiming special notice, that recently excavated from the ruins of Kanishka's huge *stūpa* at Peshāwar, is of equal artistic and still greater historical interest. The material is an alloy of copper, which seems to have been gilt. The circular, *pyxis*-shaped, main body is nearly five inches in diameter and four inches in height, the total height, including the figures on the lid, being about $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches (187 mm.). Mr. Marshall's description is as follows :—

'The lid, which is slightly curved and incised to represent a full-blown lotus, supports three figures in the round; a seated Buddha in the centre, and a Bodhisattva on each side. The edge of the lid is further adorned by a frieze, in low relief, of flying geese bearing wreaths in their beaks; while below, on the body of the vase, is an elaborate design in high relief, of young Erotes bearing a continuous garland, in the undulations of which are seated Buddha-figures and attendant worshippers leaning towards them out of the background. But the chief and central figure on the casket is that of the Emperor Kanishka himself, standing erect with a winged celestial being bearing a wreath on either side. The figure of the Emperor is easily recognizable from his coins, but the identity is further proved by the inscriptions on the casket. These are in Kharoshthi and are four in number, punctured in dots in the leaves of the lotus on the top and on the background between the geese and other figures on the sides' (Plate LXXV, Figs. A and B).

From the point of view of the historian of art the most interesting of the four inscriptions is that which records the Greek name of Kanishka's 'Superintending Engineer'. The words are :—'The servant, Agiśala (Agesilaos), the overseer of works at Kanishka's *vihāra*, in the monastery (*saṅghārāma*) of Mahāsena'. Indian inscriptions, apart from coin legends, present only two other Greek names. Kanishka's coin legends are in Greek characters, a fact which indicates that Greek was well known at his court.

The surprisingly coarse style of the decoration is cited by Mr. Marshall and Dr. Spooner as convincing proof that in the time of Kanishka Indo-Hellenistic art was already decadent, and that consequently all the Gandhāra sculpture of good quality must be anterior to Kanishka.[2] I cannot accept those inferences. The low standard of execution of the repoussé figures on the casket must be admitted, but established facts negative the opinion that art was generally decadent in the days of Kanishka. His best gold coins are far superior to the work of the casket (*ante*, p. 351), and the Sanghāo sculptures, certainly executed in his reign, are among the better productions of the Gandhāra school, although not, perhaps, of the highest class (*ante*, Fig. 70). There is no doubt that many excellent sculptures at Mathurā and elsewhere must be referred to the reigns of Kanishka and his successor Huvishka, as Cunningham showed long ago (*ante*, pp. 99, 126, 131, 132, 148). Whatever be the correct explanation of the

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, xiii, 15. Specimens are in the Colombo Museum.
[2] *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, pp. 1056–60, Pl. II.



Fig. A. Buddha and two Bodhisattvas on lid.
(Photo. No. 393.)



Fig. B. One Bodhisattva only on lid; Kanishka standing below.
(Photo. No. 390.)

Plate LXXV. Kanishka's casket; *cir.* A.D. 100.
(A. S. photo., Nos. 393 and 390.)

inferior style of the Peshāwar reliquary, it cannot be that advanced by the Director-General of Archaeology in India. It may simply be that Kanishka did not command the services of any artist good at repoussé work. The geese in low relief are not bad. The date of the work may be taken as A.D. 100 in round numbers. The walls of the *stūpa* were decorated with rows of Buddha-figures in relief, separated by *Corinthian* pillars in stucco, a clear proof that the building dates from the time of the Roman Empire. The earlier Bīmarān *stūpa* had not Corinthian pillars.

SECTION V. SILVER PATERAE AND BOWLS.

The Badakshān silver patera, representing the triumph of Dionysus or Bacchus, now in the British Museum, was acquired in 1838 by Dr. Perceval Lord from Ātmarām of Kunduz, by whom it had been bought from the Mīrs of Badakshān, who claim the honour of descent from Alexander the Great. The dimensions are—diameter $8\frac{7}{8}$ in., depth $1\frac{5}{8}$ in., and thickness from $\frac{1}{20}$ to $\frac{1}{8}$ inch. The weight is 29 oz. 5 dwt. Troy (Plate LXXVI). Sir George Birdwood's careful description of the design may be quoted:—

'It represents in high relief, with all the usual adjuncts of classical mythology, the procession of Dionysus. The god himself sits in a car drawn by two harnessed females, with a drinking-cup in his extended right hand, and his left arm resting on the carved elbow of the seat on which he reclines, or it may be on the shoulder of Ariadne. In front of the car stands a winged Eros holding a wine-jug in his left hand, and brandishing in his right a fillet, the other end of which is held by a flying Eros. A third Eros is pushing the wheel of the carriage, behind which follows the dancing Heracles, recognized by the club and panther's skin. Over all is a rude and highly conventionalized representation of a clustering vine; and in the lower exergue a panther is seen pressing its head into a wine-jar, placed between the representations of some tree; possibly the pomegranate, arranged symmetrically on either side of it. The figures, which show traces of gilding, are all encrusted on the surface of the patera, and the heads of the Dionysus and Heracles are both wanting.'

The style of art is clearly an Asiatic degradation of a Greek motive, and it is possible that the work may have been executed in India. The authorities of the British Museum probably are not far wrong in suggesting that the date may be about A. D. 200.[1]

A somewhat similar Bacchic subject is represented in a mutilated relief from Gandhāra, now preserved in the Lahore Museum, concerning which M. Foucher writes:—

'Nous y reconnaissons au passage la plupart des figurants habituels du cortège de Bacchus, tout comme s'il les avait oubliés derrière lui, à son retour de l'Inde, dans la lointaine vallée où la tradition plaçait la fameuse Nysa et qui est encore célèbre aujourd'hui pour ses raisins magnifiques.'[2]

[1] Badakshān is a mountainous region lying to the north of the Hindū Kush range between 36° and 37° N. lat., and 70° and 71° E. long. The patera has been described and figured by Sir George Birdwood, *Industrial Arts of India*, p. 148, Pl. II; and *Trans. Roy. Soc. Liter.*, vol. xi, N. S.; by Prinsep, *Trans. A. S. B.*, vol. vii; by Burnes, *Cabool* (1843); and by Sir H. Yule, *Marco Polo*, 2nd ed.

[2] *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, p. 246, Fig. 129.



PLATE LXXVI. The Badakshān patera, 'Triumph of Bacchus'.
(British Museum; from a photo.)

A second object of the same class, but probably slightly later in date, and thoroughly Indian in subject and style, may be designated the Tānk patera, having been found in August, 1892, near Buddhaghara, about four miles west of Tānk, the ancient capital of the Dera Ismail Khān District, N.W. Frontier Province. Mr. Longworth Dames, I.C.S., acquired it and presented it to the British Museum in 1897 (Pl. LXXVII, Fig. A). The material is silver, apparently alloyed with copper; the diameter is $9\frac{7}{8}$ inches, and the device is *repoussé*. The wide margin is decorated with radiating wavy flutes, such as are often seen on modern English crockery.

The central design represents a man drinking, waited on by a woman, who offers him a goblet with her left and a wreath with her right hand. The man wears no clothing except buskins with turned-up toes and a waistcloth, dropped so as to expose his person. He is squatted on the ground drinking from a horn (*rhyton*) held in his right hand, while his left hand grasps the neck of a full skin of wine resting against his left thigh. He has a moustache and bushy hair, and is crowned with vine-leaves and grapes. Even his ear-rings are grapes, while he and his attendant are encircled by a thick-stemmed vine loaded with fruit. His ornaments are armlets and a torque.[1]

This carousing personage has been described as the 'Indian Bacchus'. He seems to me to be intended for a Yaksha, one of the semi-human sprites who played so large a part in ancient popular Buddhism. His action in allowing his waistcloth to fall is exactly the same as that of the winged Yaksha in a Gandhāra relief, and many sculptures from both Gandhāra and Mathurā (*ante*, pp. 134–9) are concerned with the representation of hard drinking. Mr. Growse long ago pointed out that a debased, licentious form of Buddhism 'would seem to have been very popular at Mathurā'. The textbook of this school is a Sanskrit composition entitled *Tathāgata Guhyaka*, or *Guhya samagha*, first brought to notice by Rājendralāla Mitra, which is described as having all the characteristics of the worst Hindu Tantras, and yet as being a work to which worship is still constantly offered by the Buddhists of Nepāl. The Tānk patera, I think, was used by votaries of some similar ancient form of villany, posing as Buddhist religion.[2]

A third work of art in silver, obtained somewhere in Northern India, which may be called the Indo-Persian bowl (Pl. LXXVII, Fig. B), is of special interest because of its apparent connexion with the paintings of Persians in Cave I at Ajantā (*ante*, p. 291, Fig 210). It is a deep hemispherical bowl, 5·35 inches (13·5 cm.) in diameter, solidly wrought in silver, with the design chased in low relief on a gilt background. The exterior is ornamented with five medallions, each containing a male bust, the interspaces being filled by floral scrolls. The persons represented are all dressed alike in tunics and mantles fastened by the ends round the neck. They wear conical caps tied behind with ribbons and ear-rings with double pendants. The hair of the head is long, gathered up under the cap, and appearing outside it. Two of the men have pointed

[1] Described, with full-size plate, by Mr. C. H. Read in *Archaeologia*, vol. lv (1897), pp. 534–6.

[2] Growse, *Mathurā, a District Memoir*, 3rd ed. (1883), p. 170. For the Yaksha, see Burgess, *Gandhāra Sculptures*, Pl. XXIV = Pl. XXVI of *J. I. A. I.*, July, 1898. Compare Foucher, *op. cit.*, p. 248.



Fig. A. The Tānk silver patera; ? a Yaksha.
(British Museum, from a photo.)



Fig. B. Indo-Persian bowl.
(British Museum, from a photo.)

Plate LXXVII. Silver articles.

beards, the others, as in the medallion figured, are beardless. The bowl has not the conical form of the cups depicted at Ajantā, but the general resemblance of the figures to those of the Persians in Cave I at Ajantā is so strong that the work may be referred with some confidence to approximately the same period as the paintings, somewhere about A. D. 600. The bowl may have been made in either India or Persia.[1]

SECTION VI. COPPER VESSELS.

The Gundlā engraved *loṭā*.

Although domestic utensils of copper, bronze, or other alloys of copper have been used in India from time immemorial, ancient examples are extremely rare. The most noteworthy is the copper water-pot (*loṭā*) discovered in 1857 in a chamber in a Buddhist building, apparently a *stūpa*, at Gundlā (Kundlah) in the Kullū subdivision of the Kāngrā District, Panjāb. The vessel, quite ordinary in form, is remarkable for the band of engraving carried round the body, which represents a prince, apparently Gautama Buddha as Prince Siddhārtha, riding in a four-horsed chariot preceded by musicians and followed by horsemen and an elephant with a rider. The style closely resembles that of the early sculptures at Bharhut, Sānchī, and Bhājā, and the approximate date of 100 B. C. may be assigned to the work. The date, A. D. 200–300, suggested by Sir G. Birdwood and entered on the label on the reproduction at South Kensington is much too late. The original is in the British Museum.[2]

SECTION VII. WOOD-CARVING.

High quality of Indian wood-carving.

The art of wood-carving in India unquestionably goes back to time immemorial, but specimens of works of ancient date executed in a material which is specially perishable in a country infested by white ants and other destructive pests, naturally must be exceedingly rare. The oldest extant examples of considerable artistic merit probably are the weird carvings from Kashmīr-Smats. The most beautiful are the exquisite modern sandalwood relief pictures of Mysore and Travancore, which display exact observation of nature, pleasing fancy, and admirable composition, in addition to high manual skill. In wood-carving the roughly-drawn division between works of fine art and the productions of industrial art almost disappears, and, if space permitted, examples of beautiful artistic compositions in both India and Ceylon might be multiplied indefinitely. It is not practicable for me to give more than a few illustrations of Indian pieces which appear to deserve prominence for one reason or another.

Kashmīr-Smats carvings.

The only wooden carvings ever found in the Yūsufzai country were discovered in 1888 by the late Sir Harold Deane buried in guano on the floor of a huge, mysterious cavern named Kashmīr-Smats, containing several chambers and galleries. The carved plaques (Plates LXXVIII, LXXIX) were 'in excellent preservation, though blackened with age'. It is not easy to determine their date. The form of the trefoil arch and the

[1] Fully described and illustrated by Mr. O. Dalton in *The Treasure of the Oxus and other Objects from Persia and India* (B. M., 1905).

[2] Described and figured by Birdwood, *Industrial Arts of India*, p. 154, Pl. XII; Burgess, *A. S. W. I.*, vol. iv, p. 6.



Plate LXXVIII. Wood-carving; ? Siva dancing; B. M., from Kashmīr-Smats cave, Yūsufzai. (Photo. 1026, I. M. *List*.)

cornice suggest the eighth century, but they may be older. Both designs are conceived in a spirit of mockery which baffles explanation. The subject of No. 1026 (Plate LXXVIII), a skeleton figure posturing to the music of a demoniac band, suggests a burlesque of the Dancing Siva (Naṭeśa), but why such a sacred composition should be burlesqued is a mystery. I cannot make any guess concerning the intention of No. 1027 (Plate LXXIX), which represents a demon figure receiving with contemptuous gesture a young man who carries an earthen pot suspended from the fingers of his left hand. Although the carvings have been already published to a certain extent in *Ancient Monuments*, edited by Dr. Burgess, they are little known, and it is possible that wider publicity may elicit satisfactory explanation of their meaning. From the artistic point of view both groups deserve high praise for their originality, grim humour, and bold modelling.[1]

The Chambā State, a small principality situated among the lower Himalayan ranges between Kashmīr territory and the British Districts of Kāngrā and Gurdāspur, is rich in temples and inscriptions going back to the seventh century of the Christian era. The antiquities of the State, already partially described in the *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey*, will form the subject of a special work in three volumes, upon which Dr. Vogel is engaged.[2] The temples contain much excellent wood-carving. Out of several photographs kindly supplied by Dr. Vogel I have space for one only, a fine frieze from the ceiling of the temple of Kālī at Mirkula or Udaypur (Plate LXXX). Dr. Vogel believes its date to be much later than A. D. 700, but the wigs, or wig-like hairdressing, worn by the little demons (*gaṇa*) in the lower band of the frieze suggest a possibility that the work may be as early as the seventh century. The principal figures, the male god with sixteen arms, and the female with ten, are presumably Siva and Pārvatī. A small bull (*nandi*) stands near the god's right foot. The carving is clever and spirited, and the general effect decorative, notwithstanding the grotesqueness of the design. But for the wigs I should be inclined to suggest the ninth or tenth century as the date. The style is so local that extensive special experience is needed to estimate the age of specimens with any confidence.

Works of art dedicated to the service of the Christian religion are necessarily rare in India. A wooden panel in the Roman Catholic Church at the old Danish settlement of Tranquebar, dating apparently from the seventeenth century or the early part of the eighteenth, evidently is the work of local carvers, copied from some old picture of the Descent from the Cross, which cannot be identified (Pl. LXXXI). Another panel preserved in a side room of the Protestant Church at the same settlement, which appears to have been built in 1718, represents the Last Supper in a German or Scandinavian style, and probably was imported ready made (Photo. No. 1205, Madras).[3]

[1] The cave was described, with a plan, by Deane in *J. R. A. S.*, 1896, pp. 668–71. The remains of a wooden coffin were found in it. The carvings were made over to Dr. Burgess and by him deposited in the British Museum.

[2] See also the same author's scholarly *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chambā* (Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press, 1909).

[3] These opinions are in accordance with the judgement of C. F. Bell, Esq., Keeper of the Fine Art Dept., University Galleries, Oxford.



Plate LXXIX. Wood-carving; subject unknown; B. M., from Kashmīr-Smats cave, Yūsufzai.
(Photo. 1027, I. M. *List.*)

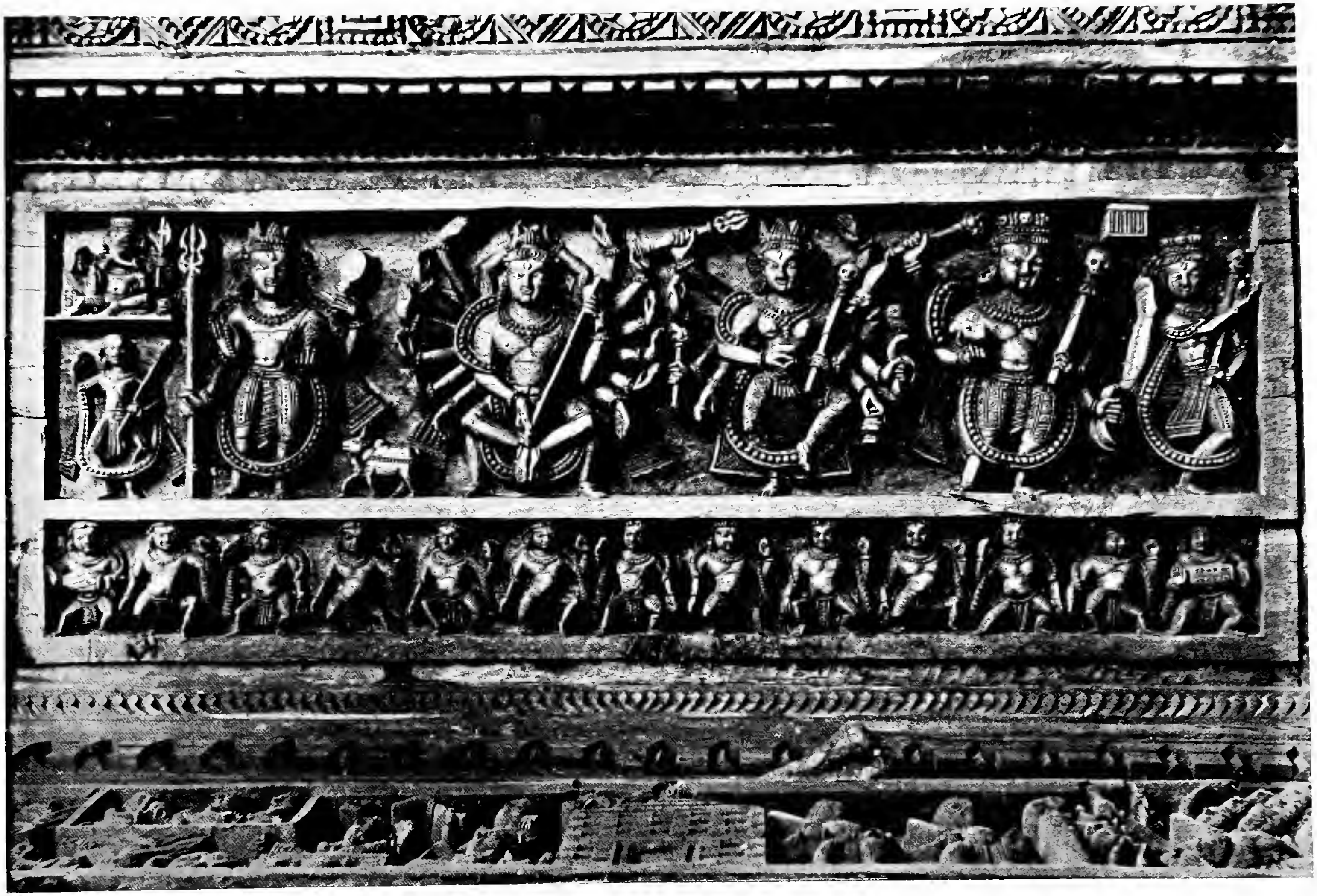


PLATE LXXX. Wood-carving on ceiling of Mirkula (Udayṛur) temple of Kālī, Chambā State.
(A. S. photo., No. 84.)



PLATE LXXXI. Descent from the Cross; wooden panel in R.-C. church, Tranquebar, Tanjore District, Madras.

(Photo. No. 1206, A. S., Madras.)

The modern craftsmen of many localities in India produce highly ornamental carved work in various styles. That of Mysore and Travancore rises to the level of fine art in the best examples, which are wrought in sandalwood with the utmost freedom of fancy and beauty of execution. Sir George Birdwood (*Industrial Arts*, p. 217) mentions a little cabinet, exhibited by Major Puckle in the Annual International Exhibition of 1871, as being the most beautiful example of Mysore sandalwood carving ever shown in England. The subjects illustrated were mythological. Sir George Watt describes and reproduces as 'one of the most perfect examples of sandalwood ever produced' a pierced panel intended as a spandril for a doorway in the new palace at Mysore, the stone sculptures of which have been noticed in Chapter VII of this work. The panel depicts the incident in the life of the youthful Krishna when he stole the clothes of the Gopīs while they were bathing, and carried the garments up into a tree. The basal frieze with its procession of homing cattle is delightful. The whole work is admirably composed, being symmetrical without formality (Plate LXXXII, Fig. A).[1]

A third example of Mysore sandalwood carving is, perhaps, equally good. Sir George Watt gave a commission to the most expert carvers in the State to produce the very best carved work-box they could make, leaving the decoration absolutely to their judgement and taste. His confidence was justified by the result. The side panels depict hunting and forest scenes with much feeling, in a style which reminds Sir G. Watt of Chinese and Japanese ivory carving.

The top (his Plate 36 A) offers a magnificent picture of a god drawn in a four-wheeled car. The borders are filled with rich ornament in the style of the Chalukya temples.[2]

A Travancore sandalwood carving, which gives a most vivid and delicately executed picture of the life—human, animal, and vegetable—in a tropical forest, is reproduced in Plate LXXXII, Fig. B.

It is, indeed, strange that the craftsmen who are capable of producing such beautiful and artistic work seem to be half-nnconscious of their power, and wholly devoid of ambition. Sir George Watt notes that the most delicate productions, the result of weeks of painstaking labour, are often ruined in a few months by the effects of careless joinery, and that the eight families of artisans engaged in the work at the principal centre in Mysore are 'profligate, apathetic, indigent, and of intemperate habits'; firmly set against the slightest modification of their accustomed ways, and deaf to admonition.

Section VIII. Ivories.

There can be no doubt that the art of carving ivory has been practised in India, the home of the elephant, for uncounted ages. For instance, the ancient drama, 'The Little Clay Cart,' composed, perhaps, in the fifth century of the Christian era,

[1] *Indian Art at Delhi*, p. 150, Pl. XXXVI.

[2] Work of this kind is necessarily expensive. The box was priced Rs. 1,438, or £96 at the present low rate of exchange, £143 at 'par'. The negative is missing.

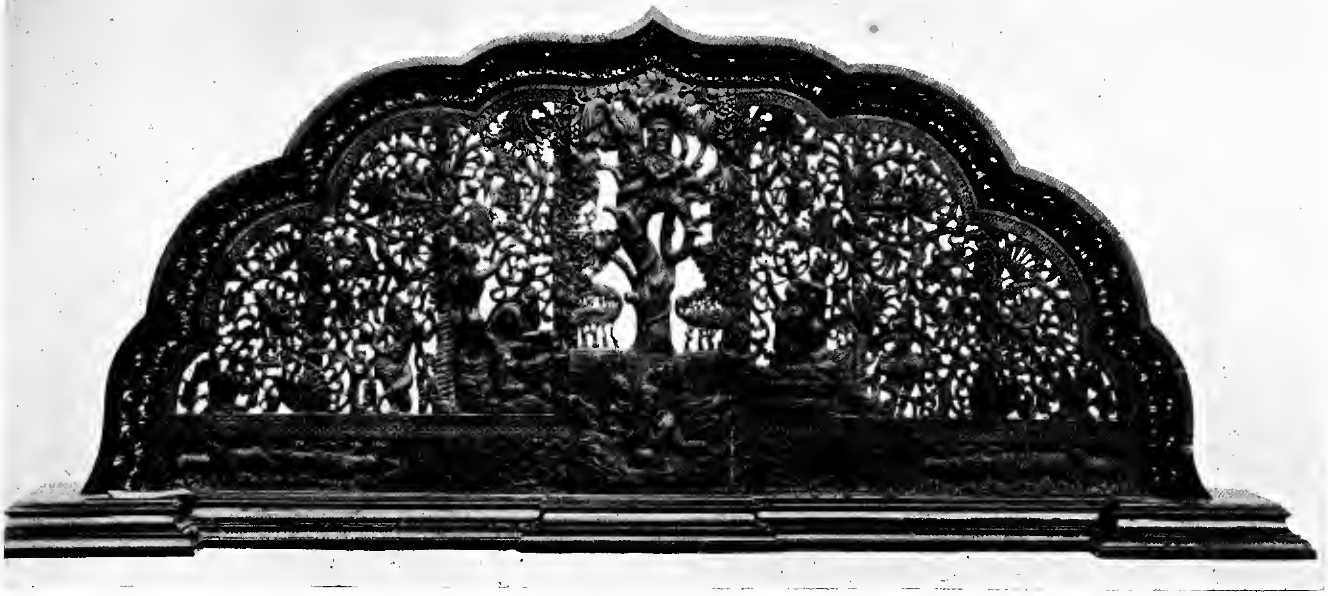


FIG. A. Krishna and the Gopīs; a panel in the new palace at Mysore.
(From a negative lent by Sir G. Watt, K.C.I.E.)

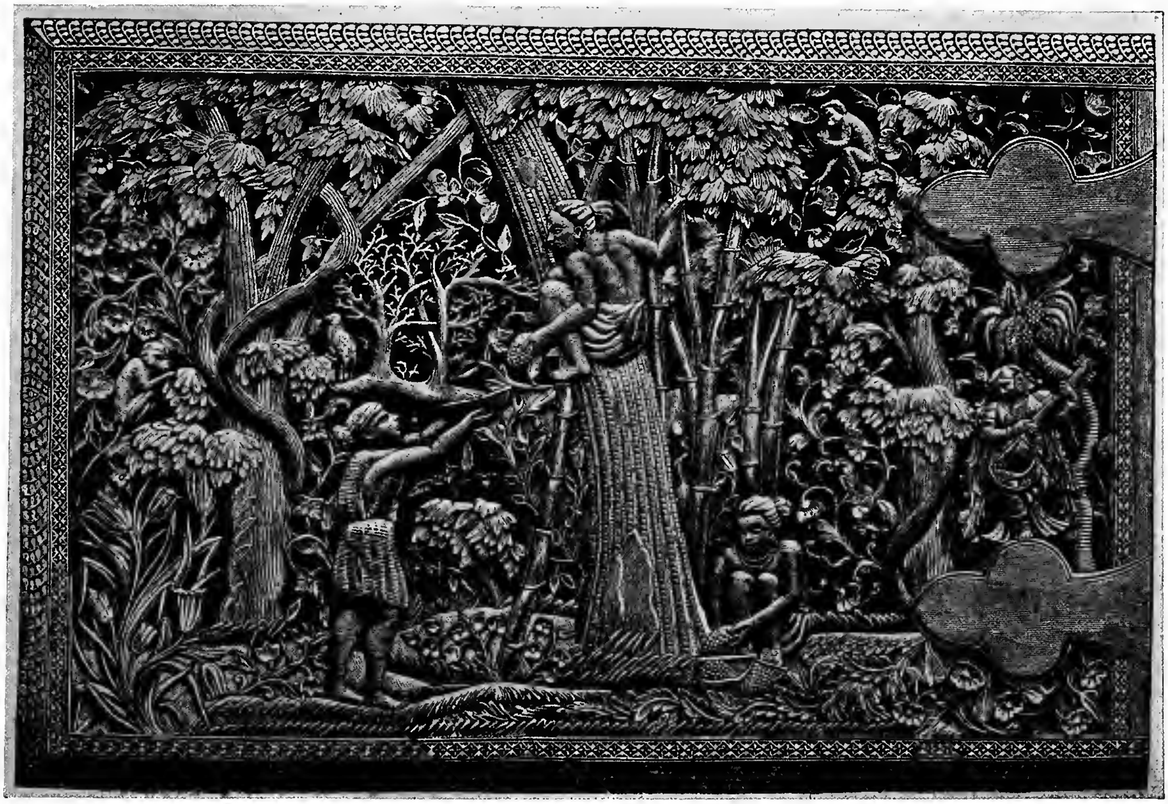


FIG. B. Forest scene, Travancore.
(From Pl. LXI of *Industrial Arts of India*, by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.)

PLATE LXXXII. Sandalwood carvings, Mysore and Travancore.

describes the entrance to Vasantasenā's mansion as shining 'with its high ivory portal'.[1] But I am not in a position to mention a single extant ancient object in ivory of any importance. In modern times many localities are famous for their ivory carvings.

The productions of Travancore and Mysore are adjudged by Sir George Watt to hold 'the very foremost position among the ivories of India'—an honour partly due to the excellence of the material used, but mainly the result of the fine artistic quality of the designs and execution, which have been sufficiently illustrated by the similar examples of sandalwood carving discussed in Section 7 of this chapter. The motives of the patterns are closely related to those of the stone carvings on the temples of the Deccan, or so-called Chalukya style (*ante*, p. 45, Fig. 16), and are quite distinct from the grotesque extravagance of the Tamil *swāmi* designs. In Travancore the old conventional designs are still favoured, but the Mysore artists prefer the more modern 'jungle patterns'.

The subject not being of sufficient importance to require exhaustive treatment in this work, my illustrations will be restricted to two excellent examples produced about 1830 by Gobind Ratan of Nayagarh in Orissa. The tortoise (Plate LXXXIII, Fig. A) is described by Sir George Watt as 'a wonderful creation', which raises the artist who produced it to a position of 'equality with the ivory carvers of Europe, Japan, or China'. The statuette of Krishna (Plate LXXXIII, Fig. B) is characterized by the same expert critic as an 'exquisite piece of work'.

The ivories in the Colombo Museum, Ceylon, include contemporary portrait figures of the last king of Kandy (1798–1815), with the chief priest, and two ministers, or Adikārs. Mr. Joseph has shown me photographs of statuettes of kings and queens in the Kandy Museum, which are very quaint and neatly executed, but of little account as works of art.[2]

Section IX. Terra-cottas and Clay Figures.

The considerable part played by terra-cotta in the evolution of Indian sculpture has not been generally recognized, although Cunningham showed long ago that the early brick temples which preceded stone edifices in many parts of Northern

[1] Act iv, Ryder's transl. (Harvard Or. Series), p. 67. Much earlier is the record at Sānchī of *circa* 200 to 150 B.C., which informs us that one of the piers of the southern gate was not only dedicated, but executed by the ivory carvers of Bhīlsā. 'The workers in ivory of Vedisa have done the carving' (वेदिसकेहि दंतकारेहि रूपकंमं कतं). This implies that even at a date so early the carvers of ivory were organized as a guild (*śreṇī*) (*Ep. Ind.*, ii, pp. 92, 378; Tope I, inscr. No. 200 = C. 189). The record further shows that workers in ivory were prepared to carve in stone.

[2] For a good summary account of Indian ivories of all kinds, see Watt and P. Brown, *Indian Art at Delhi*, especially pp. 172–93. Several official monographs treat the subject provincially, and describe the art of ivory carving as practised in Bombay, Bengal, Assam, Burma, Southern India, the Panjāb, and the N. W. P. and Oudh (now the U. P. of Agra and Oudh). They are printed separately, and also in vol. ix of *J. I. A. I.* An account of the Ceylon ivories will be found in Dr. Coomaraswamy's work on *Mediaeval Art*. The Kandy statuettes are reproduced by Codrington, *Notes on some of the Principal Kandyan Chiefs and Headmen, and their Dresses* (Colombo, Government Printer, 1910).



Fig. A. Tortoise.

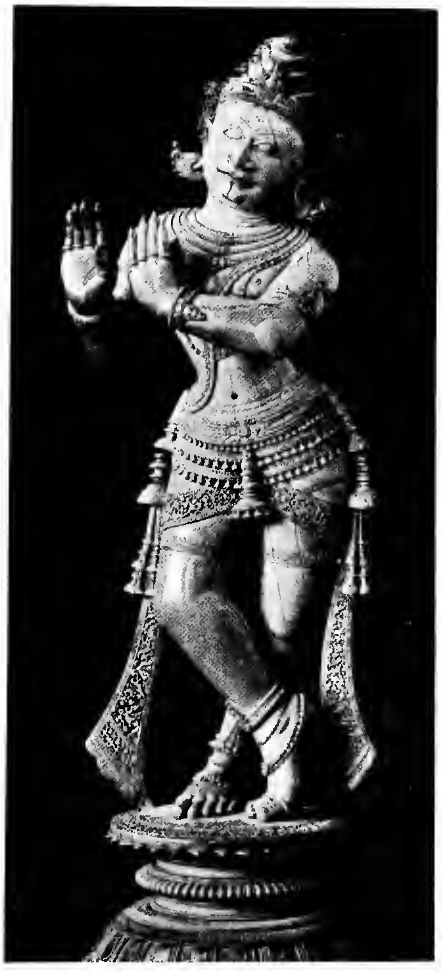


Fig. B. Krishna.

Plate LXXXIII. Orissan ivories by Gobind Ratan.
(From negatives lent by Sir G. Watt, K.C.I.E.)

India were decorated with 'terra-cotta ornaments and alto-rilievos'.[1] The art of handling terra-cotta as a material for works of art has been extinct for centuries, except that it lingered late in a debased form in Bengal; but in the early centuries of the Christian era terra-cotta was considered good enough for friezes, floral ornaments, animal figures, and even statuettes two or three feet in height. Many of the terra-cotta figures at the Bhītargāon brick temple, dating perhaps from the fifth century (*ante*, p. 28), are, as Cunningham observed, 'boldly designed and well drawn,' though marred by a tendency to excessive violence in the expression of movement and consequent liability to lapse into grotesqueness. The fragile nature of the material naturally causes a dearth of good specimens, and little attention has been paid to those few which survive. A single plate (LXXXIV) must suffice for the illustration of this ancient and forgotten form of art. The Graeco-Persian head from Sārnāth dating from the Maurya period (Plate LXXXIV, Fig. A) has been published by Mr. Marshall in *J. R. A. S.*, 1908, Plate IV, 6.

The preference commonly felt by modern European artists for realistic as compared with idealistic art finds frank expression in Mr. Percy Brown's dictum that 'the very highest form of fine art in India is to be met with in the terra-cotta statuettes made in Lucknow'.[2] This verdict is supported by reproductions of some terribly realistic figures of the victims of famine made for the Delhi Exhibition by Bhagwān Singh of Lucknow, 'a modeller by caste and an artist by instinct,' which the kindness of Sir G. Watt enables me to republish from the negative supplied by him (Pl. LXXXV). Not only do these figures image accurately the horrible facts as I have seen them, but they do something more, and suggest with moving vividness the emotions and sufferings hidden behind the visible physical appearances. The effigy of the skeleton son carrying the skeleton father pick-a-back opens up to the eye of imagination the whole sad story of extremest misery sanctified by intensest filial piety, and the other figures are hardly less suggestive of unrecorded tragedy. The man who could model forms so adequately expressive of the deepest emotions was no mean artist, and it is strange that he should have been content to waste his genius on petty, unregarded clay images, which, in all probability, have been ground to dust long ago, and would have been, like himself, utterly forgotten, but for the chance which enshrined them in an Exhibition catalogue. A philosophical Hindu, perhaps, would say that Bhagwān Singh deserved to be forgotten as a fit penalty for his realism. To the European he seems to be a lost spirit, who, in happier surroundings, might have become the founder of a school of sculptors and heir to undying fame. Images, like books, *habent sua fata.*

[1] *A. S. Rep.*, vol. xi, p. 42. See also in same volume, pp. 21, 35, 44, 52, 53; and vol. xii, pp. 47–50. M. Migeon considers terra-cotta to be the primitive mode of expression of the sculptor's art: 'objets exécutés en bronze, qui, pour être ainsi réalisés, ont dû être précédés d'ébauches en terre cuite, premières expressions de la pensée du sculpteur' (*Manuel d'Art Musulman*, t. II, p. 61).

[2] *Indian Art at Delhi*, p. 450.



Fig. A. Classical head of Maurya period from Sārnāth.
(A. S. photo, supplied by Prof. Macdonell.)

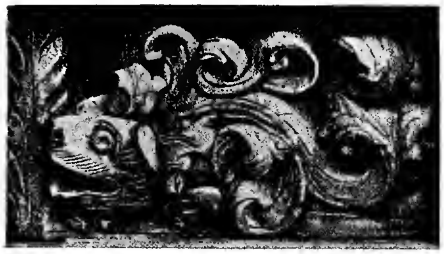


Fig. B. Ornament from Mathurā, 14″ × 8″.
(Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, xi, Pl. XVIII, 1.)



Fig. C. Ditto from Nēwal, Cawnpore District, 14″ × 7½″.
(Ibid., Fig. 2.)

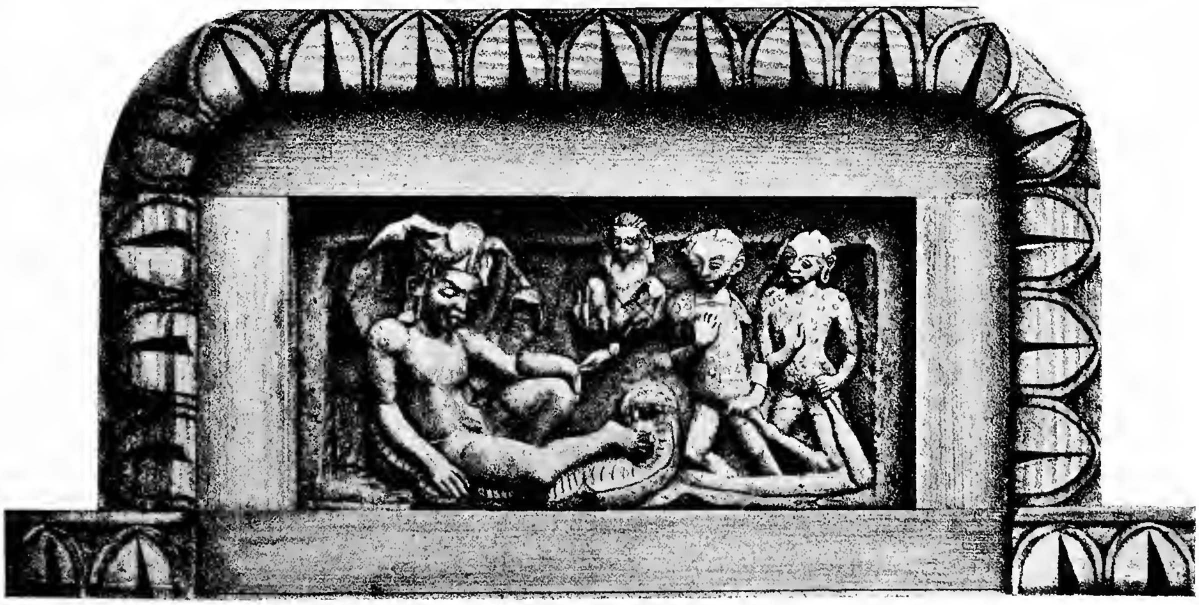


Fig. D. Panel, Vishnu, &c., from Bhītargāon, Cawnpore District, 19″ × 9½″.
(Ibid., Pl. XVII.)

Plate LXXXIV. Ancient terra-cottas from Northern India.

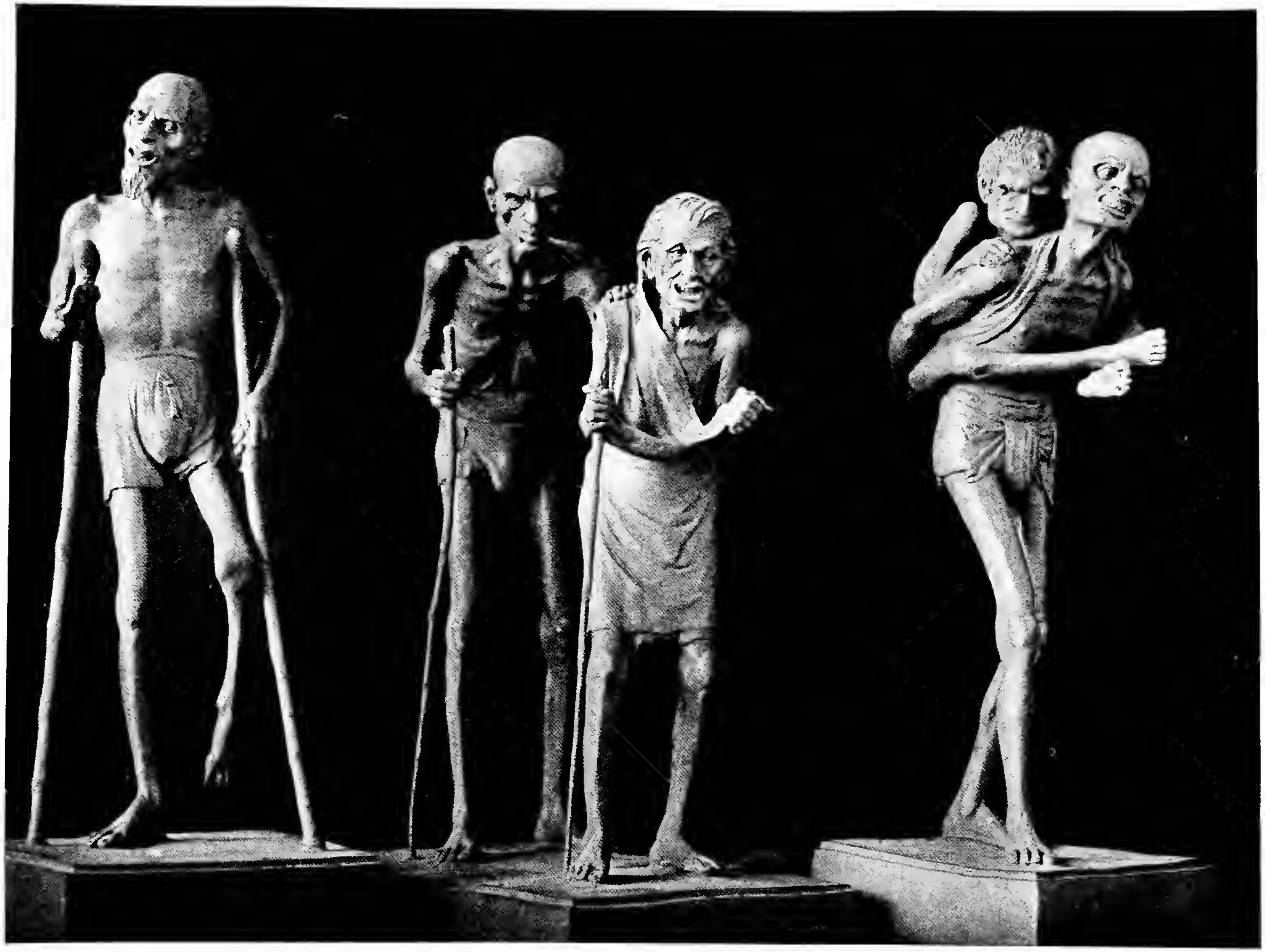


PLATE LXXXV. Famine; clay figures by Bhagwān Singh of Lucknow.
(From a negative lent by Sir G. Watt, K.C.I.E.)

CHAPTER XI

THE FOREIGN INFLUENCES ON HINDU ART

THE isolation of India, so apparent on the map, has never been absolute. Her inhabitants from the most remote ages have always been exposed to the action of foreign ideas conveyed by one or all of three ways—by sea, through the passes of the north-eastern frontier, or through the more open passes of the north-west. The only foreign art which could influence India from the north-east being that of China, which certainly produced no considerable effect on Indian art prior to the Muhammadan conquest, the ingress of foreign artistic ideas through the north-eastern passes may be left out of account.

Long before the dawn of history traders from distant lands had brought their wares to the ports of India, and in all probability introduced the alphabet and art of writing. But in those ancient days the sea, although open to the passage of adventurous merchants, was not the bond of union between distant lands which it has become in these latter times for a great naval power, and the influence exercised upon the art of the interior by small bodies of traders at the ports must have been comparatively trifling. The constant invasions and immigrations from the continent of Asia through the north-western passes had more effect. They appear to have introduced the elements of Babylonian civilization into the north at a very early date[1]; and one prehistoric immigration, or series of immigrations, which brought the Vedic Aryans, ultimately settled the future of all India for all time by laying the foundations of the complex, exclusive, religious, and social system known as Hinduism. When history opens in the sixth century B.C., Northern India, at all events, was already largely Hinduized, and in the third century, when the earliest extant monuments came into existence, the Hindu system stood firmly established. In attempting to estimate the nature and extent of foreign influence on Indian art, as conveyed by sea and through the north-western passes, we must assume the existence of Hinduism as an accomplished fact, and acknowledge that nothing positive is known about Hindu art before the age of Asoka.

In his days, as we have seen (*ante*, p. 60), the dominant foreign influence was Persian, traceable clearly in his monolithic columns, in the pillars of structural buildings, and in architectural decoration. The true Persian capitals, characterized by *recumbent* bulls or other animals, are found at Bharhut, Sānchī and elsewhere, in the Gandhāra reliefs, and at Eran in Central India, even as late as the fifth century of the Christian era. The capitals of the monolithic columns, with their seated and

[1] Indications of Babylonian influence probably include the earliest Indian astronomy, the knowledge of iron, urn-burial, and the marriage-mart at Taxila. See Kennedy, 'The Early Commerce of India with Babylon' (*J. R. A. S.*, 1898, pp. 241–88).

standing animals, although distinctly reminiscent of Persia, differ widely from Persian models, and are artistically far superior to anything produced in Achaemenian times. Mr. Marshall, as already observed (*ante*, p. 60), can hardly be right in ascribing the beautiful design and execution of the Sārnāth capital (*ante*, Plate XIII) and its fellows to Asiatic Greeks in the service of Asoka [1].

We are thus led to consider the second foreign element in the most ancient schools of Indian art, that is to say, the Greek element, expressed in Asiatic Hellenistic forms. In Asoka's age the chief schools of Greek sculpture were in Asia Minor at Pergamum, Ephesus, and other places, not in Greece, and the Hellenistic forms of Greek art had become largely modified by Asiatic and African traditions, reaching back to the ancient days of Assyria and Egypt. It is consequently difficult to disentangle the distinctively Greek element in early Indian art. The acanthus leaves, palmettos, centaurs, tritons, and the rest, all common factors in Hellenistic art, are as much Asiatic as Greek. The art of the Asokan monoliths is essentially foreign, with nothing Indian except details, and the fundamentally alien character of its style is proved by the feebleness of the Indian attempts to copy it. I think that the brilliant work typified by the Sārnāth capital may have been designed in its main lines by foreign artists acting under the orders of Asoka, while all the details were left to the taste of the Indian workmen, much in the same way as long afterwards the Kutb Mīnār was designed by a Muhammadan architect and built by Hindu masons, under the orders of the Sultan Iyaltimish.[2]

Our knowledge of the fine art of Asoka's reign (273–232 B.C.) is restricted to the monolithic columns almost exclusively. The other sculptures of the Early Period probably are all, or nearly all, of later date. They present a great contrast, being essentially Indian, with nothing foreign except details, and they presuppose the existence of a long previous evolution of native art probably embodied in impermanent materials, and consequently not represented by actual remains.

Are we to regard these sculptures, and especially the reliefs of Bharhut, Sānchī, and Bodh-Gayā, as purely Indian in origin and inspiration, or as clever adaptations of foreign models? The sudden apparition simultaneously of stone architecture, stone sculpture, and stone inscriptions during the reign of Asoka, when considered in connexion with the intimate relations known to have existed between the Maurya empire and the Hellenistic kingdoms of Asia, Africa, and Europe, raises a reasonable presumption that the novelties thus introduced into the ancient framework of Indian civilization must have been suggested from outside. That presumption is strengthened by the foreign style of the monolithic columns, which undoubtedly were a novelty brought into being by the command of an enlightened despot in close touch with the outer world.

[1] Note also the elegant small capital with Perso-Ionic volutes found at Sārnāth (*J. R. A. S.*, 1907, p. 997, Pl. III), and the Perso-Hellenic head from the same place (Ibid., 1908, p. 1092, Pl. IV, 6), both reproduced *ante* in Fig. 57 and Plate LXXXIV, Fig. A respectively.

[2] M. Foucher, writing of the Sānchī reliefs, observes that 'quantité de motifs décoratifs nous ont paru si directement empruntés à la Perse que leur importation ne s'explique guère autrement que par une immigration d'artisans iraniens'. (*La Porte Orientale du Stûpa de Sânchi*, p. 34.)

Some years ago I felt convinced that the notion of producing long series of bas-relief pictures in stone had actually been suggested by Hellenistic example, and more particularly the example of Alexandria, a city where such reliefs were commonly executed, and which was in constant communication with India.[1] Although I do not now feel justified in expressing as confidently as I once did my theory of the Alexandrian origin of Indian bas-relief sculpture *in stone*, I am still disposed to believe that such reliefs would never have been executed if works essentially similar had not previously existed in the Hellenistic countries, and especially at Alexandria. The Indian reliefs certainly are not modelled on those of Persia, which are utterly distinct in character; and it seems unlikely that the Indians should have suddenly invented the full-blown art of stone bas-relief out of their own heads without any foreign suggestion. The Alexandrian reliefs were available as indications how stone reliefs should be executed, and the clever Indian artists and craftsmen, once they had seized on the main idea, would have had no difficulty in transmuting it into purely Indian forms, just as the Hindu play-writer, mentioned by Weber, transformed the *Midsummer Night's Dream* into a piece thoroughly Indian in character, showing no trace of its English source.[2] Complicated relief pictures, like those of Bharhut and Sānchī, placed in exposed positions, could not have been satisfactorily executed in wood or ivory; but trained wood and ivory carvers, who no doubt existed in India from time immemorial, could easily have applied their skill to making stone pictures as soon as the novel material had become the fashion. Carvers in wood and stone often are the same people and use tools substantially identical. The truth seems to be that the Indians illustrated the Jātakas with Indian scenes just as the Alexandrians illustrated pastoral poems with Greek scenes, and that the Indians got from abroad the idea of so doing. But the theory must be admitted to be incapable of decisive proof, although to my mind it appears to be highly probable. The subject-matter and treatment of the post-Asokan reliefs are certainly in the main Indian, and such obviously foreign details as they exhibit are accessory rather than integral.

M. Foucher, however, is, I think, right when he discerns in the Sānchī sculptures more subtle indications of Hellenistic influence in certain examples of bold fore-shortening, in clever presentations of the three-quarter face figure, and in the harmonious balancing of groups. It is, indeed, inconceivable that the Indian sculptors of Asoka's time should have failed to learn something from the Greek art which was so readily accessible to them. But whatever they borrowed they made their own so that their work as a whole is unmistakably Indian in character, and original in substance.

I proceed to discuss in some detail certain motives of ancient Indian sculpture which seem to be of foreign origin, and in some cases lend support to the theory of specially Alexandrian influence.

[1] *Imp. Gaz.* (1908), vol. ii, p. 105; Hastings, *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, s.v. 'Amarāvatī'.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxx (1901), p. 287, note 59. Weber relates a similar transformation in a Sanskrit adaptation of Euclid's *Elements*. 'All that remained of the original was the order of the contents and the substance of the examples. All the rest was Indian.' The Japanese treat European plays and tales in the same way.

The first to be considered is that which may be conveniently designated the 'Woman and Tree' (Plate LXXXVI). The form which may be regarded as normal represents a woman standing under a vine or other tree, with her legs crossed, the left arm twined round a stem, and the right hand raised to her head. Many variations, however, occur. Occasionally, the left hand is raised above the head, as in an example from Mathurā, in which also the right arm is not twined round a stem. Sometimes the legs are not crossed. The woman, in some cases, is more or less clothed, but frequently, and especially at Mathurā, is unmistakably and aggressively naked. Very often, but not always, she stands on a dwarf, animal, or monster (Fig 85).

The attitude is well calculated to display the charms of the female form, and, as M. Foucher observes, is frequently described in Sanskrit poetry, so that it may be regarded as 'la pose plastique par excellence' of India.[1] The dates of Sanskrit literature are so uncertain that it is quite possible that the descriptions may have been suggested by the statuary. It seems to me highly probable that the plastic rendering was a foreign introduction. Dates seem to forbid the suggestion that Western art might have borrowed it from India.

The earliest Indian example known to me is the Bharhut draped figure of the Yakshī Chandā, who is represented in what I call the normal manner. That may be dated about 200 B.C.[2] The lady also appears on the Sānchī gateways, and in Gandhāran art over and over again with many variations (see Chap. IV). Slightly modified she becomes Māyā, the mother of Buddha, in the Nativity scene (Plate XXIX). I cannot find her at Amarāvatī, but at Mathurā she is specially characteristic of the local art, both Jain and Buddhist, and is often represented with lascivious suggestiveness in a manner to which the Mathurā school was too much inclined (*ante*, pp. 139, 140). The erotic tendency of that school assimilates it to Copto-Alexandrian art. The latest example that I can quote is a Brahmanical sculpture of the Vijayanagar school at Tārpatrī in the Anantapur District, dating from the sixteenth century (*ante*, Fig. 166). Thus, it is established that in Indian sculpture the motive had an history of more than 1,700 years.

In Greek art it occurs in the fourth century B.C., a century or two before its first appearance in India at Bharhut. The Hellenistic artists transported the motive to Egypt, where, by reason of contact with native Egyptian sensual notions, its treatment acquired a lascivious tinge, agreeing strangely with the Mathurā presentation, the nude figure, however, in Egypt being often male instead of female. M. Strzygowski gives the name of Copto-Alexandrian to the mixed or mongrel art produced by the intermingling of Hellenic and Coptic ideas. The art of Gandhāra does not share with that of Mathurā the reproach of lasciviousness. It deserves credit, as M. Foucher points out, for its 'irréprochable tenue' in dealing with the relations of the sexes.[3]

[1] *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, p. 229. A sculpture in the Mathurā Museum exhibits a male figure in the same pose.

[2] *Stūpa of Bharhut*, Pl. XXII: Grünwedel-Burgess, *Buddhist Art*, Fig. 16.

[3] *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, p. 248. The 'orgy' relief (ibid., Fig. 130: *Gandhāra Sculptures*, Pl. XXII. 7) is the only one open to a charge of impudicity.



Fig. A. 'Bacchus,' on left side of Aachen pulpit. (From a photo. of a cast in the University Galleries, Oxford.)



Fig. B. 'Woman and Tree,' as caryatid, from Upper Monastery, Nathu, Gandhāra. (Photo. by Griggs.)



Fig. C. 'Woman and Tree,' from Katra, Mathurā. (Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. iii, Pl. XII, B.)

Plate LXXXVI. Hellenistic motives: the 'Woman and Tree'.

The most striking illustration of the close resemblance between the Mathurā presentation of the Woman and Tree motive and the Copto-Alexandrian form is found in an unexpected place, the cathedral of Aachen or Aix-la-Chapelle in Rhenish Prussia. Six remarkable ivory panels on the sides of the cathedral pulpit have been examined in a special disquisition by M. Strzygowski, who has proved to my satisfaction that the Aachen ivories are of Egyptian origin, and should be considered as examples of the Copto-Alexandrian school. They may have reached their resting-place by way of either Ravenna and Milan or Marseilles.[1]

Two figures, one on the right and one on the left of the pulpit, identical save in certain minor details, are known conventionally as 'Bacchus'. Each represents a nude young man facing, standing with the right leg straight and the left leg crossed over it. The body is supported by the left arm, which is twined round the stem of a vine overtopping and surrounding the youth with its foliage. His right hand is raised to the crown of his head (Plate LXXXVI, Fig. A). The pose is precisely the same as that of the Woman and Tree motive in Indian art, and the resemblance between the Mathurā and Aachen figures is so close that, in my judgement, it cannot be accidental. Both must have a common origin, which should be sought in Syria or Asia Minor, from which Egyptian Hellenistic art drew its inspiration. The motive was variously treated in Egypt, and, at least in one case, a woman takes the place of the youth. There is no difficulty in believing in the transference of Alexandrian ideas to India either before or after the Christian era. From Asoka's time for several centuries intercourse between the ports of Egypt and India was continuous. The cupids, birds, and beasts interspersed in the foliage of the Aachen ivory are also often found in India. Compare, for instance, the Garhwā pillar (*ante*, Fig. 115) and various Mathurā sculptures.

The female figure in the Woman and Tree design used to be described as a 'dancing-girl'. But, whether nude or clothed, she is never represented as dancing, and Dr. Vogel certainly appears to be right in maintaining that she should be interpreted, not as a dancing-girl, but as a Yakshī, or female sprite.[2] The Yakshas and Yakshīs played in ancient popular Indian Buddhism a prominent part comparable with that played by the Nats in modern Burmese Buddhism. Recent students of Indian art recognize that fact, and perceive, for instance, that the constant attendant of Buddha in the Gandhāra reliefs, who carries a thunderbolt, and was formerly identified as Devadatta or Māra, is meant for a Yaksha; and that the impressive statuette in the Lahore Museum, which used to be called an 'Indo-Scythian King', represents Kuvera, the king of the Yakshas (*ante*, Plate XXVIII).

Other motives must be discussed more briefly. At Amarāvatī and in Gandhāra a favourite subject is the departure of Gautama Buddha as Prince Siddhārtha from Kapilavastu on horseback. Generally the horse is shown in profile, but occasionally is represented as emerging from a gateway, and facing the spectator, fore-shortened. This latter form of the design especially seems to be connected with the Rider motive

[1] Strzygowski, J.—'Hellenistische und koptische Kunst in Alexandria' (*Bull. de la Soc. Archéol. d'Alexandrie* (Wien, Vienne), 1902).

[2] *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1906–7, p. 146.



Fig. A. From Sanghāo, Yūsufzai, age of Kanishka.
(*The Gandhāra Sculptures*, Pl. XIX, 2 left = *J. Ind. Art*, 1898, Pl. XXI, 2.)



Fig. B. From Lower Monastery, Nathu, Yūsufzai.
(Photo. 1103, I. M. *List.*)



Fig. C. From Mathurā.
(Photo. 843, I. M. *List*; cf. *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1904–5, Pl. XXVI *c*, from Sārnāth.)

Plate LXXXVII. Hellenistic motives: the roll or garland.

as seen in the Barberini ivory diptych in the Louvre, of the fourth century, and in one of the Aachen panels, the origin of both being traced back by Strzygowski to the Egyptian representations of Horus triumphing over the powers of evil represented by a crocodile.

The Indian sculptures usually show earth-spirits, or Yakshas, male or female, holding up the horse's hoofs. As Grünwedel and Strzygowski point out, the sculptures illustrate the Buddhist legend that the earth-goddess displayed half her form while she spoke to the departing hero, and also are a reminiscence or translation of the Greek motive of Gē (Gaia) rising from the ground, familiar to Hellenic art from the fourth century B.C. Similar earth-spirits are seen in the Barberini diptych.[1] The Rider motive does not appear at Mathurā or in the Early Period, and may be assumed to have reached India after the Christian era.

The use of a long undulating stem, band, garland, or roll to break up a long frieze into sections was familiar to Indian sculptors from early days. As seen on the Bharhut coping (*ante*, Fig. 43), the device used is a lotus stem with jack fruits attached. The stem is not carried by anybody. This design seems to be purely Indian.

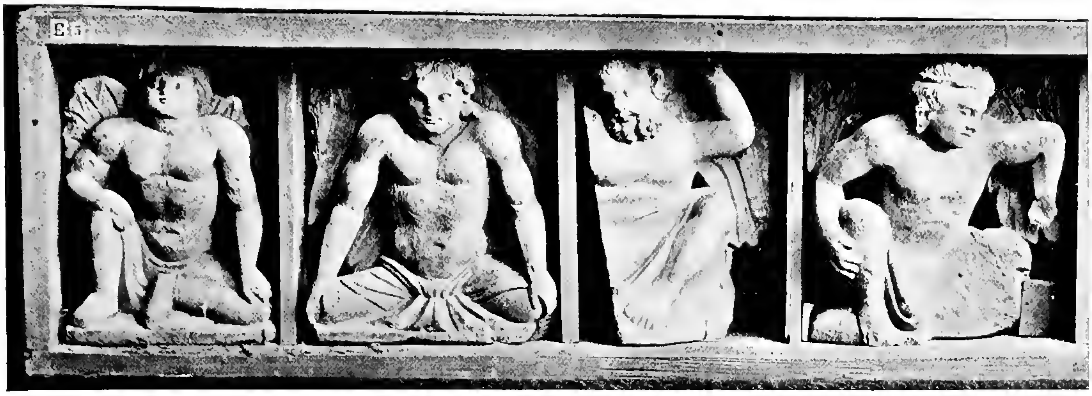
But the later forms of the motive are clearly of foreign origin, being based on the garland carried by *amorini*, Erōtes, or cupids, which was constantly used in the later Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman art. In Gandhāra an imbricated roll, quite in the Graeco-Roman fashion, carried by boys, equivalent to cupids or Erōtes, is substituted for the Indian lotus stem. At Mathurā and Sārnāth we find a smooth roll carried by men, not boys (Plate LXXXVII, Fig. C), and at Amarāvatī a bulky tinsel roll with Indian decoration, also carried by men (*ante*, Fig. 103).[2]

The hippocamps, tritons, centaurs, and other weird creatures, which certainly were borrowed from Western art, occur, as we have seen in Chapter II, at Bodh Gayā and other places in the sculptures of the Early Period (Figs. 34–8). It does not much matter whether we call them Hellenistic or Western Asiatic. Forms more or less similar recur at Mathurā and Amarāvatī and in Gandhāra (pp. 104, 125, 146). The strongly-marked muscles of some of the Gandhāra figures and the snake-tailed monsters suggest the notion that the sculptors of the north-west felt the influence of the vigorous Pergamene school. The Atlantes of Jamālgarai especially seem to be reminiscent of Pergamum; from the Buddhist point of view they may be regarded as Yakshas. A few of these Western Asiatic Hellenistic forms are shown together in Plate LXXXVIII, Figs. A, B. Atlantes occasionally occur in later Hindu art.[3]

[1] Grünwedel-Burgess, pp. 98–103, Figs. 50–4. See also *The Gandhāra Sculptures*, Pl. XX, Fig. 1 = *J. I. A. I.*, vol. viii (1898), Pl. XXII, Fig. 1, where the spirits are female. In one case at Amarāvatī the story of the departure is symbolized, after the Sānchī manner, by the led horse (*un cheval sans cavalier*) with the royal umbrella held over him (*ante*, Fig. 74).

[2] Anderson, *Catal. I. M.*, Part I, p. 241; Grünwedel-Burgess, p. 148, Figs. 99, 100; Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, p. 239, Figs. 116–18; *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, vol. lviii (1889), p. 158, citing a Roman parallel.

[3] As in Kashmīr and at Chitōr (Foucher, *op. cit.*, p. 208, Fig. 86), and in Western India at Karvati (*ante*, Fig. 156).





Figs. A, B. Atlantes from Jamālgarai.
(Photo. 1013, I. M. *List.*)

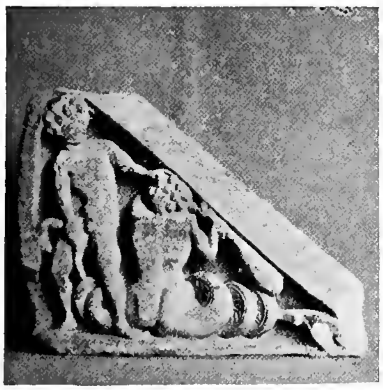


Fig. C. 'Gigantomachia' from same.
(Photo. 1004, I. M. *List.*)

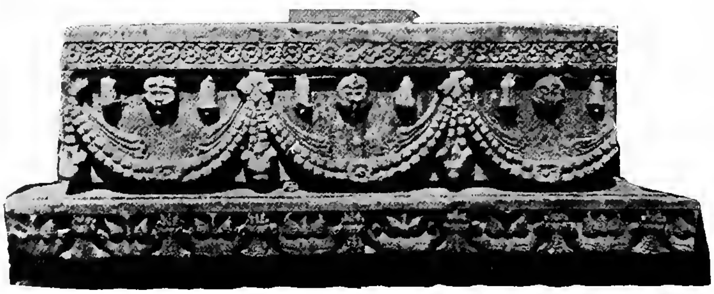


Fig. D. Garland from Sārnāth.
(Arch. S. photo., supplied by Prof. Macdonell.)

Plate LXXXVIII. Hellenistic motives, apparently Pergamene and Roman.

In the same plate is shown a garland from Sārnāth, which has a curiously Roman look (Fig. D).

Certain architectural details represented in ancient sculptures, in addition to the well-known Corinthian and Ionic capitals, may be mentioned as being common to Indian and Western Asiatic Hellenistic art. The fluted spiral column, frequently met with on the sarcophagi of Asia Minor and in later Roman work, does not seem to occur at Amarāvatī or in Gandhāra, but is found at Mathurā in early sculptures.[1] Subsequently it was freely used in Western India. The scallop shell or 'shell-niche' canopy, often seen on Asiatic sarcophagi and in Egyptian art, occurs in India, so far as I am aware, only in the details of the Corinthian capitals at Jamālgarai (*ante*, Plate XXV). M. Strzygowski holds that the form probably originated in Mesopotamia, and that it was ultimately developed into the characteristic Muhammadan *mihrāb*.[2] But that suggestion seems to be of doubtful validity. The rectangular incised panel frequently found on pilasters in Gandhāra reliefs (Fig. 75) is specially characteristic of the Roman architecture of Palmyra (A. D. 105–273). Much of the Gandhāra art resembles that of Palmyra and Baalbec more closely than that of any other specific locality. The buildings at Baalbec date from the second century. It is, of course, unnecessary to point out in detail the numerous echoes of Greek art in the Gandhāra sculptures. I have confined myself to noticing certain points of particular interest.

The introduction of the vine into Indian bas-reliefs used to be considered as in itself evidence of copying from Hellenistic models. But that view is not tenable. The vine is still largely grown in Chinese Turkistan, and until the recent Afghan conquest was freely cultivated in Kāfiristan. Sir George Watt believes that the plant is indigenous on the lower Himalayan ranges, and is even inclined to think that its cultivation may have been diffused into Europe from that region. However that may be, it is certain that Indian artists had ample opportunities of studying the forms of vine-growth at first hand, and were under no necessity to seek foreign models.

In certain cases, however, Indian sculptors chose to treat the vine motive after the European or West Asiatic manner.[3] The best example of such treatment is the well-known frieze from the Upper Monastery at Nathu, Yūsufzai, which is almost a replica of a similar work at Palmyra, executed in the third century after Christ (Wood, *Palmyra*, Plate 41). The design (Plate LXXXIX, Fig. A) consists of a vine stem knotted into five circles forming small panels; the first of which, to the left, contains leaves only; the second is occupied by a boy or 'genius' plucking grapes; the third exhibits a boy playing with a goat; the fourth displays a crudely-executed goat nibbling the vine; and the fifth represents another boy plucking grapes. Fig. B in the same plate reproduces a Mathurā sculpture treating the vine after the Indian manner, and admirably executed.

The motive consisting of a vine or other conventionalized plant springing from a vase is common to Egyptian and ancient Indian art. M. Strzygowski gives three

[1] *Jain Stūpa of Mathurā*, Pl. XLVIII, 3.

[2] *J. Hellenic Studies*, 1907, p. 114, Fig. 11.

[3] Simpson (*J. Roy. Inst. Brit. Architects*, 1894, p. 108, Fig. 12); V. A. Smith (*J. A. S. B.*, Part I, vol. lviii, p. 160); Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, p. 240, Fig. 290).

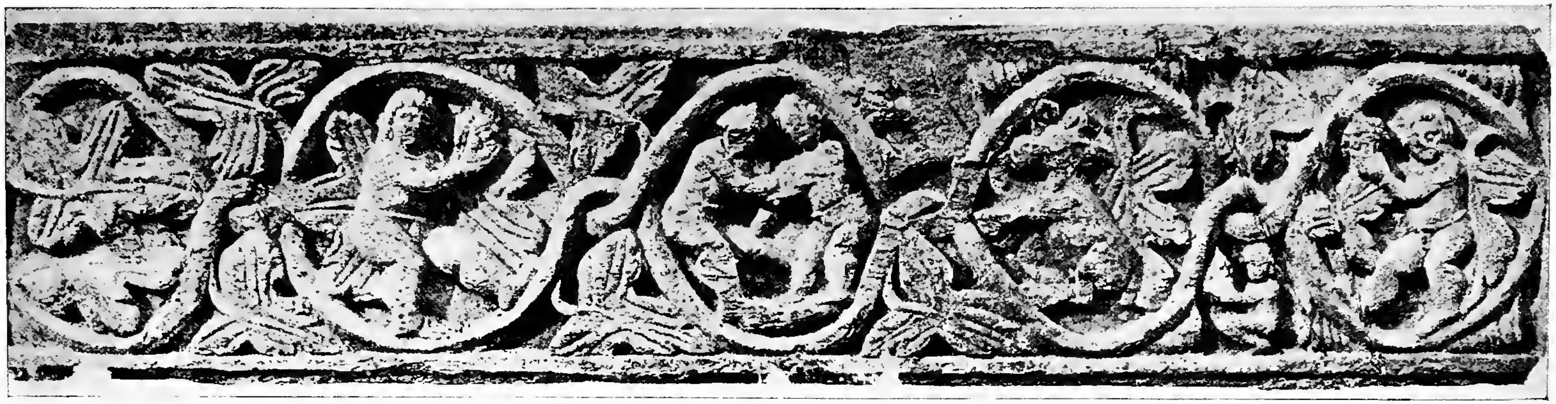


Fig. A. Hellenistic frieze from Upper Monastery, Nathu, Yūsufzai.
(Photo. by Griggs.)

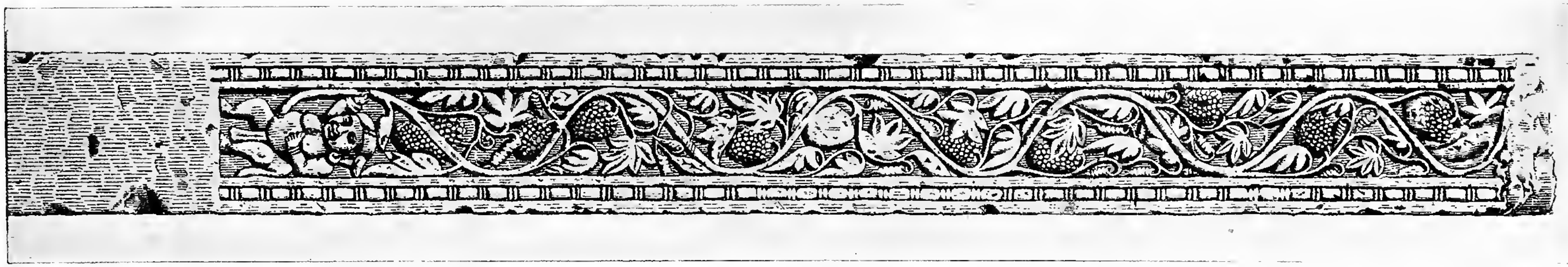


Fig. B. Door-jamb from Kankālī Mound, Mathurā.
(*Jain Stūpa*, Pl. XXVI, front elevation.)

Plate LXXXIX. The vine in Indian sculpture.

Egyptian examples in the essay cited above (*Abb.* 47, 50, 52). A good South Indian specimen, perhaps contemporaneous with the Sānchī sculptures, is reproduced in Plate XC, Fig. A.

The same plate offers further illustrations of the Indian aptitude for artistic representation of plant-life, which certainly was not learned from the Greeks, who could not teach the lesson. Sir George Watt points out to me that the pinnate foliage motives are distinctively Indian. If space permitted many excellent illustrations might be given, but one from Mathurā must suffice (Plate XC, Fig. B). The lotus—that is to say, the indigenous lotus of India—and various other aquatic plants are constantly treated with exquisite skill, sometimes naturalistically and sometimes more conventionally. Indian sculpture and painting offer numberless examples. In this place one illustration from Mathurā and another from Gandhāra may be offered (Plate XC, Figs. C, D). The lotus plant symbolizes human life springing from the ocean of eternity.

The Indian treatment of indigenous animals in both sculpture and painting is as original and artistic as that of plant motives.

> 'You have only,' Sir George Watt writes, 'to look at the plants and animals employed in the most ancient designs to feel the strong Indian current of thought there conventionalized, which must have involved centuries of evolution. The treatment of the elephant, monkey, and serpent is Indian, and in no way Greek. No Greeks (as few Englishmen to-day) could give the life touches of those animals seen on all the oldest sculptures and frescoes.' [1]

Those observations are perfectly true, and in all discussions of the foreign elements in Indian art we must remember that in certain respects Indian artists were not only free from obligation to the Greeks, but actually superior to them. The illustrations in this work bear abundant testimony to the Indian power of delineating indigenous living forms, both vegetable and animal. The Gandhāra treatment of the elephant is inferior to that of the same subject by the artists of the interior, who were more familiar with that wonderful beast, which is not easy to model or draw well.

The marked pictorial character of the ancient Indian bas-relief sculpture, which it shares with the related Alexandrian work, suggests that in India painting may be an older art than sculpture. The earliest extant paintings, those in Orissa (*ante*, p. 273), apparently are indigenous. The history of Indian painting is necessarily so fragmentary that it is impossible, at present at all events, to trace the genesis of the highly developed art of Ajantā and Sīgiriya. The hypothesis of a Persian origin for the Ajantā paintings is supported by the facts that they occur in a region known to have been in communication with Persia and include Persian scenes. But proof that Persia in the fifth and sixth centuries was in a position to teach art to India is lacking. The key to the origins of both Persian and Indian painting, if there be a key, should, perhaps, be sought in Turkistan, and the truth may be that the Indian schools of painting are only branches of a very ancient and widely diffused Asiatic school. But more exact knowledge is needed before any definite theory can be formulated. No

[1] Letter dated Nov. 6, 1909.



Fig. A. Vase and plant, from Ghantasāla.
(Rea, *S. I. Buddhist Antiquities*, Pl. XVIII, front.)

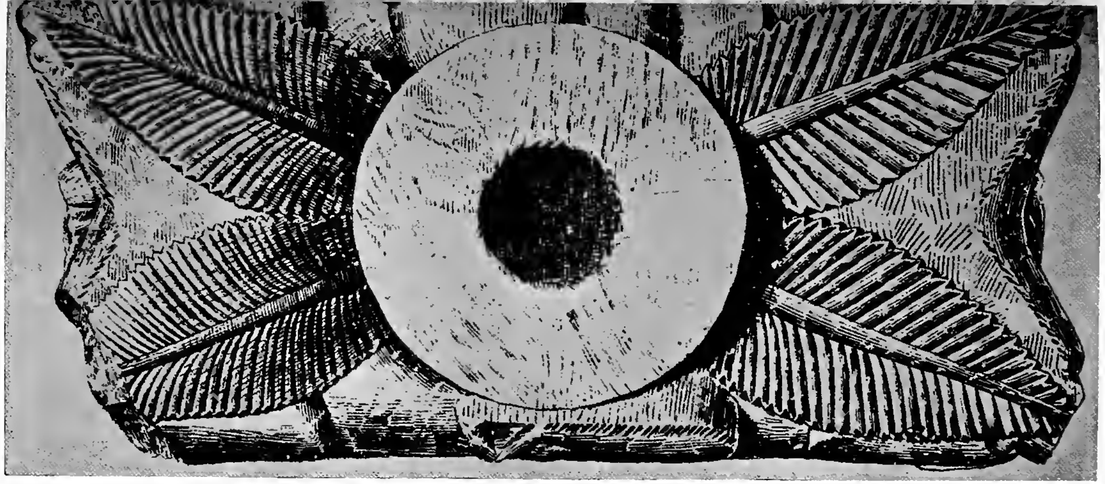


Fig. B. Pinnate foliage, Mathurā. (*Jain Stūpa*, Pl. L.)



Fig. C. Lotuses growing, Mathurā. (Ibid., Pl. XXIV, Fig. 1.)

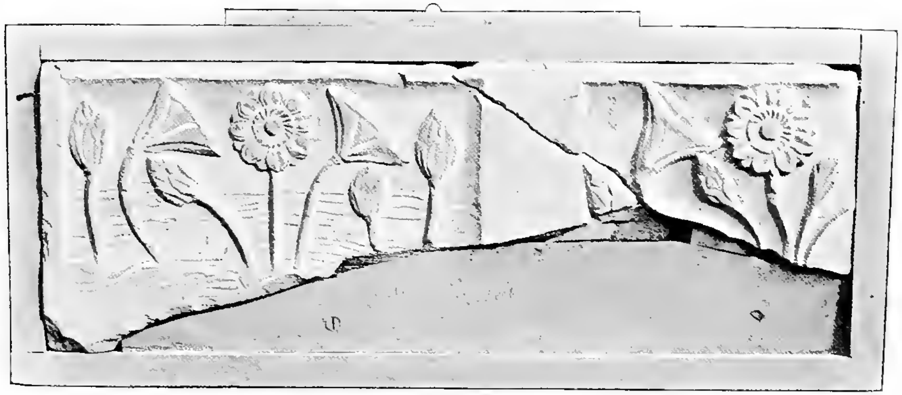


Fig. D. Ditto, from Gandhāra, Lahore Museum, No. 0251 (Prof. Macdonell).
(See *Indian Art at Delhi*, frontispiece and p. 92.)

Plate XC. Plant forms.

connexion seems to be traceable between the Indian paintings and those of Greece or Rome. So far as appears the pictorial art of India may be considered original, and related to the schools of Asia rather than to those of Europe. But the Ajantā paintings are far superior to any work from Turkistan yet published, and attain a pre-eminently high standard of achievement in their delineation of plant and animal life.

The principal forms of Indian architecture, so far as appears, were developed in India, and it is impossible to connect them with Western forms. They have, as M. Le Bon observes, a character of 'frappante originalité'.

The general result of examination of the foreign influences upon Indian pre-Muhammadan art, whether sculpture, painting, or architecture, is to support the opinions of those who maintain the substantial originality of Indian art. It may be true that the general use of stone for architecture and sculpture was suggested by foreign example, and that the notion of making story-telling pictures in stone came from Alexandria; but, even if both those hypotheses be accepted, the substantial originality of the Indian works is not materially affected. The actually proved borrowings by India are confined to details, such as Persepolitan columns and capitals, and a multitude of decorative elements, some of which continued in use for many centuries.

M. Le Bon is well supported by facts in his opinion that India,

> 'malgré un contact assez prolongé avec la civilisation grecque, ne lui a emprunté, et ne pouvait lui emprunter aucun de ses arts. Les deux races étaient trop différentes, leurs pensées trop dissemblables, leurs génies artistiques trop incompatibles pour qu'elles aient pu s'influencer. . . . Le génie hindou est tellement spécial que, quel que soit l'objet dont les nécessités lui imposent l'imitation, l'aspect de cet objet se transforme immédiatement pour devenir hindou.' The same author continues:—'Cette impuissance de l'art grec à influencer l'Inde a quelque chose de frappant, et il faut bien l'attribuer à cette incompatibilité que nous avons signalée entre le génie des deux races, et non à une sorte d'incapacité native de l'Inde à s'assimiler un art étranger.' [1]

The readiness of India to assimilate suitable foreign material is shown by her proved willingness to borrow freely from Persia in ancient times and again after the Muhammadan conquest.

Whatever influence Greece had exercised on Indian art was practically exhausted by A. D. 400. After that date the traces of Hellenistic ideas are too trifling to be worth mentioning. The mediaeval Brahmanical and Buddhist schools have nothing in common with Greek art, and the strange artistic forms introduced by the Muhammadan conquerors at the beginning of the thirteenth century were equally alien to Hellenic feeling. From the fifth century the art of India, whether Hindu or Muslim, must stand or fall on its own merits, without reference to Hellenic standards. The mediaeval Hindu revival and the advance of Islam, in large part synchronous, both involved a revolt against Hellenic ideas and a reversion to ancient Asiatic modes —a 'renaissance aux dépens des influences helléniques'.[2]

[1] *Les Monuments de l'Inde*, pp. 12–15.

[2] Bréhier, L, 'Les Origines de l'Art musulman' (*La Revue des Idées*, No. 75, Mars 1910, p. 190).

CHAPTER XII

THE INDO-MUHAMMADAN STYLES OF ARCHITECTURE

WITHIN about eighty years after the death of Muhammad in A. D. 632 the followers of his religion reigned supreme over Arabia, Persia, Syria, Western Turkistan, Sind, Egypt, North Africa, and Southern Spain, the marvellously rapid extension of Muhammadan power having been rendered possible by the barbarism and weakness of the subjugated kingdoms in Asia, Africa, and Europe. The first contact of Islam, as MM. Le Bon and Saladin observe, was stimulating to what remained alive of the older forms of civilization. Muslim armies, recruited in Persia, Syria, and Egypt, carried with them crowds of Asiatic skilled craftsmen, who introduced everywhere the arts of Asia, and modified the various local forms of art so as to suit the needs of the new faith and satisfy the luxurious tastes of magnificent courts. The Arabs, although possessing little art of their own, succeeded in impressing upon the local styles which they utilized for Muslim purposes a general character of uniformity, which we now recognize as that of Musalman art.

The Muhammadan conquest in A. D. 712 of Sind, which at that time was regarded as distinct from India, did not seriously affect India proper, and the occupation of Kābul in A. D. 870 was equally without appreciable influence on Hindu polity, which continued its isolated course unchanged by external forces, developing on the political side the Rājpūt kingdoms, and on the aesthetic side the Brahmanical art described in Chapter VII. India did not feel the impact of Muslim ideas until the beginning of the eleventh century, when the repeated fierce raids of Mahmūd of Ghaznī compelled her to take notice of the new force which had arisen. Before his death in A. D. 1030 the Panjāb had become a province of the Muhammadan Sultanate of Ghaznī. But, until the closing years of the twelfth century, Islam made no further progress in India. No buildings of the early Arab conquerors in Sind have been described, nor are there tangible traces of the rule of the Ghaznivide rulers of the Panjāb.

The history of Indo-Muhammadan art begins with the year A. D. 1200 in round numbers. Between 1193 and 1236 Muhammad of Ghōr, Kutb-ud-dīn Ībak, and Sultan Iyaltimish (Altamsh) had compelled all Northern India, including Bengal, to submit, more or less completely, to the Muslim government established at Delhi. The earliest Muhammadan monuments in India date from the reigns of the three princes named; the principal works of that time being the mosque at Ajmēr, the Kutb mosque and mīnār at Delhi, the gateway of the chief mosque at Budāon (A. D. 1223),[1] and the tomb of the Sultan Iyaltimish at Delhi.[2]

[1] Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. xi, p. 5, Pl. III.

[2] The most correct form of the Sultan's Turkī name appears to be Iyaltimish, but some coins read Iltitmish. His Muslim name was Shams-ud-dīn ('Sun of Religion'). Tieffenthaler correctly calls the Kutb Mīnār 'la tour de Schams uddin' (French transl., *Géographie de l'Indoustan*, Berlin, 1791, p. 130).

The simple, spiritual worship of Muslims, who adore the One Unseen God and hate every kind of idol, can be performed satisfactorily without any building. But it is convenient to have a spacious edifice in which the faithful can assemble on Friday, the Musalman Sabbath, to join in public prayer, and occasionally hear a sermon. During prayer the worshippers should turn towards Mecca, the direction of which is indicated by a niche or niches in the appropriate wall. The Muhammadan mosque, or church, therefore, consists essentially of an enclosure, with a niche in one wall to indicate the direction of Mecca. There should be also a pulpit, and a tank for ablution. All other things, such as cloisters, chambers, and lofty portals are unessential, being needed only for purposes of convenience and dignity. The mosque may be wholly open to the air, or wholly or partially roofed. Examples of wholly roofed mosques are very rare in India, the only one on a large scale being that at Kulbarga in the Deccan. Ordinarily a large open quadrangle is the principal feature of an Indian mosque. The covered portions of the more considerable buildings usually consist of an aisle or aisles (*liwān*), at the western side, with cloisters round the enclosing walls, and often include huge gateways with many chambers, and sundry minor structures. The roofs are invariably domed in some fashion or other, and pointed arches are a prominent feature.

The almost universal presence of domes and arches, usually of the pointed kind, in Muhammadan buildings is due to the fact that Muslim architecture is based on the style practised at Baghdad in the time of the great Abbasid Khalīfs (Caliphs), of whom Hārūn-ar-rashīd (786–809) is the best known. The Baghdad style was derived from the ancient vaulted architecture of Mesopotamia, as transmitted through the modified developments of Sassanian times (A. D. 226–641). The beginnings of the familiar forms of Muhammadan architecture have been recently traced by General de Beylié in the buildings of Samara in Mesopotamia, erected in the early part of the ninth century, and abandoned in 875, when Baghdad became the capital of the Khalīfate. From Baghdad the style spread rapidly throughout the Muhammadan world, and became to such a degree universal that it is hardly possible to imagine a mosque of brick or stone without domes and arches.[1]

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, when Kutb-ud-dīn and Iyaltimish undertook to build mosques and tombs at Delhi and Ajmēr, domes and pointed arches were recognized to be essential. But the conquerors were obliged to employ Hindu masons, unaccustomed to turning true radiating arches and domes, and ordinarily able only to make the semblance of such by means of the horizontal corbelled construction familiar to them, with which the Muslim architects had to be

[1] The exceptional wooden mosques of Kashmīr have tall spires, probably derived from Buddhist architecture (Nicholls, 'Muhammadan Architecture in Kashmīr,' *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1906–7, pp. 161–70, with plates; a valuable treatise). My text is based on the article 'Les Origines de l'Art musulman', by M. Louis Bréhier (*La Revue des Idées*, Paris, No. 75, Mars 1910, pp. 189–99), and on Saladin, *Manuel d'Art musulman*, tome i, chap. I (Paris, 1907). The view of Fergusson (ed. 1910, vol. ii, p. 197) that the Musalman invaders of India were 'Turanians' with 'a style of their own' does not express the facts correctly.



PLATE XCI. Great Arch in Mosque at Ajmēr.
(Photo. 1532, I. M. *List*.)

content. The cloisters were easily made up from the materials of overthrown Hindu temples, and retained a manifest Hindu character without objection.

At the Kutb mosque of Delhi the glory of the building is the screen of eleven pointed arches, eight smaller and three larger, Muslim in form, but Hindu in construction. They are so familiar that a small illustration will suffice (Fig. 232). The faces of these structures are decorated with 'a lace-work of intricate and delicate carving', considered by Fergusson to be 'the most exquisite specimen of its class known to exist anywhere'. It bears some resemblance to the decorations of the



FIG. 232. Smaller arches of the Kutb Mosque, and the Iron Pillar.
(Photo. supplied by Prof. Macdonell.)

Sassanian palace of Mashita and those of certain parts of Santa Sophia at Constantinople. The similar screen at Ajmēr, built by Iyaltimish between A. D. 1200 and 1235, consists of seven arches, the central one being 22 ft. 2 in. wide. 'Each arch is surrounded by three lines of writing, the outer in the Kufic and the other two in Arabic characters, and divided from each other by bands of Arabesque ornament boldly and clearly cut and still as sharp as when first chiselled. In the centre the screen rises to a height of 56 feet' (Plate XCI). The illustration shows



Plate XCII. The Kutb Mīnār, built by Iyaltimish *cir.* A. D. 1232.
(Photo. 879, I. M. *List.*)

clearly the Hindu mode of construction, and the peculiar low conical dome appearing within.

Origin of the name 'Kutb'.

The mosque colloquially known as 'the Kutb' is commonly believed to be named after the Sultan Kutb-ud-dīn Ībak (1205–10), and it is true that it was completed in its original form in the year A.D. 1198 by him while he was still Viceroy of Delhi and the Indian territory under the Sultan of Ghaznī. But the building is really named after a famous saint, Kutb-ud-dīn of Ūsh near Baghdad, who lies buried near, and is popularly remembered as Kutb Sāhib.

The Kutb Mīnār.

Muslim usage requires that the faithful should be summoned to prayer at the stated times by a loud call uttered by an official known as *muazzin*. In order to



FIG. 233. Gateway of Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, Delhi.
(Photo. 863, I. M. *List*.)

facilitate his duty many mosques, although by no means all, were furnished with a minaret, or two minarets, from which the summons could be proclaimed. Sometimes the minarets were attached to the mosque, sometimes they were detached. The Kutb Mīnār at Delhi, originally about 250 feet high, and even now not much less, is the most remarkable example of the detached minaret in existence. Like the adjoining mosque, it derives its familiar name from the saint, not the prince. It is, however, some thirty years or more later in date than the mosque, having been erected about A.D. 1232 by the Sultan Iyaltimish when he made large additions to the mosque. The details of the building are largely due to Hindu masons. The structure has been so often described at length, that it will be sufficient to give a photograph (Plate XCII), and to cite Fergusson's authority for the statement that

the Mīnār is 'the most beautiful example of its class known to exist anywhere'. Fine specimens of mīnārs of later date will be illustrated presently. The form, a specially Muslim one, offers much scope for variety of treatment. 'The minaret,' as Sir George Birdwood observes, 'is the one original feature the Saracens contributed to architecture.'[1]

The magnificent gateway erected in A. D. 1310 by the Sultan Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī on the south side of the enlarged Kutb Mosque marks an advance in Indo- Gateway of Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī.



FIG. 234. Tomb of Tughlak Shāh, Tughlakābād, Old Delhi.
(*Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1904–5, p. 19, Fig. 11.)

Muhammadan architecture. The local masons had learned in the course of a century how to build true arches with keystones, and were no longer constrained to execute the designs of their foreign masters by the structurally inferior Hindu methods. The building consists of a rectangular chamber surmounted by a low-spreading dome. The ornament is composed mainly of geometrical designs and artistic Arabic inscriptions, but sundry details still show the influence of Hindu tradition (Fig. 233).[2]

[1] *J. Roy. Soc. Arts*, Jan. 1911, p. 179.

[2] This building was copied for the gateway of the tomb of Sultan Sikandar Lodī, built in A.D. 1494 at Khairpur near Delhi (Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. xx, p. 156).

The Kings or Sultans of the Tughlak dynasty of Delhi in the fourteenth century introduced a new style of architecture marked by massiveness and extreme simplicity, qualities which have suggested a comparison with the early Norman work in England. The most characteristic example of this severe style is the tomb of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughlak, who was killed by a carefully devised 'accident' in 1324 (Fig. 234). The plan is a square measuring $38\frac{1}{2}$ feet inside and $61\frac{1}{2}$ feet outside, and the height to the top of the dome is 70 feet. The enormously thick walls slope inwards. The exterior decoration is effected in an austere manner by the free use of bands and borders of white marble, varied with a few panels of black marble, showing against the large surfaces of red sandstone.[1] No trace of Hindu tradition is retained. The style has nothing Persian about it, and I am not able to point out any exactly similar Asiatic model. The suggestion has been made that buildings in Mecca may have supplied the prototype.

At the close of the fourteenth century many provinces broke away from the suzerainty of the Sultans of Delhi, and set up as independent kingdoms. Among such mushroom states one of the most notable was that known as the Sharkī, or Eastern Sultanate, with its capital at Jaunpur, forty miles from Benares. Its independence lasted until 1476. During its short period of glory the local sovereigns occupied themselves by destroying Hindu temples and replacing them by mosques designed on a grand scale, and in a distinctive style. The handsomest of the Jaunpur mosques is the Atāla, completed in 1408, of which the main portal is shown in Plate XCIII. The gateways and great halls are thoroughly Muslim, with radiating arches and true domes, but in the cloisters and interior galleries, where there was no need to roof large spaces, square pillars, often borrowed from Hindu temples, are used, and the construction is Hindu. The style, while it has much of the massiveness of the Tughlak buildings at Delhi, is less severe and more attractive, a curious hybrid of Muslim and Hindu.

Under the patronage of its independent kings Bengal developed a Muhammadan style of its own.

'It is' (Fergusson observes) 'neither like that of Delhi, nor Jaunpur, nor any other style, but one purely local, and not without considerable merit in itself; its principal characteristic being heavy short pillars of stone supporting pointed arches and vaults in brick—whereas, at Jaunpur, for instance, light pillars carried horizontal architraves and flat ceilings.'

The second characteristic of the style is the curvilinear cornice copied from bamboo structures (*ante*, p. 18). The best examples are to be seen among the extensive ruins of the cities Gaur and Pāndua in the Mālda District. The buildings are mostly in brick and possess little beauty. But one mosque, known as the Small Golden, or Eunuch's Mosque at Gaur, is built wholly of basalt with massive solidity. This elegant building, which has been called 'the gem of Gaur', was erected about A.D. 1500, and is covered inside and out with beautifully chiselled designs, including the Indian lotus. The gateway is shown in Fig. 235. There are fifteen domes.

[1] Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. i, p. 213.

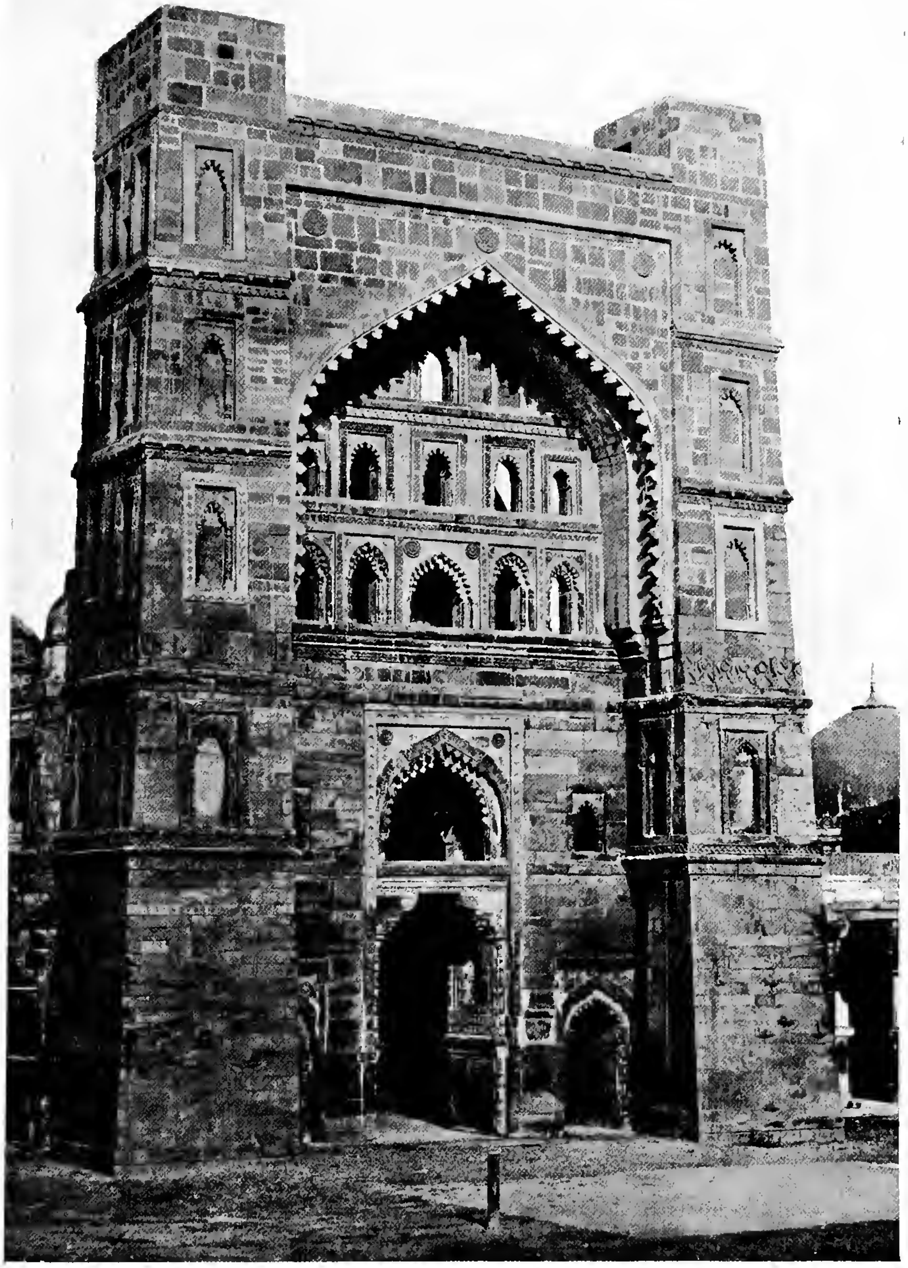


PLATE XCIII. Main entrance of Atāla devī Mosque, Jaunpur.
(Führer and E. W. Smith, *The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur*, Pl. III.)

indū The buildings at Māndū, the capital of the kingdom of Mālwā, which was independent from A.D. 1401 to 1531, are purely Muslim in style, closely related to those of the Sultans of Delhi. They are distinguished from the later Mughal buildings by the absence of groining and by the spreading domes.

jarāt Unquestionably, the most beautiful of the provincial styles of Muhammadan architecture in Northern and Western India is that of Gūjarāt. By good fortune it has been studied more carefully than any other Indian style, all the chief examples

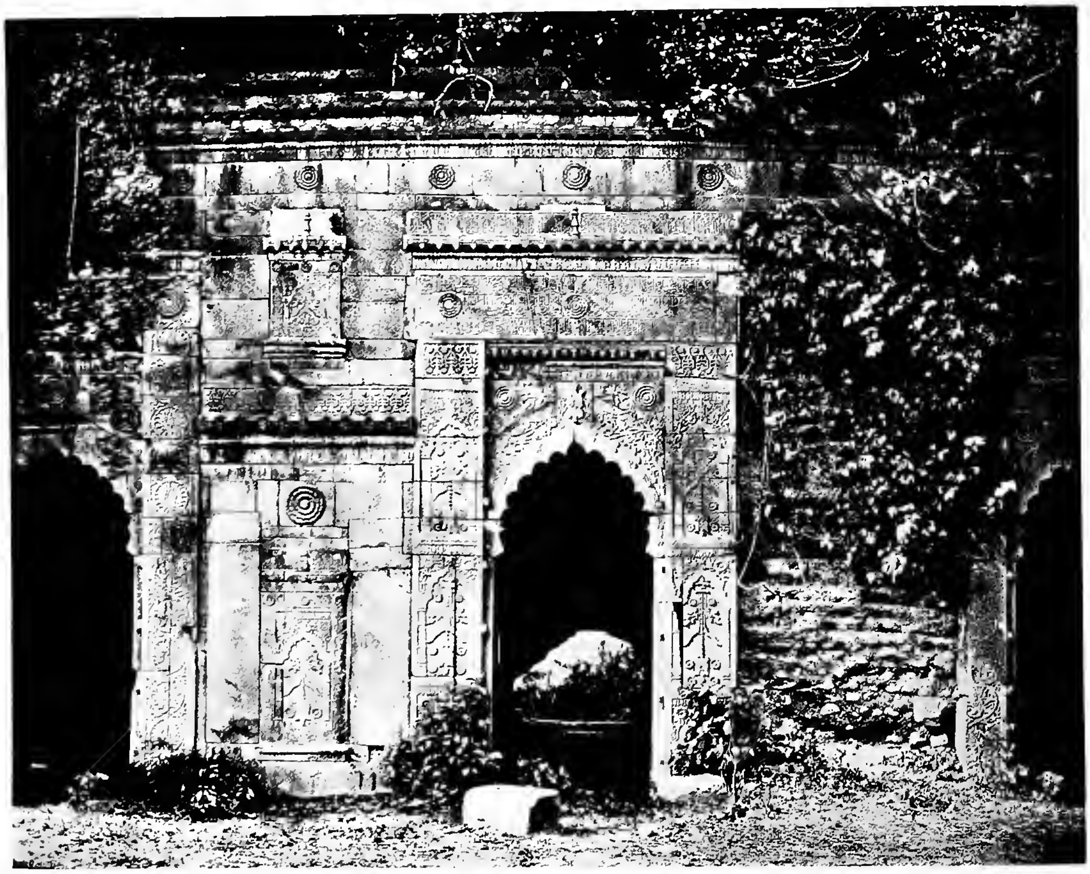


FIG. 235. Gateway of Small Golden (Eunuch's) Mosque, Gaur.
(Ravenshaw, *Gaur*, Pl. XXII.)

having been elaborately described and illustrated by Dr. Burgess and his staff in three quarto volumes, fully furnished with plans, sections, elevations, and photographs. The style is that of the Hindu and Jain temples (*ante*, p. 32, Plates VI, VII) with such modifications as were necessary for the purposes of Muslim worship, and is characterized by all the richness of ornament distinctive of the temples of Gūjarāt and Southern Rājputāna—a strange contrast to the stern simplicity of the Tughlak buildings contemporary with the earlier examples. Hindu construction, too, is freely used, but the indispensable domes and pointed arches are introduced. The entrance to the

chief mosque at Cambay, for instance, erected early in the fourteenth century, is simply a Hindu temple porch, with a low dome, plain on the exterior, put on top of it.[1] The exquisite roofed pulpit of Hilāl Khān Kāzī's mosque at Dholkā, built in A. D. 1333, has a purely Hindu pyramidal roof, and much of the panelled ornament with which the whole surface has been covered is equally Hindu.[2]

The finest examples of the style, which, of course, gradually discarded some of its Hindu features, are to be seen at and near Ahmadābād, the ancient provincial Ahmadābād.



Fig. 236. Tomb of Abū Turāb, Ahmadābād.
(Burgess, *A. S. R.*, *Western India*, vol. viii, p. 51, Fig. 7.)

capital, to the architecture of which two of Dr. Burgess's volumes are devoted. The name of the city is derived from Ahmad Shah, Sultan of Gūjarāt from 1411 to 1443, and the earliest Muhammadan buildings date from his time. The domes of his cathedral (*Jāmi'i*) mosque are constructed in the Hindu fashion. The elaborate traceries and other decorative accessories of the Ahmadābād buildings will be noticed in the next chapter.

The best preserved mosque in Ahmadābād, and one of the prettiest buildings in

[1] Burgess, *A. S. R.*, *Western India*, vol. vi, Pl. XIX, p. 28.
[2] Ibid., Pl. XXX, p. 31.

the city, is that built by Mahāfiz Khān at the close of the fifteenth century. The minarets are adorned with panels of rich floral tracery undercut to such an extent that it is almost detached from the masonry. The architecture still largely retains a Hindu character (Plate XCIV).

The tomb of Abū Turāb, about a century later than Mahāfiz Khān's mosque, although still preserving the Ahmadābād character, is constructed with arches throughout, and is completely free from Hindu pillars (Fig. 236). The perforated screens which formerly connected the internal columns have disappeared.



Fig. 237. Tomb in Golkonda style at Bījāpur.
(Fergusson and Meadows Taylor, *Architecture at Beejapoor*, Pl. LXXI.)

The buildings designed in the distinctive Ahmadābād style have no specially Persian features, and are thus sharply distinguished from the styles which we are about to notice. But two exceptional edifices at Ahmadābād, the mosque and tomb of Nawāb Sardār Khān, built about 1680, are quite Persian in style. The mosque is very elegant.[1]

The Bahmani Sultanate of the Deccan, established in 1347 by a successful revolt against the authority of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlak of Delhi, broke up into five

[1] Burgess, *A. S. R., Western India*, vol. viii, p. 55, Pl. LX, LXI.



PLATE XCIV. Mosque of Mahāfiz Khān, Ahmadābād.
(Burgess, *A. S. R.*, *Western India*, vol. vii, Pl. XCVIII.)

states at the close of the fifteenth century. The rulers of all those kingdoms encouraged architecture, and, consequently, ancient buildings of greater or less importance exist at all the local capitals. The covered mosque of Kulbarga (Gulbarga) has been already mentioned (*ante*, p. 392), and other notable edifices exist in the same town. Bīdar possesses an imposing mosque, several remarkable tombs, and the ruins of a great college. The royal tombs at Golkonda, near the Nizam's capital, Haidarābād, are more or less familiar to tourists. The special peculiarities of the Golkonda style described as being high clerestories, stucco work in minarets, and domes of peculiar shape with narrow bases, may be illustrated from a tomb built in that style at Bījāpur in the seventeenth century (Fig. 237).

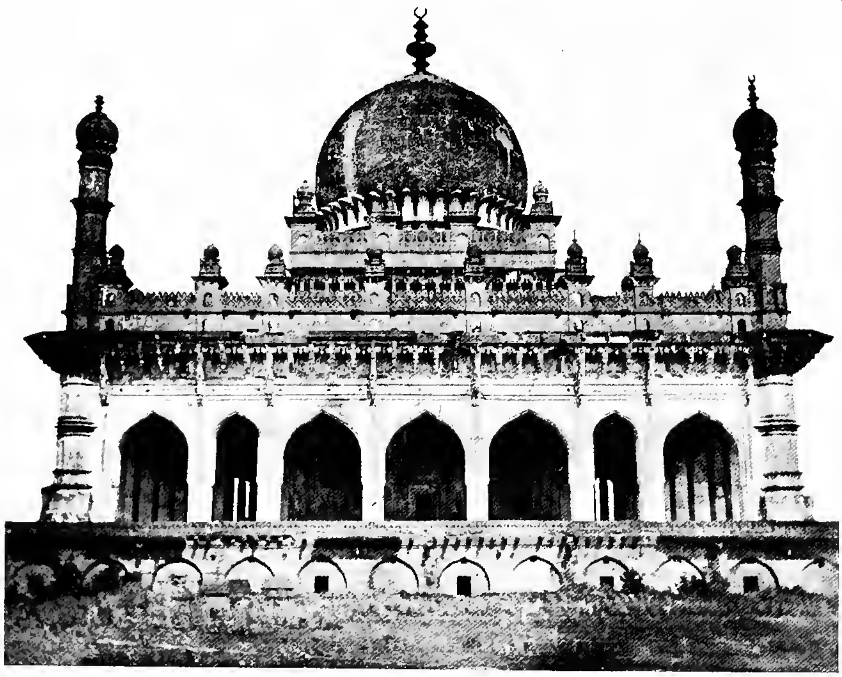


Fig. 238. Ibrāhīm Rauza, Bījāpur; front view.
(Photo. 1825, I. M. *List*.)

The Deccan buildings, except a few of the earliest, are free from Hindu forms and constructions, and are related to the Mughal Indo-Persian style. But each kingdom had fashions of its own.

The Bījāpur style.

By far the most important of the Deccan styles is that of Bījāpur. The buildings in it date between the years 1557 and 1686. The most ornate is the comparatively small tomb of Ibrāhīm Ādil Shah II (1579–1626), the character of which may be judged from Fig. 238.

Tomb of Muhammad Ādil Shah.

The stately tomb of Muhammad Ādil Shah (1636–60) is covered with a dome the second largest in the world, 'a wonder of constructive skill,' balanced internally

by an ingenious arrangement of pendentives, fully explained by Fergusson, and with an internal height of 178 feet.

'The external ordonnance of this building is as beautiful as that of the interior. At each angle stands an octagonal tower eight storeys high, simple and bold in its proportions, and crowned by a dome of great elegance. The lower part of the building is plain and solid, pierced only with such openings as are requisite to admit light and air; at the height of 83 feet a cornice projects to the extent of 12 feet from the wall, or nearly twice as much as the boldest European architect ever attempted. Above this an open gallery gives lightness and finish to the whole, each face being further relieved by two minarets.'

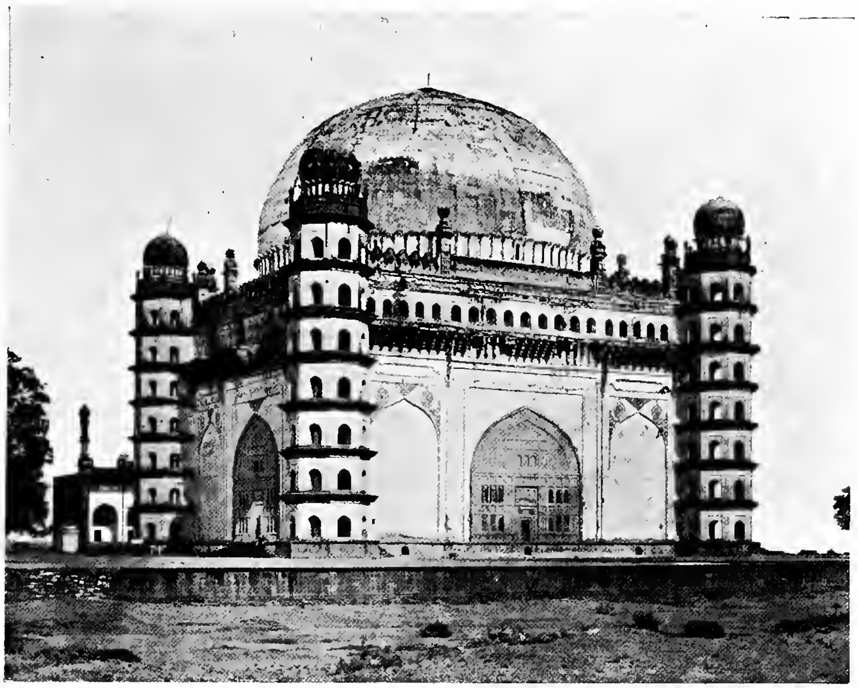


FIG. 239. Gōl Gumbaz, or tomb of Muhammad Ādil Shah, Bījāpur, front view. (Photo. 1810, I. M. *List*.)

The name of the architect of this wonderful structure, commonly known as the *Gōl Gumbaz*, or Circular Dome (Fig. 239), does not seem to be recorded, and we do not even know whether he was a foreigner or Indian-born. Foreigners, Asiatic or European, were frequently employed by the Indo-Muhammadan sovereigns, and the Bījāpur style is thought to show the influence of Ottoman architects. An expert critic truly observes that 'under Mohammedan influence the dome-builders of India attained a mastery over this form unknown [to] and seemingly unappreciated by the builders of the Western world'.[1]

We now pass on to the Indo-Persian styles of the North, the only forms of Muhammadan architecture in India familiar to the world in general. The short-lived

Sūr style: tomb of Shēr Shah.

[1] R. F. Chisholm, F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A., in *J. Roy. Soc. of Arts*, Jan., 1911, p. 173.

and unstable Sūr dynasty (1540–55), of which Shēr Shah was the most distinguished member, had such a hard fight for existence that it could not have been expected to pay much attention to architecture. Nevertheless, several meritorious buildings are due to the Sūr Sultans, and the mausoleum of Shēr Shah at Sahasrām (Sasseram), built on a lofty plinth in the midst of a lake, is one of the best designed and most beautiful buildings in India, unequalled among the earlier buildings in the northern provinces for grandeur and dignity. Cunningham was half inclined to prefer it even to the Tāj. The dome, although not equal in size to the Gōl Gumbaz of Bījāpur, is 13 feet wider than that of the Agra monument.[1] Externally, the architecture is wholly Muhammadan, but Hindu corbelling and horizontal architraves are used in all the inner doorways, as at Jaunpur. The style may be described as intermediate between the austerity of the Tughlak buildings and the feminine grace of Shahjahān's masterpiece. Plate XCV may suffice to give a good notion of the merits of this admirable style. The plan is octagonal, and coloured glazed tiles were used for decoration. Both the octagonal form and the glazed tiles were importations from Persia.[2]

Bābar's buildings.

Bābar, the versatile founder of the Mughal dynasty, was an active builder during his brief and stormy Indian reign of five years (1526–31). Holding a poor opinon of all Indian products, he summoned from Constantinople pupils of the celebrated architect Sinan, an Albanian officer on the staff of the Janissaries, who had planned hundreds of important buildings in the Ottoman empire.[3] Out of the numerous edifices erected by those foreigners to Bābar's order at Agra, Delhi, Kābul, and other places, only two are now visible, namely, the large mosque in the Kābul Bāgh, Pānīpat, built after the great victory of 1526, and the Jāmi Masjid at Sambhal in Rohilkhand, bearing the same date (A. H. 933). The Pānīpat building has not been described, but is said to be in fair condition. The Sambhal mosque has a remarkable ovoid dome.[4] Although the Indian buildings are much more Persian than Ottoman in style, there is some reason for thinking that the grandeur of the proportions of the existing monuments in Northern India and Bījāpur may be partly due to the teaching of the school of Sinan.

Humāyūn's buildings.

Bābar's accomplished son and successor, Humāyūn, the rival and opponent of Shēr Shah, found time in the midst of his unceasing wars to do some building. But most of his works have been destroyed, and, as in his father's case, only two are known to have survived, namely, a ruinous mosque near Agra, and one much better preserved at Fathābād in the Hissār District, Panjāb, which is decorated in the Persian manner with enamelled tiles.[5] The buildings of Bābar and Humāyūn are purely foreign and Muhammadan.

[1] Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. xi, pp. 133, 137.

[2] Octagonal memorial mosque of the fourteenth century at Sultāniyah in Persia (Saladin, *Manuel d'Art musulman*, t. I, Fig. 267). Tile decoration will be discussed in chap. xiii, sec. 7.

[3] Saladin, *op. cit.*, pp. 509, 561, with reference to Montani, *Architecture ottomane*, which I have not seen.

[4] Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. xii, p. 26; E. W. Smith, *Akbar's Tomb*, p. 4, editor's note.

[5] The ruinous mosque at Kachpura opposite Agra is described by Carlleyle, in Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. iv, p. 100; and by Moin-ud-din, *History of the Taj*, p. 111. It is dated A. H. 937 = A. D. 1530–1. The Fathābād mosque is a massive, well-proportioned building with domes rather more than hemispherical,



PLATE XCV. Tomb of Shēr Shah at Sahasrām, Shahabad District, Bengal.
(Photo. 487, I. M. *List.*)

Akbar's strong liking for Hindu ways induced him to revert to Hindu styles of architecture, and many of the buildings erected during his long reign (1556–1605) are more Hindu than Muslim. A conspicuous instance of such reversion is afforded by the well-known palace in the Agra Fort, commonly called the Jahāngīrī Mahall, which really dates from Akbar's time and might have been built for a Hindu Rāja.[1] The other buildings of Akbar in the Fort were demolished by Shahjahān.

The splendid mausoleum of Humāyūn, near Delhi, erected early in Akbar's reign, while distinctly Persian in style, is differentiated by the free use of white



FIG. 240. Tomb of Humāyūn, *cir.* A.D. 1560.

marble, a material little employed in Persia, and by the abstinence from coloured tile decoration so much favoured by the architects of that country. The building (Fig. 240) is of special interest as being to some extent the model of the inimitable 'Tāj'. The dome is built entirely of white marble, the rest of the masonry being in red sandstone, with inlaid ornaments of white marble. The four corner cupolas and the narrow-necked dome now make their first appearance in India.[2]

Space fails to enumerate even in the most summary fashion the architectural marvels of Akbar's palace-city of Fathpur-Sīkrī, begun in 1569, finished fifteen years

built to the order of Humāyūn about 1540 or 1541, when he was on his way to Sind (Garrick, in Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. xxiii, p. 12, Pl. III, IV).

[1] *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1902–3, p. 62; and 1903–4, p. 170.

[2] Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. i, p. 224. Mr. Chisholm points out that in both the Tomb of Humāyūn and the Tāj the small corner domes are much earlier in style than the main dome and façade.



PLATE XCVI. The 'Buland Darwāza' of Jām'i Mosque, Fathpur-Sīkrī.
(Photo. 545, I. M. *List.*)

later, and practically abandoned after its founder's death in 1605.[1] That wondrous city bears in every part the impress of Akbar's tact and genius, and justifies the courtly phrase of his biographer, who declares that 'His Majesty plans splendid edifices, and dresses the work of his mind and heart in the garments of stone and clay'. The fullest possible details will be found in the four well-illustrated quarto volumesdevoted to the subject by the late Mr. E. W. Smith, a work not easily to be matched. But a few words must be devoted to the southern gateway of the great mosque, known as the 'Buland Darwāza', or Lofty Portal, a name justified by the fact that it is the highest of Indian gateways, and among the largest in the world. The height to the summit of the finials from the pavement at the top of the stairs is 134 feet, and reckoned from the road at the foot of the stairs is 176 feet. The structure is a magnificent example of the Persian form of gateway, deriving its dignity from the great semi-dome in which the actual doors are inset—an arrangement extolled by Fergusson. The mosque, purporting to be copied from one at Mecca, was built in 1571. The Buland Darwāza was added in 1601–2 as a triumphal arch to commemorate Akbar's conquest of Khāndēsh, and probably replaced a more ordinary edifice consonant with the other entrances. It may be taken as typical of the innumerable similar gateways on a smaller scale which characterize the Mughal style (Plate XCVI). It is the most beautiful specimen of the second type of Indo-Persian architecture, that in which marble is freely intermixed with sandstone, which was used alone in the earlier style exemplified by the Jahāngīr Mahall. The highest authorities regard the Buland Darwāza as 'one of the most perfect architectural achievements in the whole of India'.[2]

The extant contributions of the Emperor Jahāngīr (1605–27)[3] to Indo-Persian architecture, although important, are not very numerous. The design of the magnificent mausoleum of Akbar at Sikandarah near Agra, in which Jahāngīr personally had an undefined share, is exceptional. The building, completed in 1612 (A.H. 1021), is said by one Muslim writer to have been under construction for twenty years, having been begun, according to custom, by the sovereign whose remains were to find their resting-place within it. But the inscriptions and the *Memoirs* of Jahāngīr seem to prove that it was wholly erected under his orders between 1605 and 1612.[4] It is composed of five square terraces, diminishing as they ascend, and the only edifice of the period at all resembling it is Akbar's five-storied pavilion, or Panch-Mahall, at Fathpur-Sīkrī. It has been suggested that both compositions must have been copied from Indian Buddhist *vihāras*, but the objection to that suggestion is that there is no

[1] From 1569 to 1584 Fathpur-Sīkrī was the principal residence of the Court. From 1585 to 1598 Lahore was the capital of Akbar, who moved to Agra in the latter year, but continued to prefer Fathpur-Sīkrī as a residence until his death. The regular issue of coins from the Fathpur mint (*Dār-us-sultanat*) continued only until A.D. 1581 (A.H. 989). No more is heard of the mint until A.D. 1628–9 (A.H. 1038), the first year of Shahjahān, when one coin is known to have been struck there (Wright, *Cat. Coins in I. M.*, vol. iii, p. xlvii).

[2] R. F. Chisholm in *J. Roy. Soc. Arts*, Jan. 1911, p. 173.

[3] Jahāngīr died in Oct. 1627, but Shahjahān was not able to ascend the throne formally until Feb. 1628.

[4] *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1903–4, p. 19.

reason to suppose that any *vihāra* of the kind existed in India in Akbar's time, except the square rock-cut *rathas* at Māmallapuram, near Madras (*ante*, p. 36), which have some rather distant resemblance to the mausoleum. We know that the Ceylonese in the twelfth century imitated Cambodian buildings arranged on the same principle of diminishing square terraces (*ante*, p. 55), and it seems to me not improbable that the hint for the design of both the exceptional Mughal structures may have come from Cambodia rather than from Madras. Artists and skilled craftsmen from many distant

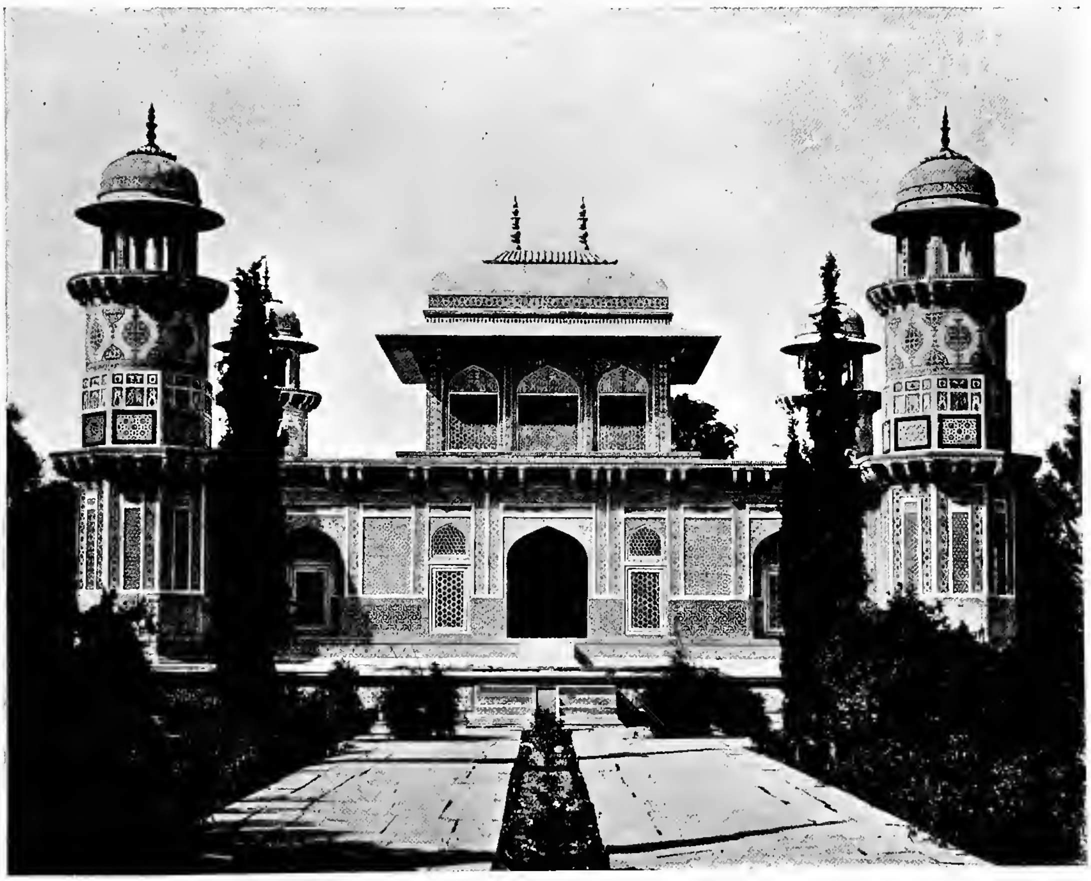


FIG. 241. Tomb of Itimād-ud-daula, near Agra.
(Photo. 506, I. M. *List.*)

countries crowded the Mughal court, which was ready to accept hints from divers quarters, and there is no difficulty in supposing that Cambodians may have been among the number, although not recorded.[1]

Another famous building of Jahāngīr's reign, the tomb of Itimād-ud-daula, near Agra, finished in or about 1628 by that nobleman's daughter, the Empress Nūrjahān, is almost equally exceptional in other ways. The material is wholly white marble, Tomb of Itimād-ud-daula.

[1] Mr. E. W. Smith, after very careful examination of the uppermost floor, agreed with Fergusson that the design included a light dome over the cenotaph, which, unfortunately, was never built.

enriched with *pietra dura* patterns in semi-precious stones, and equal to or surpassing in splendour the finest work of the kind executed in Shahjahān's reign. Although the architectural design does not wholly satisfy expert critics, there can be no question that the structure possesses rare beauty (Fig. 241).

Passing by other notable buildings of Jahāngīr's reign at Lahore and elsewhere, we come to the reign of his son Shahjahān (1627–58), during which the Indo-Persian style, by universal consent, attained supreme beauty in the Tāj Mahall (1632–53) (Pl. XCVII), the Moti Masjid, or Pearl Mosque at Agra (1646–53) (Fig. 242), and the palace at Delhi (Fig. 243), begun in 1638.[1] Detailed descriptions and criticisms of these edifices and others may be read in the pages of Fergusson, Fanshawe, and innumerable other writers. Here it is possible only to indicate briefly the general character of Shahjahān's modification of Indo-Persian architecture, give a few typical illustrations, and note certain points of special interest.

The style is essentially Persian, but with an undefinable difference of expression, and sharply distinguished from the fashions of Isfahan as well as those of Constantinople by the lavish use of white marble, supplemented by sumptuous decoration in *pietra dura* inlay and other enrichments. Coloured tiles were rarely used. Openwork tracery of incomparable beauty is a marked feature, and spacious grandeur of design is successfully combined with feminine elegance. It is, indeed, impossible to exaggerate descriptions of the magnificence of the Delhi palace, nor is there any need to insist on the unearthly loveliness of the Tāj, the noblest monument ever erected to man or woman :—

> 'Not architecture! as all others are,
> But the proud passion of an Emperor's love,
> Wrought into living stone, which gleams and soars
> With body of beauty shrining soul and thought.'[2]

The chaste simplicity of the Moti Masjid commands admiration equally ungrudging. 'Verily,' says the inscription on its walls, 'it is an exalted palace of Paradise made of a single resplendent pearl, because, since the beginning of the population of this world, no mosque pure and entirely of marble has appeared as its equal, nor since the creation of the universe, any place of worship, wholly bright and polished has come to view to rival it.' That testimony is true. After many years there is nothing which I remember more distinctly or with greater pleasure than the pearly colonnades of this unequalled mosque. My illustrations of Shahjahān's buildings will be restricted to three only, necessarily wholly inadequate as a presentation of their

[1] *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1903–4, p. 184.

[2] Sir Edwin Arnold. The language of some enthusiasts is 'too floral', as a Muhammadan author writing in English quaintly puts it. Sir Frederick Treves, quoted with approval by Mr. Chisholm, describes the Tāj as 'the most loveable monument that has ever been erected'. Mr. Havell has 'not the least doubt that the designers of the Tāj meant the main building to represent Arjumand Begum herself, and the garden in which it was placed to be the Garden of Paradise, according to the beautiful symbolism often seen in Persian carpets and painting'. He justly censures the Europeanized style of the garden as recently remodelled (*J. Roy. Soc. Arts*, Jan. 1911, pp. 175, 180).



Plate XCVII. The Tāj Mahall.
(From Photo. supplied by Prof. Maedonell.)

charms, and intended chiefly to serve as memoranda of the obvious features of the style.

The immense enclosed complex of buildings and gardens familiarly designated as 'the Tāj', comprises the central mausoleum, the mosque on the west, a corresponding (*jawāb*) edifice on the east, intended as a place of assembly for the congregation of the mosque and the persons invited to the annual commemoration services; huge gateways with many chambers, massive enclosing walls, and various minor structures, some of which have been ruined. The purpose of all was to honour the memory of Shahjahān's well-beloved wife, the Empress Arjumand Bānū Begam, whose title Mumtāz Mahall ('The Chosen One of the Palace') has been corrupted into 'Tāj'. Out-



FIG. 242. The Moti Masjid, Agra.
(From a photo.)

side the enclosure a considerable town grew up, named Mumtāzabad, now represented by Tājganj. The villas and tombs of the great nobles and many other buildings, few of which remain, once crowded the approaches and surrounding space.

The Empress died in childbirth, on June 17, 1631 N.S. (17 Zu'l Q'adah, A.H. 1040), while in camp at Burhānpur in the Deccan, where her remains rested for six months. They were then conveyed to Agra, and the wondrous tomb destined to give her immortal fame was begun early in A.D. 1632, corresponding to the fifth year of Shahjahān's reign. When the plans had been settled to the Emperor's satisfaction work was pushed on with eagerness, some 20,000 men being employed daily.[1] On February 6, 1643 N.S. (17 Zu'l Q'adah, A.H. 1052), the anniversary of the death of

[1] The number rests on Tavernier's excellent authority. According to Manrique the staff of 'maestros, officiales, y obreros (workmen)' numbered only about 1,000 in 1640 (*Itinerario*, ed. 1649, chap. lx, p. 352). No doubt the numbers varied much from time to time.

the Empress, the annual funeral ceremony was celebrated by the bereaved husband at the new mausoleum which was then regarded as complete. But the construction of the subsidiary buildings continued for many years longer. The latest inscription, one on the entrance gateway, was set up in A.D 1647 (A.H. 1057). We know, however, from Tavernier, who witnessed both the commencement and completion of the buildings, that operations did not cease finally until 1653, nearly twenty-two years after they had begun. The general superintendence was entrusted to Mukramat Khān and Mīr Abdul Karīm.



FIG. 243. Dīwān-ī-khās of Delhi Palace.
(From a photo.)

The statements of cost recorded by writers in Persian vary enormously. The *Bādshāh nāmah* gives Rs. 50,00,000 (50 lakhs) as the cost of the mausoleum itself. The highest estimate of the cost of the whole amounts to the huge sum of Rs. 411,48,826 : 7 : 6 (411 lakhs, 48 thousand, 826 rupees, seven annas, six pies), as stated with curious minuteness, equivalent, at the rate of 2*s.* 3*d.* to the rupee, in round numbers to four and a half million pounds sterling. Intermediate estimates put the expense at three millions sterling, said to have been about the sum which Shahjahān resolved to spend. If the full value of materials be included, the highest figure is not excessive, and may be considered as approximately correct. Tavernier notes that the expense was increased enormously by the necessity of using brick scaffolding and Cost.

centring. Such lavish expenditure on a single monument and its adjuncts is not likely to be repeated anywhere in the world. Shahjahān planned for himself a mausoleum of equal magnificence to be erected on the opposite side of the river and united with the Tāj by a marble bridge, but his family troubles prevented the realization of this gigantic conception, and so he sleeps beside the 'Lady of the Tāj'. 'They were lovely and pleasant in their lives and in their death they were not divided.'[1]

The foregoing details, rarely to be found stated with accuracy, help us to realize the grandiose scale on which the whole composition known collectively as 'the Tāj' was designed, and the absolute disregard of cost in realizing the design. Much of the credit for the vastness of the scale must be given to Shahjahān himself, who, of course, is solely responsible for sanctioning the unparalleled expense. But nobody supposes that the Emperor was his own architect, and much interest attaches to the question, 'Who was the architect by whom this noblest of monuments was designed, and to what nation did he belong?' The controversy on the subject, lately revived, excites some heat in the disputants. I approach it simply as a case in which evidence should be weighed and appraised impartially. Sleeman's notion that Austin de Bordeaux, a skilled French engineer and craftsman employed by Shahjahān, was the architect, and identical with the 'Master (Ustād) Īsā (Jesus)', also called, more correctly, Muhammad Īsā Effendi, certainly is erroneous,[2] and his statement, first published in 1844, seems to be the sole foundation for the current assertions about the connexion of Austin with the Tāj. Balfour's *Cyclopaedia of India* (3rd ed., 1885) boldly asserts that 'Austin de Bourdeaux [was] an artist who erected the Taj at Agra'. For that assertion I believe that Sleeman's loose guessing is the only authority. The note recently printed by Dr. Burgess stating that the Tāj was 'most probably designed by Ali Mardān Khān, a Persian refugee', is opposed to the evidence of the Persian *History of the Tāj*, and I do not know on what grounds it is based.[3]

[1] Correct dates have been kindly supplied by Wm. Irvine, Esq., I. C. S. Ret. Those in the books are usually wrong. For the value of the rupee see Tavernier, *Travels in India*, transl. V. Ball, vol. i, 413, and Manrique (chap. lx) 'una rupià medio peso Español'; and for time of completion, Tavernier, p. 110. The explanation of the practical purpose of the *jawāb* building is due to S. Muhammad Latīf, *Agra, Historical and Descriptive*, p. 113. From the artistic point of view, the structure was essential to the perfect symmetry aimed at by the architect. The highest estimate of the cost is given in Anderson's translation of one of the Persian MSS., now No. II in Or. 2030, B. M. Much of the more costly material was presented by tributary princes, and its value probably was excluded from the lower estimates. Mr. Chisholm is mistaken in believing that 'these domes seem to have been built without centres' (*J. Roy. Soc. Arts*, Jan., 1911, p. 173). He overlooked Tavernier's statement.

[2] Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections*, ed. V. A. Smith, vol. i, p. 385. The MS. used by Anderson (*Calcutta Rev.*, 1873, p. 237) alleges that artist No. 1, unnamed, 'a rare plan-drawer and artist,' was a Christian, as was also Muhammad Sharīf. Sleeman appears to have used a similar document, and agrees with the custodian's MS. in stating that Muhammad Sharīf was the son of No. 1, whom Sleeman names as Ustād Īsā. The name Īsā may have suggested the notion that the Ustād was a Christian (*Īsāhi*). If 'Ustād Īsā' and Muhammad Sharīf really were Christians, one of the objections urged against Father Manrique's statement is removed.

[3] Fergusson, *Hist. of Indian and E. Archit.*, 2nd ed., p. 306 note. Ali Mardān Khān, a famous engineer in Shahjahān's service, constructed or repaired canals, and laid out the Shālamār gardens at Lahore (see Index, *s. v.* 'Ali Mardān Khān', *Imp. Gaz.* 1908). I am not acquainted with any evidence connecting him with the Tāj.

The Persian MSS. purporting to give the history of the Tāj, the names of the chief artists and artificers, and the cost of the buildings, appear to exhibit many discrepancies in details, but to agree in stating that the chief designer and draughtsman was 'Ustād (or Master) Īsā', otherwise called Muhammad Īsā Effendi, who drew a salary of Rs. 1,000 a month, and was assisted by his son, Muhammad Sharīf. The Agra copy, in the possession of the hereditary custodians of the monument, says that he came from 'Rūm', interpreted to mean Turkey or Constantinople, and that his son came from Samarkand. Other copies are alleged to assert that the Ustād came from Shīrāz in Persia. The title 'Effendi' sometimes given to him is an Ottoman one. No details of his life seem to be on record.

The rival statement is the categorical assertion made by Father Sebastian Manrique, a Spanish Augustinian friar, Visitor of his order in the East, that the architect was a Venetian named Geronimo Veroneo, who drew a large salary from Shahjahān. Manrique's words, as translated by Father Hosten, S.J., are :—

> 'The architect of those structures was a Venetian, named Jerome Veroneo, who went to those parts in the ships from Portugal, and died in the city of Laòr [Lahore] shortly before my arrival. Emperor Corrombo [= Khurram = Shahjahān] gave him large salaries; but it is thought that he profited so badly by them that when he died, they say Father Joseph de Castro, of the [Jesuit] Society, a Lombard by birth, found on him much less than was imagined.'

The author then proceeds to give merely as current gossip (*fama velocissima*) the story of Geronimo Veroneo's supposed interview with Shahjahān. The positive assertion quoted above seems to be made of his own knowledge, and not as hearsay.[1] I attach little importance to the hearsay gossip, but much to the categorical allegation of fact.

Father Manrique spent about a month at Agra in December, 1640 and January, 1641, and thence travelled to Lahore where he met Father de Castro. He thus had ample opportunities of learning facts as well as gossip, and, moreover, he was on friendly terms with the greatest of the Muhammadan nobles, Āsaf Khān, 'the ancient and only protector of the priests,' and father of the Lady of the Tāj, who gave him 'a goodly alms'. Geronimo Veroneo died at Lahore as stated, but was buried at Agra, some four hundred miles distant, where his tomb, dated A. D. 1640, still exists. Before his death he had spent money, presumably a considerable sum, to ransom Christians from prison. Father Manrique's accuracy is thus confirmed on several points, and the fact that Veroneo's body was removed to Agra for burial indicates that he must have been a person of considerable importance and specially connected with Agra.

I have no doubt that the good Father's positive assertion that Veroneo was the

[1] The Spanish text is: 'El Architeto destas fabricas fue un Veneciano por nombre Geronimo Veroneo q̃ passò a aquellas partes en las naves de Portugal, y murio en la Ciudad de Laòr poco tiempo antes de mia llegada. A este dava el Corrombo Emperador grandes salarios: mas supose aprovechar tan mal dellos, que quando murio, dizan que le hallara el Padre Joseph de Castro de la Compañia, y de nacion Lombardo, muy menos de lo que si imaginava' (*Itinerario de las Missiones que hizo el Padre F. Sebastian Manrique*, p. 352; ed. Roma, 1649). A reprint with an altered title-page appeared at Rome in 1653. Both impressions are in the British Museum. The Bodleian possesses only the earlier one, which alone I have consulted.

architect of the Tāj was made in perfect good faith, and, indeed, nobody impugns his personal veracity. But it is argued that he must have been misinformed. The most weighty objection raised is that the Tāj unquestionably is Asiatic in style, a development from the tomb of Humāyūn, and that even in the decoration, except perhaps the technique, as distinguished from the designs of the *pietra dura* inlay, there is little trace of European influence. The objection, although deserving of attention, is not conclusive, because, so far as I can see, there is no reason why a seventeenth-century Venetian of genius, aided by skilled Asiatic technical advisers, should have been unwilling or unable to design a group of buildings on Asiatic lines, in accordance with a general idea prescribed by Shahjahān, who must have known and declared what he wanted. M. Saladin, writing without reference to or apparent knowledge of the documentary evidence, simply in his capacity of architectural expert, expresses the opinion that 'the hand of a European architect has traced the exact symmetries and the outlines, perhaps too regular, of the monument'; adding that the decoration combines Florentine elegance with Oriental richness, while the breadth and symmetry of the composition give the design the appearance almost of a classical conception.[1]

Conclusion. On the whole, after considering all the arguments, including that drawn from the silence of other authors, I do not see any reason sufficient to discredit the positive assertion of Father Manrique, published in 1649 before the work on the Tāj buildings was completed. It is not inconsistent with the Persian authorities. I accept their evidence as proving that 'Ustād Īsā',[2] whether he was a Turk or a Persian, was the chief architect during the later stages of the construction; and it is easy to understand that when the history of the monument was being put on record no Muhammadan writer would have cared to recall the leading part taken by a long-deceased Christian European in framing the original design. Thus the matter stands. I abide by the opinion expressed by me in 1893 that 'the incomparable Tāj is the product of a combination of European and Asiatic genius'. It should be observed that no authority ascribes the design to an Indian architect. The credit for it belongs to either or both of two foreigners, one a Venetian, the other most probably a Turk. The lively interest felt in the question of the authorship of the building, which may fairly claim to be the most beautiful in the world, will, I trust, be considered justification sufficient for this long, although much condensed, disquisition on the subject.[3]

[1] '*Le Tadj-Mahal à Agra.*—Il semble que la main d'un architecte européen a tracé les symétries exactes et les profils peut-être trop réguliers de ce monument . . . cet art qui, en effet, allie l'élégance florentine à la richesse orientale' (*Manuel d'Art Musulman*, t. i, p. 571). 'Le Tadj n'est que le centre de la composition . . . On voit donc que, par l'ampleur de la composition et par la symétrie, ce plan est presque de conception classique' (Ibid., p. 575). M. Saladin's wide experience of Muslim art in countries where it comes in contact with that of Europe entitles his critical opinions to respectful consideration.

[2] The name Ustād Īsā commonly used is incorrect. The fuller form, Muhammad Īsā, really means 'Muhammad the son of Īsā', as Professor Margoliouth points out.

[3] The principal Persian authorities, as enumerated by Mr. Wm. Irvine, are (1) the contemporary *Bādshāh nāmah* by Abd-ul-hamīd, Lāhorī (*Bibl. Ind.*, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1868; vol. ii, pp. 322–31); (2) *Aml-i-Ṣāliḥ*, by Muhammad Ṣāliḥ, Lāhorī (A.H. 1052), perhaps copied from No. 1; (3) a group of MSS., mostly anonymous, purporting to give the history of the Tāj. One copy at least is in the hands of the custodians at Agra, and another is in the Imperial Library, Calcutta. The MSS. in the

Architecture of Aurangzēb's reign; and afterwards.

The long and unhappy reign of Aurangzēb Ālamgīr (1659–1707)[1] was marked by a rapid decline in art, including architecture. The emperor was more eager to throw down Hindu temples than to construct great edifices of his own. Some few buildings of his time, however, are not without merit; for instance, the tall minarets of the mosque which he caused to be erected at Benares on the site of the holiest temple are graceful objects well known to all travellers in India. The principal mosque at Lahore (1674), almost a copy of the great mosque at Delhi, but inferior to that noble building, is described by Fergusson as being 'the latest specimen of the Mughal architectural style'. The emperor's own tomb at Aurangabad in the Deccan is insignificant. The buildings in Persian style of Aurangzēb's age, being merely examples of growing deterioration, are not worth detailed study or illustration. The tomb of Nawāb Safdar Jang of Oudh near Delhi (1756), a passable copy of the mausoleum of Humāyūn, is marred by wretched plaster decoration in the interior. The shoddy buildings of the Nawāb Vazīrs at Lucknow are pretentious abominations. I am not acquainted with any recent effort of Muhammadan architecture in India deserving of mention, except the buildings of composite style, usually on a modest scale, described in the following paragraph.

Composite style.

In many places modern architects have effected a graceful compromise between the Hindu and Muhammadan styles by combining Persian domes with Bengali bent cornices and Hindu or half-Hindu columns. Excellent examples of this pretty though feeble style, as used for both civil and religious buildings, are to be seen at Mathurā and in hundreds of other localities.[2] It is quite impossible to tell merely from

B. M. with similar contents are Addl. 8910 (62 foll.), Or. 194 (94 foll.), Or. 195 (55 foll.)—all in Rieu, *Catal.*, p. 430: Or. 2030, containing two MSS., viz. (1) by Mānik Chand, foll. 1–30, and (2) notice of the Tāj Mahall, foll. 32–81, nearly identical with Addl. 8910. This is the version partly translated by Capt. Anderson in *Calc. Review*, vol. lvii (1873), pp. 233–7. The above are on p. 958 *b* of Rieu, *Catal.* Or. 2031 (Rieu, p. 1044 *a*), No. IV, foll. 148–226 is another copy of Mānik Chand's account.

The Agra version, used and partly translated by Sleeman, S. Muhammad Latīf (*Agra, Historical and Descriptive*, Calcutta, 1896), and Muhammad Moin-ud-din (*History of the Taj*, Agra, 1905), seems to exist in more than one form. F. Manrique's account is discredited by the two Muhammadan writers named, as well as by Mr. E. B. Havell, 'The Taj and its Designers' (*Nineteenth Century and After*, June, 1903; reprinted in *Essays on Indian Art, &c.*, Madras, *n. d.*), and by Mr. J. H. Marshall in *Ann. Rep. Arch. S., India*, 1904–5, pp. 1–3. Father Hosten, S.J., stoutly defends Manrique in his article, 'Who Planned the Taj?' (*J. and Proc. A. S. B.*, N. S. vol. vi (1910), pp. 281–8). Mr. Keene also accepted his statement (*Turks in India*, pp. 251–5). Mr. Chisholm informs me that he has arranged to publish in *The Architect* (London) a note giving 'the architectural proof of some foreign hand at work in the building of the Taj Mahal'. Mr. Havell erroneously denounces the positive, contemporary evidence of the Spaniard Father Manrique as 'the old Anglo-Indian legend' (*J. Roy. Soc. Arts*, Jan., 1911, p. 180).

The question has not been thoroughly threshed out yet, the Persian MSS. especially requiring careful examination and comparison. Mr. Irvine has made a beginning at my request by examining the Mānik Chand MSS., Or. 2030 and 2031. They are of no independent value as authorities, and the text of Mānik Chand's late compilation in Or. 2031 is merely a copy of that in Or. 2030, made for the use of Sir H. Elliot.

[1] Shahjahān was deposed in 1658. Aurangzēb's formal accession took place in 1659.

[2] Mr. Growse traces the local history of the modern fashion through the 'Jāt style' of Aurangzēb's time back to the eclectic style of Akbar. His remarks on the subject are worth reading (*Mathurā, a District Memoir*, 3rd ed., pp. 172–4). In Northern India, Mathurā is almost the only town where architecture can be described as 'still a living and progressive art'.

inspection of the architecture whether a building is intended for Muslim or Hindu use. The modern part of the ancient shrine of Sayyid Sālār in Northern Oudh (Fig. 244) is a good example of the style in its more Muhammadan form.



Fig. 244. Shrine of Sayyid Sālār, Bahraich.
(From a photo.)

Thus the story of Indo-Muhammadan architecture ends, as it began, with the subjection of foreign innovations to the irresistible pressure of native taste and methods.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

In addition to Fergusson's *History* and Dr. Burgess's article 'Indian Architecture' in vol. ii of *Imp. Gaz.* (1908), the following books and articles will be found the most useful:—

Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. iii, p. 9—distinguishes eight Muhammadan styles in Northern India. Führer and E. W. Smith, *The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur*, 4to, Calcutta, 1889. Ravenshaw, *Gaur, its Ruins and Inscriptions*, 4to, London, 1878. Burgess, *A. S. Rep.*, *Western India*, vol. vi, 4to, London, 1896, 'Architecture of Gūjarāt'; ibid., vol. vii, 4to, London, 1900; and vol. viii, London, 1905, 'Architecture of Ahmadabad'. Fergusson and Taylor, M., *Architecture at Beejapoor*, fol., London, 1866. Smith, E. W., *Mughal Architecture of Fathpur Sikri*, 4 Parts, 4to, Allahabad, 1894–8; *Akbar's Tomb, Sikandarah, near Agra* (Allahabad, 1909, revised by W. H. Nicholls, &c.).

No work similar to those excellent treatises by the late Mr. E. W. Smith exists describing the Tāj. The little book, *The History of the Taj*, by Muhammad Moin-ud-din, 8vo, Agra, 1905, is crude. The work of S. Muhammad Latīf, *Agra, Historical and Descriptive*, 8vo, Calcutta, 1896, though rather rough, contains valuable matter. Havell, E. B., *A Handbook to Agra, and the Tāj, &c.*, London, 1904, 139 pp., small 8vo, is very slight. None of the regular guide-books is satisfactory.

The five published *Annual Reports of the A. S., India*, from 1902–3 to 1906–7, by Marshall, J. H., and his assistants and contributors, include much novel information. Specially to be noted are the articles on conservation in vol. for 1903–4, pp. 1–45; Nur Baksh, 'The Agra Fort and its Buildings,' ibid., pp. 164–93; and Nicholls, W. H., 'Muhammadan Architecture in Kashmīr,' vol. for 1906–7, pp. 161–70. M. Saladin's work, *Manuel d'art musulman*, tome I, *L'Architecture*, Paris, 1907, valuable for the history of the art generally and in the Mediterranean and West Asian regions, is weak in the Indian chapter, and there neither accurate nor up to date.

CHAPTER XIII

INDO-MUHAMMADAN DECORATIVE AND MINOR ARTS

Section I. General Observations.

Muhammadan architecture, excluding the styles most deeply affected by Hindu influence, and in spite of infinite variety in detail, presents, as we have seen in the last chapter, a character of general uniformity throughout the Muslim world, partly due to the practically universal use of pointed arches and domes, and partly to the free interchange of architects between different countries, resulting in the frequent imitation of foreign models. Muhammadan decorative art presents a similarly uniform character by reason chiefly of the Koranic prohibition of images, which, although not universally respected, was observed in all ages and countries sufficiently to impose narrow limits on the field open to the creative artist.

The orthodox Muslim decorator has found himself in practice constrained to restrict his invention to the dexterous use of calligraphy, geometrical patterns, and floral devices. However varied in detail the application of those elements may be, the effect is necessarily flat and somewhat monotonous. The distinction between Fine Art and the Industrial or Applied Arts, therefore, as observed in the Introduction (*ante*, p. 1), almost vanishes in relation to Musalman decorative art, the designs of which for the most part can be readily repeated by trained craftsmen.

In this chapter a few pages will be devoted to the art of calligraphy as displayed in coinage, to the rare figure types on coins and gems, and to the exceptional attempts at stone sculpture in the round or in high relief. They will be followed by a condensed account of the leading forms of Musalman architectural decoration arranged under the heads of Calligraphy and Decorative Reliefs, Lattices, Inlay and Mosaic, and Enamelled Tiles. No attempt will be made to follow the Muhammadan decorator in his treatment of minor objects of luxury, which is essentially the same as that of architectural ornament. Even in his floral designs the tendency of the Muslim artist is in favour of a formal, over-symmetrical conventionalism, calculated to harmonize with his favourite geometrical patterns. Akbar's taste inclined to a more interesting naturalism, as displayed in the exquisite ornament on his cenotaph executed a few years after his death, and designed in his spirit. The small number of works selected for description and reproduction will, it is hoped, be sufficient to enable the reader to form a fair judgement of the general character of Indo-Muhammadan decoration in its various forms, and to appreciate the high excellence of that decoration within the limits prescribed by religion and usage. The art of painting, in the exercise of which greater liberty was assumed, will be discussed at considerable

length in the concluding chapter. The student will thus have at his disposal a summary review of the whole field of Indo-Muhammadan art subject to the limitations imposed by the plan of this book.

Section II. Coins, Gems, and Seals.

It is a common error to suppose that the ancient Semitic prohibition of images, repeated in the Koran, invariably prevented Muhammadan artists from representing the forms of living creatures, real or imaginary. As a matter of fact, the prohibition, although respected as a rule, has been disregarded frequently in almost every Musalman country from the earliest ages of Islam to the present day, and especially in those countries, like Persia, where the Shīa sect prevails. The introduction of figure types in many ancient Muhammadan coinages was due to the business necessity of maintaining for a time the forms of currency to which people had become accustomed. For example, when the Sassanian dynasty of Persia fell in the seventh century the newly appointed Arab governors continued to issue coins in the familiar national form with the king's head, distinguished from the native issues merely by the insertion of Arabic legends in minute characters. In India Muhammad of Ghōr was obliged to accept a similar compromise and even to issue coins bearing the image of a Hindu goddess.

In most Muhammadan kingdoms such numismatic compromises with idolatry were only temporary, and the die-cutters of the Muslim sovereigns were ordinarily obliged to content themselves with calligraphic devices, on which much skill was lavished. The coins issued by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlak of Delhi (A. D. 1324–51), who has been called 'the prince of moneyers', are exceptionally brilliant examples of calligraphic art. A specimen is shown in Plate XCVIII, Fig. 1, and may be taken as a typical illustration of well-executed Muhammadan orthodox coinage.

Akbar, notwithstanding his scant respect for orthodoxy, submitted as a rule to Koranic restrictions in the types of his coinage, which exhibits many varieties of artistic ornamental writing. A highly elaborated specimen, a rupee struck at Agra, is shown in Plate XCVIII, Fig. 5. On three occasions only did he permit himself the luxury of figure types, and the pieces struck on those three occasions are medals rather than ordinary current coins. A falcon (ibid., Fig. 2) commemorates the capture of Asīrgarh, the strong fortress commanding the road to the Deccan. A duck appears on an Agra coin, for some unexplained reason (ibid., Fig. 4). Both birds are well designed and surrounded by pretty floral scrolls. A curious piece, exhibiting the figures of a crowned archer and a veiled lady (ibid., Fig. 3), is a memorial of the submission in A.H. 1013 (A. D. 1604–5) of the King of Bījāpur, who gave his daughter in marriage to Prince Daniyāl, Akbar's youngest son.

Jahāngīr, although officially a better Musalman than his father, was less orthodox in his coinage. He alone of all the Muhammadan sovereigns of India dared to put his own portrait on coins intended for circulation. He habitually disregarded the Prophet's prohibition of strong drink, and was not ashamed to show himself on the coinage holding a goblet of wine (ibid., Figs. 7, 8). He also indulged in the freak of issuing a coinage, both gold and silver, on which the months were indicated

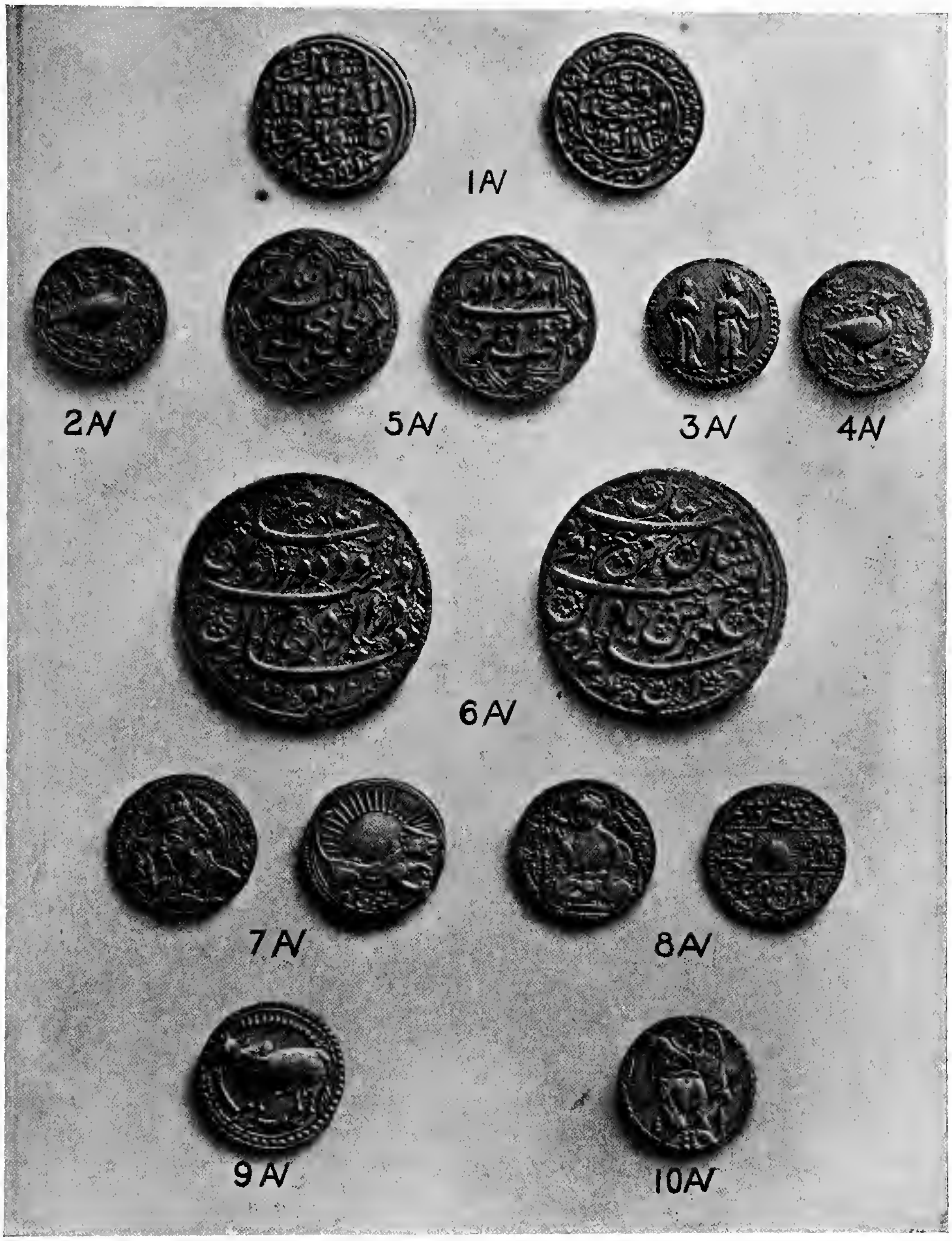


Fig. 1. Muhammad b. Tughlak.
(*B. M. Catal. Coins of Sultans of Delhi*, No. 260.)

Figs. 2–5. Akbar.
(*B. M. Catal. of Coins of Moghul Emperors*, Nos. 166, 172, 173, 250.)

Figs. 6–10. Jahāngīr.
(Ibid., Nos. 315, 319, 324, 341.)

Plate XCVIII. Indo-Muhammadan Coins.

by pictorial symbols of the zodiacal signs, instead of by words or numbers (ibid., Figs. 9, 10). The figure of Virgo is a Europeanized angel.[1] The great bulk, however, of Jahāngīr's coinage is perfectly orthodox in form. His five-mohur piece (ibid., Fig. 6) is an excellent example of first-class calligraphy.

Many of the coins of the later Mughal emperors are well executed, but the specimens given are enough to illustrate the general character of calligraphic dies.

Muhammadan gems and seals with artistic devices other than calligraphic are necessarily extremely scarce. Mr. King, after referring to the rarity of cameos in purely Oriental style, mentions one conspicuous Muhammadan specimen :—

'The most remarkable example of all in the Oriental class,' he writes, 'although of modern origin, came to my knowledge among the Webb gems (when sold by Christie and Manson in 1854), the subject being the feat performed by Shahjahān in cleaving asunder a lion which was mauling a courtier. The inscription consists of two parts [namely], "The portrait of the Second Sahib-Qirān, Shahjahān the victorious emperor," and the artist's signature "Made by Kan Atem" [*sic*, the reading is impossible]. The gem probably must be dated early in his reign, for it shows Shahjahān with a moustache but no beard. He wears a long double row of big pearls round his neck, and, as a pendant, a great convex gem, perhaps the Kohinoor.'[2]

I do not know where the gem so described now is. The feat commemorated was similar to that performed by Shahjahān, as Prince Khurram, when he rescued Anūp Rāi from the jaws of a tiger.[3] The Mughal emperors were men of great personal prowess.

The only other notable Indo-Muhammadan artistic gem which has come to my notice is the beautiful sardonyx cameo of the Mughal period, bought by Mr. Marshall some years ago and now in the Lahore Museum, which is 3·6 inches broad and 3·3 high. It represents two elephants with riders, locking their tusks and trunks together apparently in combat.[4] Others may exist in the Pearse collection recently acquired by the Government of India, which is now under examination and not yet available for reference.

Section III. Figure Sculpture.

Musalman representations of living forms in stone or stucco of various ages from Egypt, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and Spain have been published, and although rare in any one country, amount in the aggregate to a considerable number. A few bronze figures of a ruder kind, mostly dating from the time of the Fatimite sovereigns of Egypt and Syria (A. D. 969–1171) are also known.[5]

In India the examples of sculpture in the round or in high relief, executed to the order of Muhammadan princes, but probably by the hands of Hindu artists, are

[1] 'Mais les beaux chefs-d'œuvre numismatiques sont les délicieuses monnaies d'or de Djehangir (1605–1628) frappées d'animaux et de personnages d'un dessin si parfait et d'un relief si précis et si vif' (Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, t. ii, p. 164).

[2] *Ancient Gems and Rings*, London, 1872, pp. 314–16.

[3] *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, transl. Rogers and Beveridge (1909), pp. 185–8.

[4] *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1905–6, p. 40, Fig. 1.

[5] Catalogued by Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, t. ii, chap. ii, vii.

extremely few; the most notable of which any remains exist being the elephants, sometimes with riders, set up at the gateways of fortresses, in continuance of Hindu custom. Nearly every stronghold of importance had its Elephant Gate (*Hāthīpōl*). The portal of that name at Akbar's city of Fathpur-Sīkrī is still guarded by the mutilated figures of two colossal elephants, perched on supports $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, whose trunks originally were interlocked across the entrance. Aurangzēb caused the heads to be knocked off. The elephants, being clumsily made up of large blocks of hewn stone laid in mortar and joined by iron cramps, are of no account as works of art.[1]

The statues, presumably of Hindu origin, which once guarded the Elephant Gates of Gwālior, Māndū, and other fortresses have been destroyed.

William Finch, the English traveller, who visited Agra early in the reign of Jahāngīr (1610), there saw 'a second gate, over which are two Rajaws in stone, who were slain in the King's Derbar before the King's eyes, for being over-bold in speech, they selling their lives bravely, in remembrance of which they are heere placed'. From a note appended by Purchas, it would seem that the two 'Rajaws' were mounted on elephants. The note states:—

'It is said that they were two Brothers, Resboots, Tutors to a Prince, their nephew, whom the King demanded of them. They refused, and were committed; but drew on the Officers, slew twelve, and at last, by multitudes oppressing, were slain, and here have Elephants of stone and themselves figured.'[2]

Mr. Keene is of opinion that 'the allusion probably is to the three sons of Akhirāj, son[s] of Akbar's brother-in-law, Rāja Bhagwān Dās of Jaipur, killed in a fight arising out of a tumult caused by themselves in the Palace'.[3] Whoever the originals may have been, Finch's testimony is clear that two statues of men over one of the gates of the Agra Fort were erected by order of either Akbar or Jahāngīr, and Purchas's note indicates that they were mounted on elephants. The pedestals for two elephants have been found, but all trace of the figures of men or animals has disappeared.

The similar, but wholly distinct, statues of elephants with riders which formerly stood at the Delhi Gate of the Delhi Fort, and of which fragments still exist, have been the subject of so much discussion and misunderstanding that it is desirable to state the facts as recently elucidated by the officers of the Archaeological Survey. The statements in all the ordinary books of reference are erroneous. The Delhi groups certainly possessed considerable merit as works of art, and the riders at least must be counted as examples of sculpture executed to Musalman order.

But before going into the history of the much debated Delhi statues it is well to note that Jahāngīr, in the eleventh year of his reign, had caused life-size figures of

[1] E. W. Smith, *Fathpur-Sīkrī*, Part III, p. 33, Pl. LV. Small elephants, poorly modelled, occur among the decorative sculptures of various Mughal buildings.

[2] *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrims*, in 20 volumes, MacLehose, Glasgow, MCMV, vol. iv, p. 72. Purchas does not cite any authority for his note.

[3] The incident, which occurred Dec. 28, 1605, is described by Jahāngīr (*Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, transl. Rogers and Beveridge (1909), p. 29).

the Rānā of Chitōr (Amar Singh) and his son Karan to be carved in marble and set up in the palace garden at Agra, below the window (*darshan jharōkhā*) where the Emperor made his daily public appearance.[1] This undoubted fact, recorded by Jahāngīr himself, is clear proof that the earlier Mughal emperors had no objection to life-size statues of men, and sometimes had them made. No trace has been found of the garden effigies, which appear to have been carved at Ajmēr and thence sent to Agra.

The history of the Delhi groups may be summarized as follows :—

In 1663, early in Aurangzēb's reign, Bernier saw and warmly admired the effigies of two elephants with riders which then stood at the Delhi Gate of the Delhi Fort. A few years later they were seen still in position by Thévenot. Subsequently they were broken up by order of Aurangzēb, and the fragments cast away. In 1863 the buried fragments were found, and after an interval some of them were pieced together and made into an absurd monster, which was set up in the Queen's Gardens, with a false inscription based on an erroneous guess of Sir Alexander Cunningham. Lord Curzon expressed a desire to reconstruct the groups from the broken pieces, but it proved impossible to carry out his wishes. A skilled European artist, Mr. R. D. Mackenzie, was commissioned to make a new model. He did so, and his work is preserved in the Delhi Museum. Native sculptors were then instructed to make two elephants without riders from that model. They carried out their orders as well as they could, and their productions have been erected on the old pedestals. The new elephants, consequently, have no connexion with the broken groups, the fragments of which are kept in the Museum. I understand that the Queen's Gardens monster has been destroyed. The experiment carried out under Lord Curzon's direction has not been a success. Mr. Mackenzie's model lacks the massive dignity which ancient Hindu sculptors were so well able to give to their elephant statues, and the enlarged copies by native carvers are lifeless, worthless things.

The original elephants were made of black stone (? marble), and according to Mr. Marshall, who has examined the fragments carefully, were 'moulded with masterly skill and care' and 'true to nature'. They are believed to be of Hindu origin. The riders were carved in red sandstone, and 'their material, style, and technique establish beyond a doubt', according to the same authority, that they were 'carved by Mughal sculptors', a phrase presumably to be interpreted as meaning 'sculptors of the Mughal period'. The actual artists are more likely to have been Hindus than Musalmans. Whoever wrought them, the statues of the riders also seem to have been good, well-finished work.

Bernier was told that the riders represented the brothers Jaimall and Paltā, the brave heroes of the defence of Chitōr in 1568, who 'with their still braver mother, immortalized their names by the extraordinary resistance which they opposed to the celebrated Ecbar. . . . It is owing to this extraordinary devotion on their part that their enemies have thought them deserving of the statues here erected to their memory.'

[1] Beveridge, *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 743; *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, transl. Rogers and Beveridge (1909), p. 332.

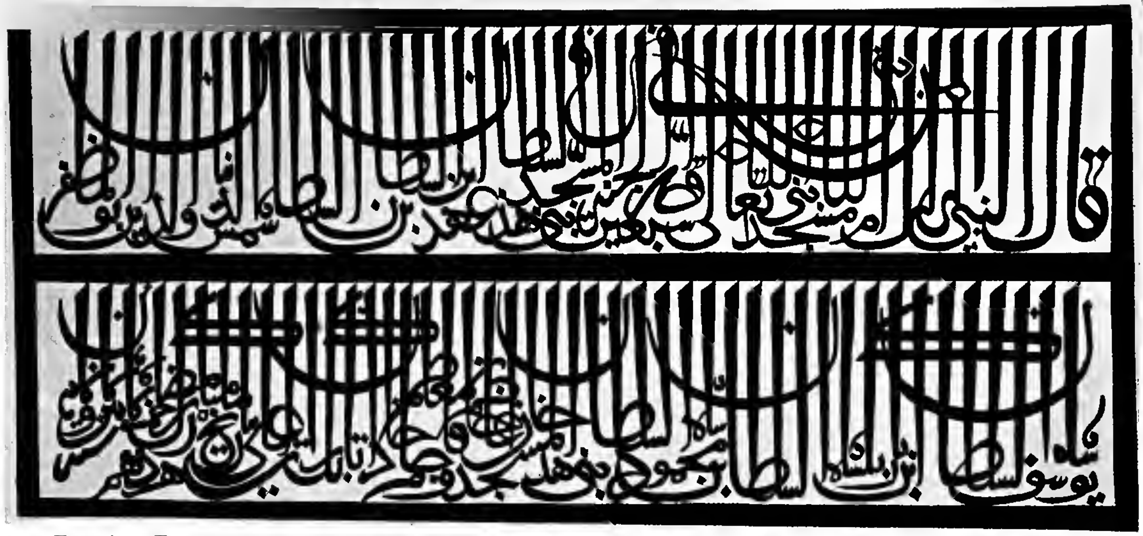


Fig. A. From Kadam Rasūl Mosque, Gaur; A.D. 1480. (Ravenshaw, *Gaur*, Pl. XLVIII, No. 6.)

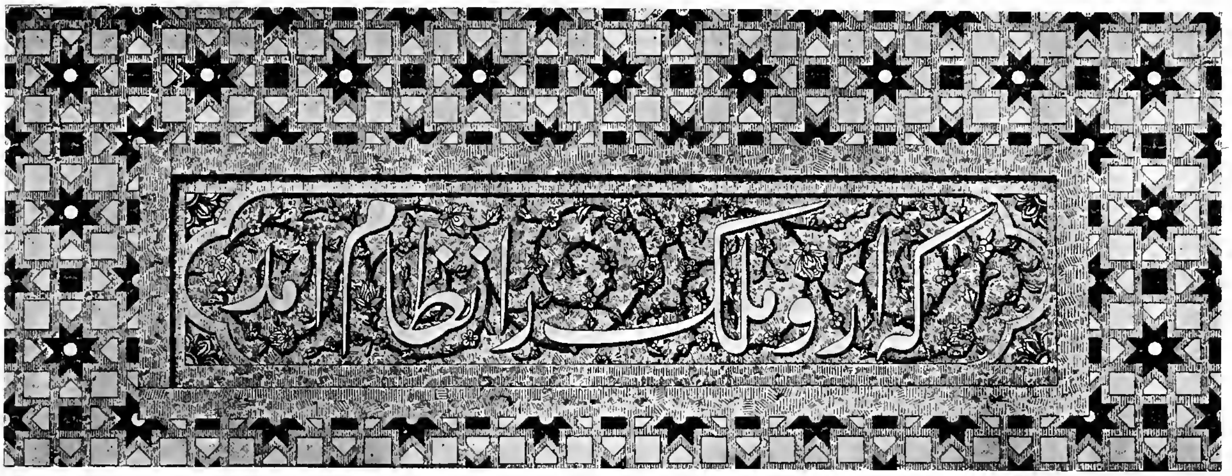


Fig. B. From Jām'i Masjid, Fathpur-Sīkrī. (E. W. Smith, *Fathpur-Sīkrī*, Part iv, Pl. XXIV.)



Fig. C. South end (*jalla jalālahu*) of Akbar's cenotaph. (E. W. Smith, *The Tomb of Akbar*, Pl. XVII.)

Plate XCIX. Decorative Inscriptions.

I see no reason to doubt the truth of this explanation, which is confirmed by the fact already noticed that Jahāngīr erected statues of two other chiefs of Chitōr in the palace garden at Agra. But if the statues of the riders date from the time of either Akbar or Jahāngīr, they must have been placed originally somewhere else, and subsequently shifted by Shahjahān who built the Delhi (Shahjahānabad) Fort. There is, however, nothing in Bernier's statement to indicate that the statues were not ordered by Shahjahān, who may have been influenced by the precedent set at Agra by his father.[1]

A life-size statue of a horse in red sandstone standing on the left-hand side of the Sikandarah road about two miles from Agra, near the garden of Sūraj Bhān, and opposite a masonry Muhammadan tomb, may be a work of Mughal age, but nothing definite about it is known, and no photograph is available. Mr. Beglar's conjecture that it may date from the time of Sikandar Lodī, the idol-breaking Sultan in the fifteenth century, is extremely improbable.[2]

Section IV. Calligraphy and Decorative Reliefs.

The Arabic alphabet in its various forms, as used for writing both the Arabic and Persian languages, is so well adapted for decorative purposes, as will be explained more fully in Chapter XIV, that almost every Muhammadan building of importance is freely adorned with texts from the Koran or other inscriptions arranged decoratively to form part of the architectural design, and often signed as the work of famous calligraphists. A good early Indian example of such calligraphic decoration is afforded by the great arch of the Ajmēr mosque (*ante*, Pl. XCI), where the outer line of writing is in the angular Kufic script, while the other lines are in a more rounded Arabic character.

Later examples from Indo-Muhammadan buildings of all styles and ages might be multiplied indefinitely. It will suffice to exhibit in a single plate three small choice specimens, one from Bengal, and two from edifices of the early Mughal period; the latter being exquisitely combined with floral devices (Plate XCIX); and in another plate an example on a larger scale (Plate C). In some cases, as in the *mihrāb* illustrated, the effect was heightened by gilding and colour, with charming results.

Musalman figure sculpture in the round has, as we have seen, slight artistic value and is interesting chiefly as a curiosity. But Musalman decorative sculpture in bas-relief applied to architecture may fairly claim on its merits to take at least equal rank with first-rate Italian work of the kind.

'L'on ne saurait,' writes M. Migeon, 'trop recommander l'étude des arts de l'Islam aux artistes décorateurs et aux ouvriers d'art. Par la puissante beauté de ses

[1] For fuller details see Mr. Marshall's illustrated article in *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1905–6, pp. 33–42. For Jaimall and Paltā in Nepalese tradition see *ante*, p. 48. It is now quite certain that the Delhi groups had no connexion either with the Agra Fort statues seen by Finch, or with the single Gwālior elephant also seen by that traveller and by Abūl Fazl. For Bernier see Constable's translation (1891), p. 256. Mr. Keene's observations, largely erroneous, are in App. A to his *Handbook for Visitors to Delhi* (1882).

[2] Cunningham and Beglar, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. iv, p. 183: Latīf, *Agra, Descriptive and Historical*, p. 183.

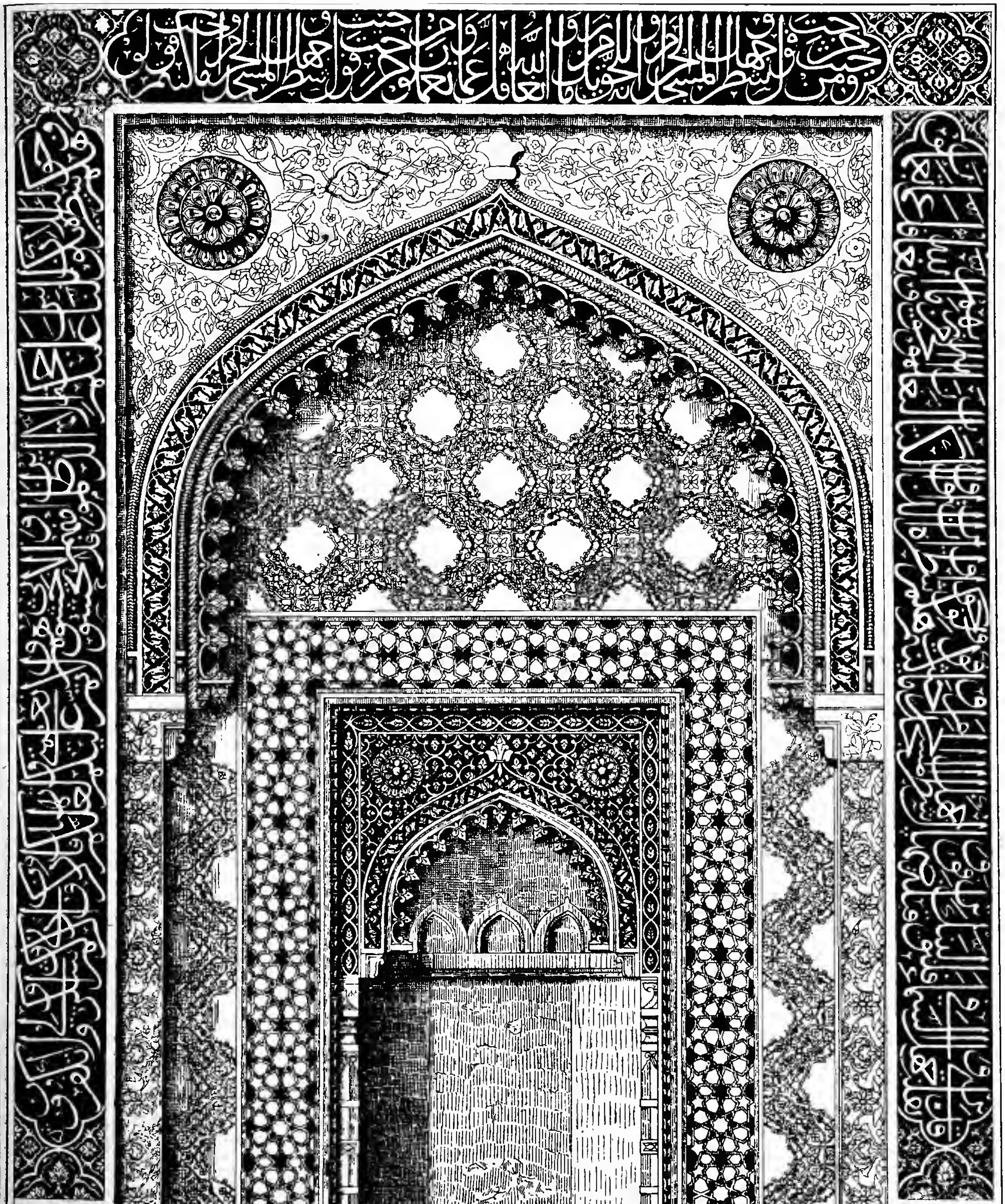


Plate C. Inscribed principal *Mihrāb*, Jām'i Mosque, Fathpur-Sīkrī.
(E. W. Smith, *Fathpur-Sīkrī*, Part iv, Pl. XLII.)

formules, par sa fantaisie toujours régie par les lois les plus rigoureusement logiques, par le rayonnant éclat de la couleur, il n'est pas d'art qui offre plus de richesse décorative et plus de souveraine harmonie. Il renferme des germes féconds qui transplantés doivent fructifier à l'infini.' [1]

The validity of the concluding proposition may be doubted, and it seems to me by no means certain that the teaching of Musalman art to European craftsmen would produce satisfactory results. But, however that may be, M. Migeon's enthusiastic praise of the decorative quality of Muslim art generally may be accepted. The best Indian specimens, with which alone we are concerned at present, could not be surpassed as pure decoration. The general absence of all human interest and expression in the infinitely varied patterns is, of course, a great drawback, but if we are content to regard the works simply as surface decoration intended to please the eye they cannot be beaten. Among all the many varieties of Muhammadan decorative designs none are more agreeable than the best of those carved in relief on the Mughal buildings, from the time of Akbar to that of Shahjahān. The work of Akbar's time being more naturalistic, is more interesting than that of the later period, which is formally conventional, with a tendency to monotony.

The choicest Italian work does not surpass, if it equals, the superb carving on the white marble cenotaph of Akbar, which occupies the centre of the topmost story of his mausoleum at Sikandarah.

'The two oblong sides and the top are adorned with the ninety-nine titles of the Creator in alto-rilievo, set in delicate Arabic tracery (Plates XI and XV of *Akbar's Tomb*). The words *Allāhu Akbar jalla jalālahu* are inscribed on the head and foot, set in panels surrounded by most beautiful and delicate floral ornamentation (*ibid.*, Pl. XVI, XVII; *ante*, Pl. XCIX, Fig. C). The carving, which is most exquisitely done, is in very low relief, and savours of Chinese workmanship. Amongst other flowers and plants portrayed one recognizes the lily, the almond, and the dahlia, all of which are found carved or painted upon Akbar's palace at Fathpur-Sīkrī. In the left-hand corner of each of the panels, cloud-forms carved after a most distinctive Chinese type are noticeable. Similar cloud-forms are met with upon the dado panels in the Turkish Sultānah's house at Fathpur-Sīkrī, and it is generally supposed that they were executed by Chinese workmen.'

But forms of a like kind so often appear in Persian art that it is unnecessary to assume the employment of Chinese craftsmen by Akbar.

'Small butterflies and insects flitting from flower to flower are carved upon the panels. Upon the top of the cenotaph a *qalam-dān* or pen-box is sculptured, signifying that the tomb is a man's, in distinction from a woman's, which is generally provided with the *takhtī* or slate.' [2]

A good specimen of the conventional Persian vase motive, which became fashionable from Jahāngīr's reign, is found on a panel of the south side of the east wall of the eastern false gate of Akbar's tomb (Pl. CI).

Shahjahān's architects relied on inlay rather than relief sculpture for decoration;

[1] *Manuel d'art musulman*, t. ii, p. 454.

[2] *Akbar's Tomb, Sikandarah*, p. 15.

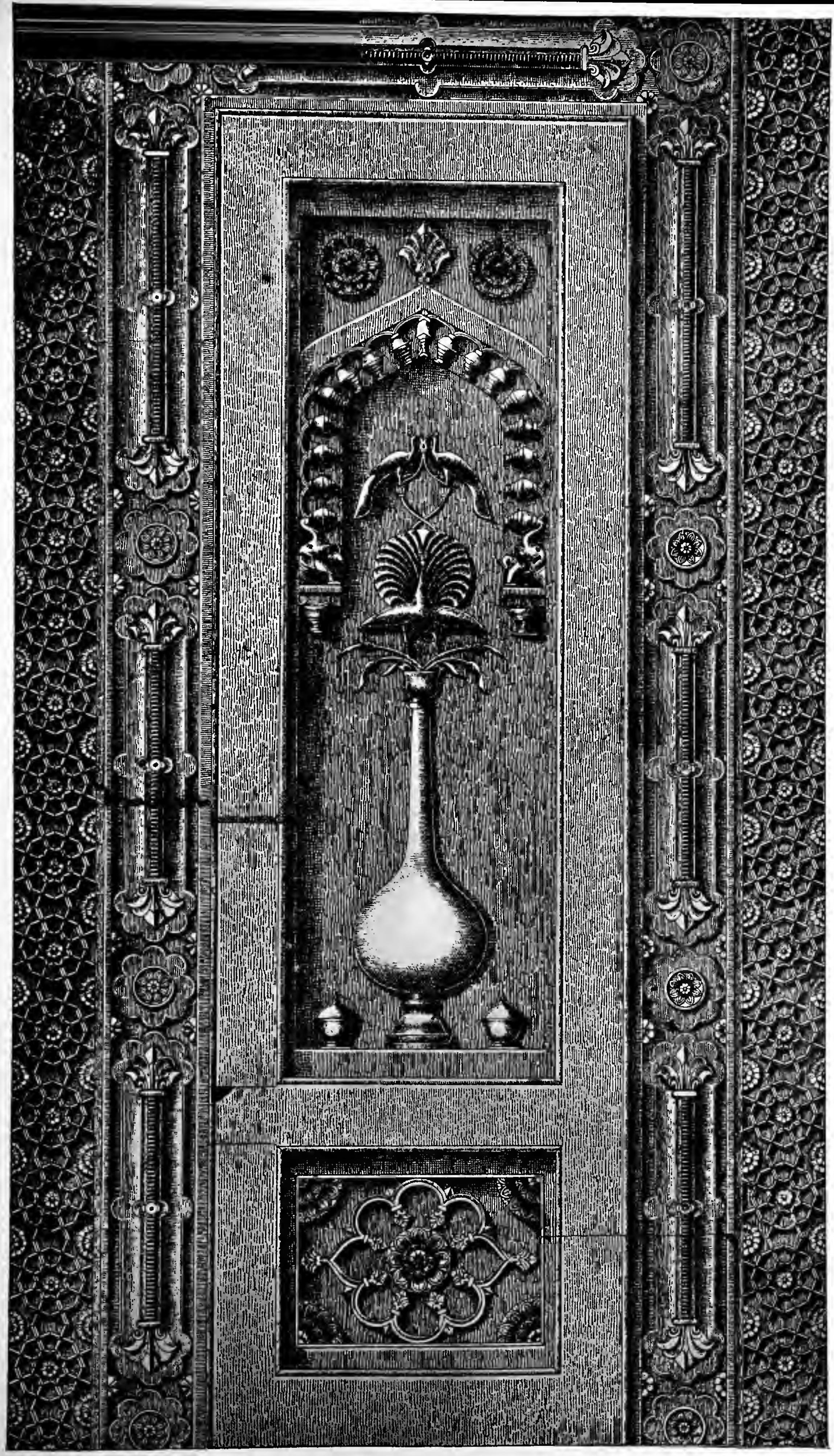


PLATE CI.—Vase motive panel, east false gate of Akbar's tomb. (E. W. Smith, *Akbar's Tomb*, Pl. LXIII.)

but at the Tāj dados are very effectively adorned by conventional flowers cut on red sandstone in low relief (Plate CII, Fig. A).

ɔād

The same plate illustrates the totally different style adopted in the much earlier Sārangpur mosque at Ahmadābād, erected about A.D. 1500 (Plate CII, Figs. B, C). The tree motive is characteristic of Ahmadābād. The whole design is far more Hindu than Muhammadan, and even the ancient Persepolitan bell capital as adopted by Hindu art appears in the pilasters.

Section V. Lattices.

Pierced stone screens or lattices used as windows were not unknown to Hindu architects, and were especially favoured by the builders of the highly decorated temples in the Mysore, Deccan, or Chalukyan style. For example, at Belūr there are twenty-eight such windows, all different. Some of these are pierced with merely conventional patterns, generally star-shaped, with bands of foliage between; others are interspersed with figures and mythological subjects.[1]

an.

But the Musalman architects, who were more restricted than the Hindus in their liberty of decoration, developed the art of designing and executing stone lattices to a degree of perfection unknown to other schools. Endless variations of geometrical patterns, generally pleasing, although wearisome when examined in large numbers, are the most characteristic forms of Muhammadan lattice-work, which is seen at its best in the Gūjarāt (Ahmadābād) and Mughal buildings. The designs both in Gūjarāt and the earlier Mughal work have been often influenced by Hindu tradition. The Muslim artists used the lattice, not only for windows, but also for the panels of doors and for screens or railings round tombs with excellent effect.

ıbād.

The most beautiful traceries at Ahmadābād are to be seen in ten nearly semi-circular windows of Sīdī Sayyad's mosque built about A.D. 1500, which may be fairly described as the most artistic stone lattice-work to be found anywhere in the world. I give two examples—one with geometrical patterns, and the other with the tree motive of Hindu origin, which should be compared with the modern carving in the Mysore Palace (*ante*, p. 236).

'It would be difficult,' Fergusson observes, 'to excel the skill with which the vegetable forms are conventionalized just to the extent required for the purpose. The equal spacing also of the subject by the three ordinary trees and four palms takes it out of the category of direct imitation of nature, and renders it sufficiently structural for its situation; but perhaps the greatest skill is shown in the even manner in which the pattern is spread over the whole surface. There are some exquisite specimens of tracery in precious marbles at Agra and Delhi, but none quite equal to this.'[2]

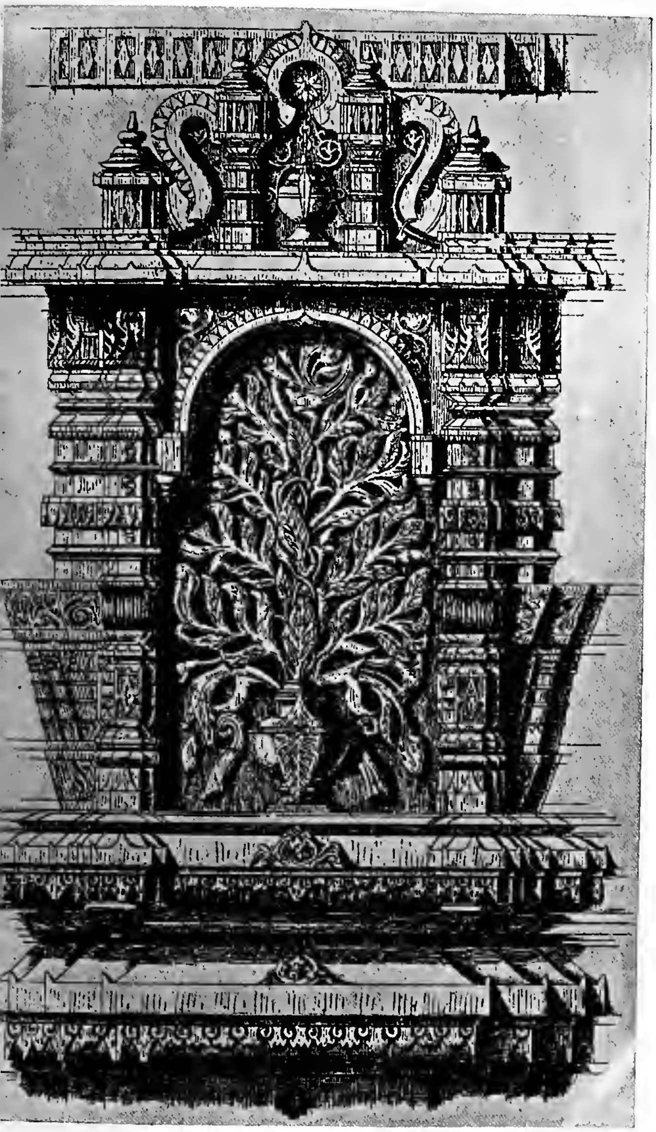
The material of the Ahmadābād windows is Gūjarāt sandstone. (Plate CIII.)

[1] Fergusson, *Hist. of Ind. and E. Archit.*, ed. 1910, vol. i, p. 440, with a bad illustration.

[2] *Hist. Ind. and E. Archit.*, ed. 1910, vol. ii, p. 236. The companion window (Pl. IV of Burgess) represents more distinctly 'the phenomenon, not unfamiliar to the Indian traveller, of a banyan-tree growing out of and around a palm, until in its snake-like entanglements of root and branch the banyan strangles its foster parent' (*Indian Art at Delhi*, p. 122, Pl. XXVII).



Fig. A. Panel in dado of 'false mosque' (*jawāb*) at the Tāj, Agra.
(*Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1903–4, Pl. II *a*.)





Figs B, C. Panels from Sārangpur Mosque, Ahmadābād, *cir.* A. D. 1500.
(*A. S. Rep., Western India*, vol. viii, Pl. XXXIII, Figs. 3, 4.)

Plate CII. Relief carvings.

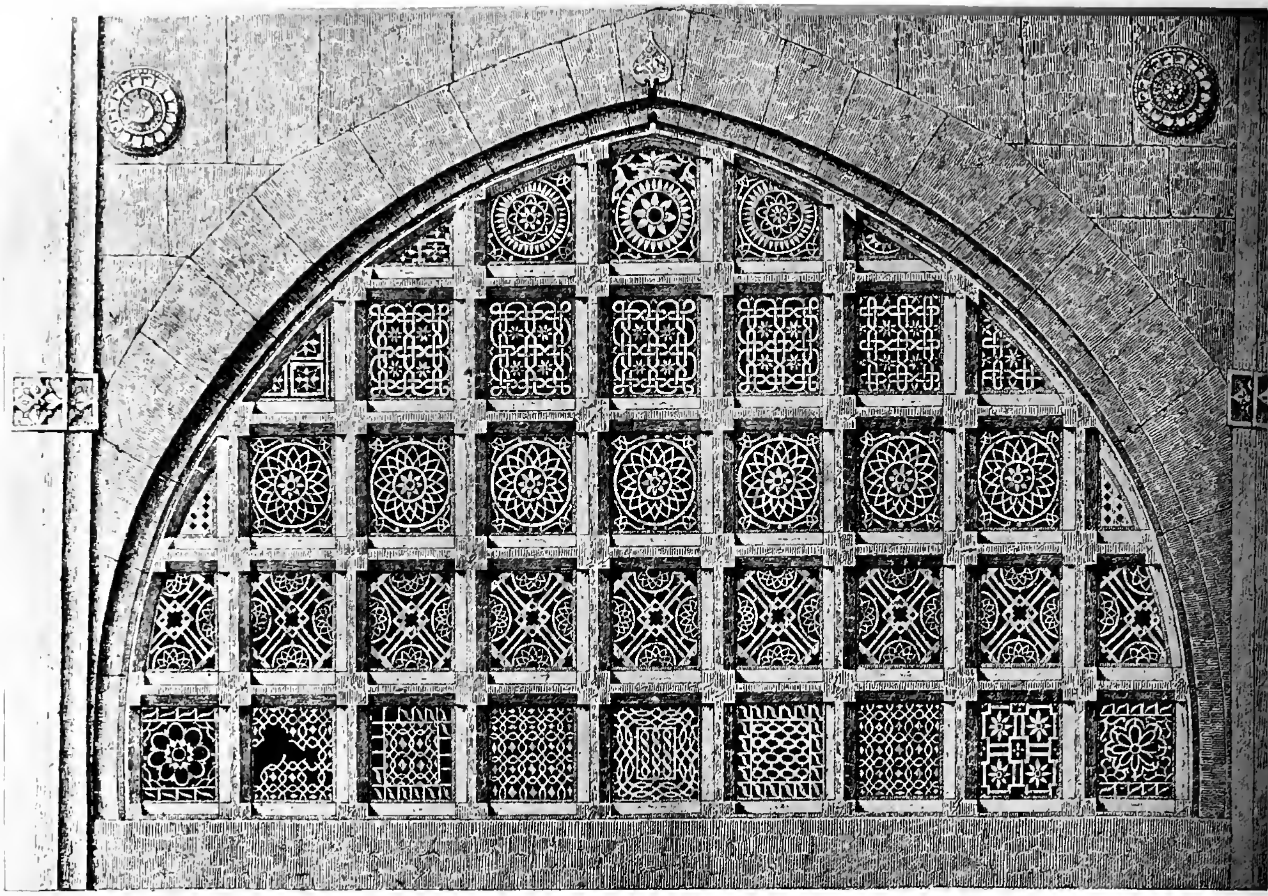


FIG. A. Geometrical. (Pl. XLIX, vol. vii, *Arch. S. Western India.*)

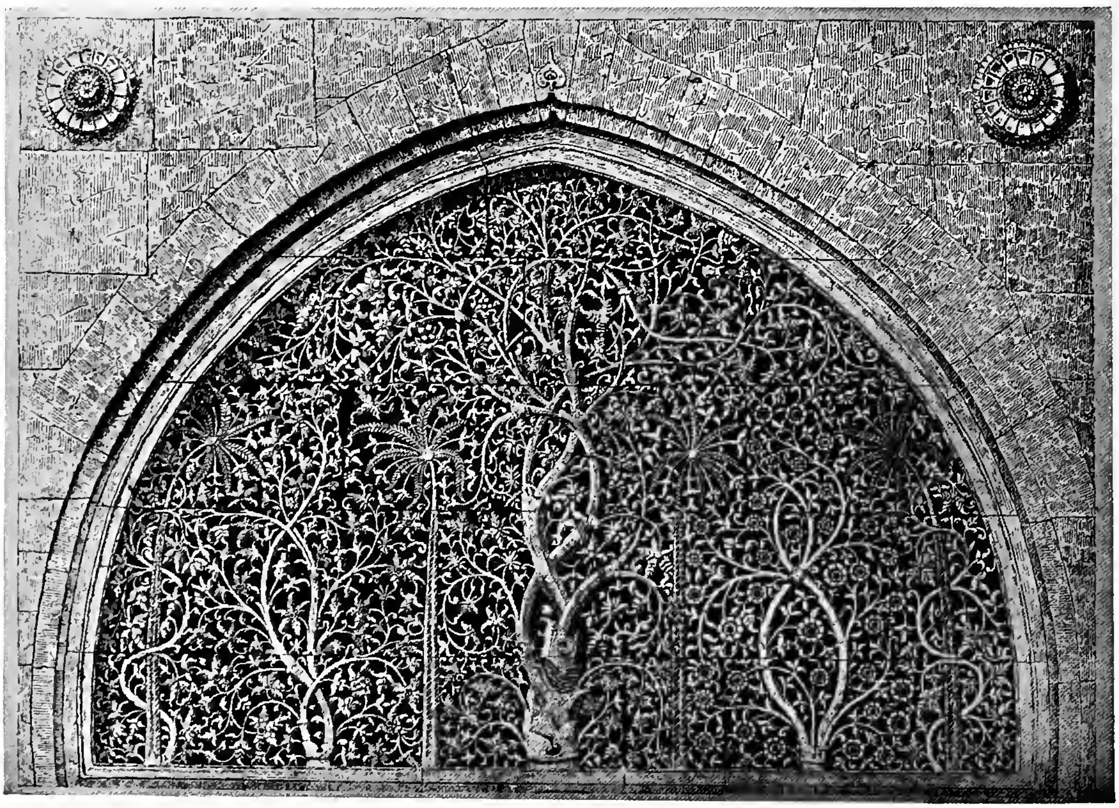


FIG. B. Tree motive. (Pl. LI, ibid.)

PLATE CIII. Windows in Sīdī Sayyid's Mosque, Ahmadābād, *cir.* A. D. 1500.

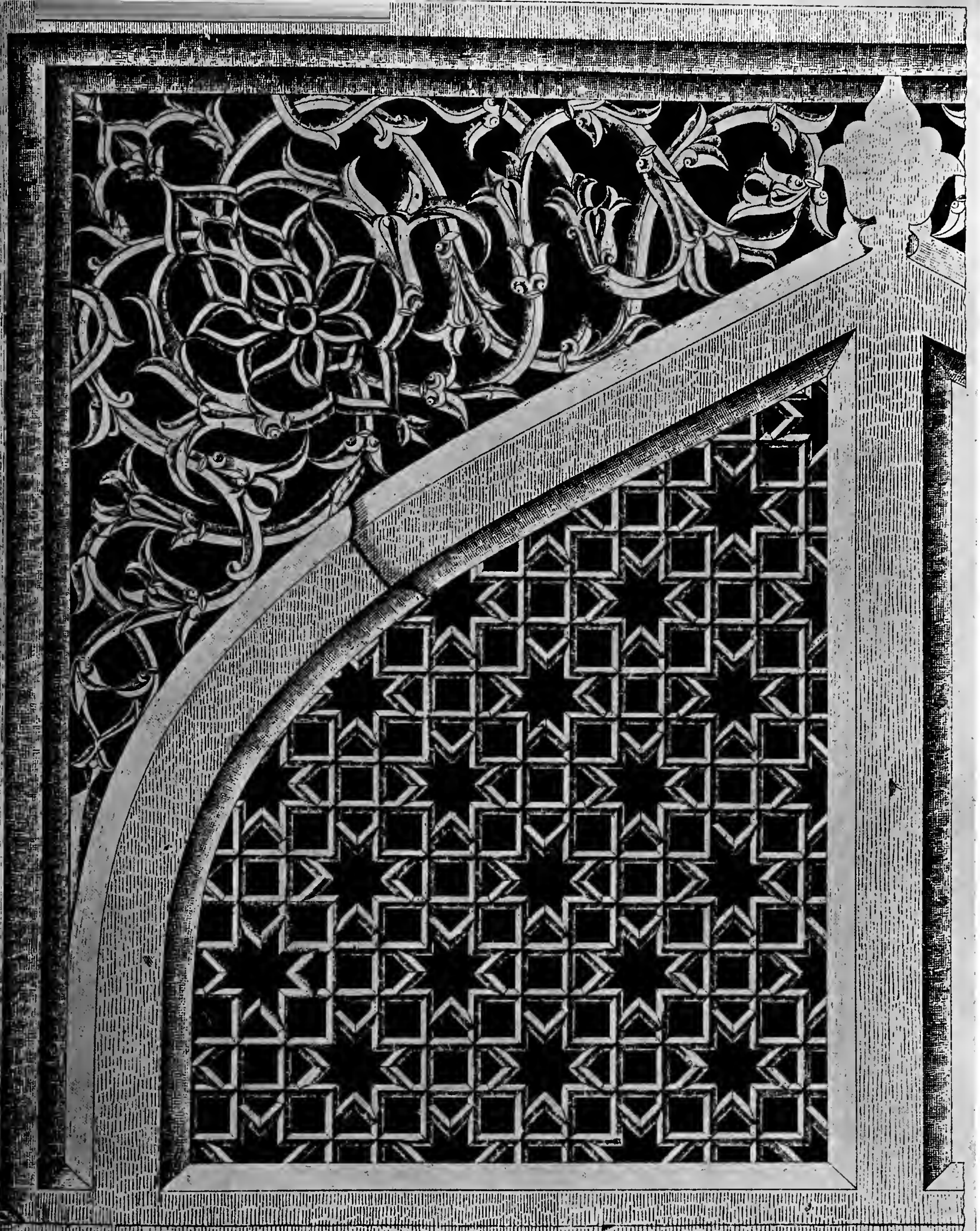


PLATE CIV. Marble verandah screen, tomb of Salīm Chishti, Fathpur-Sīkrī, A.D. 1571.
(E. W. Smith, *Fathpur-Sīkrī*, Part III, Pl. XXXV.)

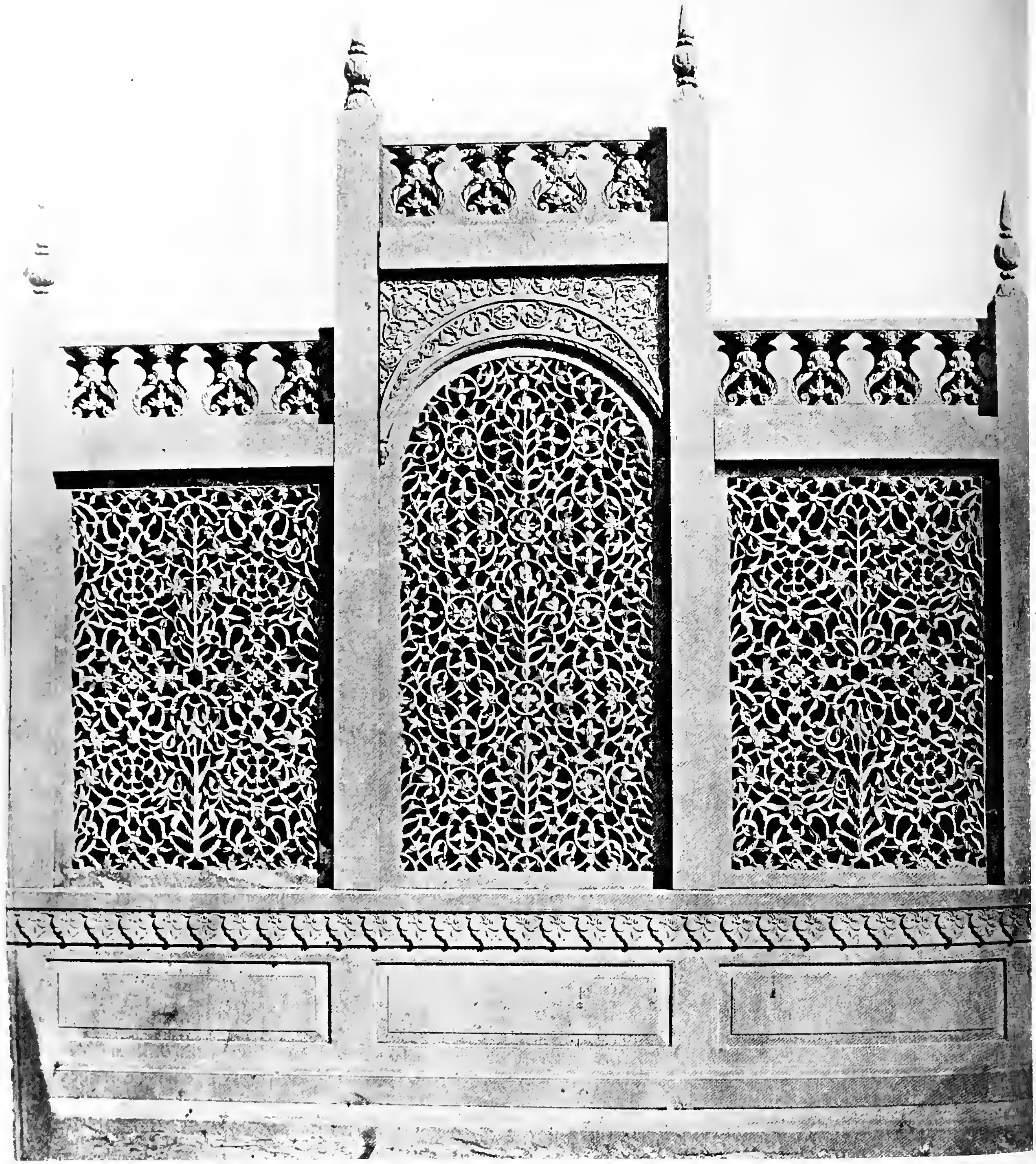


Plate CV. Marble screen round the cenotaph of the Tāj.
(From a photograph.)

The examples of well-designed and well-executed open-work tracery, chiefly in marble, at Agra and Delhi are so numerous that it is difficult to select typical specimens. But it is impossible to do better than to illustrate the style of Akbar's time from the tomb of Salīm Chishti at Fathpur-Sīkrī, built A.D. 1571. Plate CIV reproduces some of the marble screen-work enclosing the verandah, exhibiting an elegant and effective combination of a geometrical pattern with a conventionalized plant design. Mughal.

The well-known railing round the cenotaph in the Tāj may be taken as an unsurpassed example of the art in Shahjahān's time (Plate CV). The lines of the repeating pattern in this case are more like Italian renaissance than Asiatic work. This is the only case in which Mr. Marshall can discern Italian influence in the decorations of the Tāj.

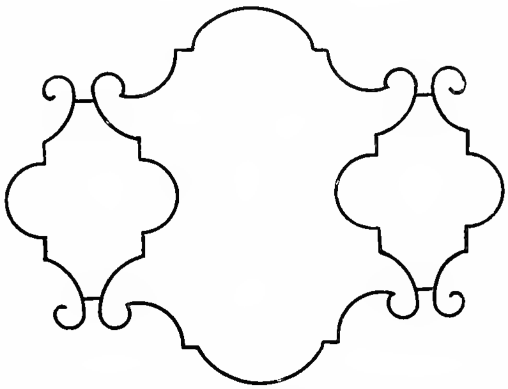


FIG. 245. Geometrical repeat.
(*Ann. Rep. Arch. S., India*, 1904–5, p. 14, Fig. 6.)

SECTION VI. INLAY AND MOSAIC.

The device for breaking the monotony of a wide wall surface by inserting broad bands of white marble, as employed in the fourteenth century on the tomb of Tughlak Shah (*ante*, Fig. 234), and a few years earlier on Alā-ud-dīn's gateway (*ante*, Fig. 233), was commonly used in the Musalman art of Central Asia, Syria, and Egypt, and was freely adopted for Christian buildings in Italy. In Akbar's time this early severe form of decoration was supplemented by mosaics made up after the Roman and Byzantine fashion from small tesserae, which were combined in Persian geometrical patterns. The great mosque at Fathpur-Sīkrī offers many examples, as for instance the inner architrave of the *mihrāb* in Plate C. Sometimes the effect was enhanced by the insertion of little bits of blue or green enamel. Marble inlay and mosaic.

A great innovation was effected by the introduction of the form of inlay known technically by the Italian name of *pietra dura*, which is composed of hard precious or semi-precious stones, such as onyx, jasper, cornelian, &c., cut into thin slices and neatly bedded in sockets prepared in the marble. This process, of which the best *Pietra dura.*

comparatively small specimens are to be seen at Florence, is capable of producing charming decorative effects when executed by capable workmen. In India, where expense was disregarded, it was applied to buildings on an enormous scale.

The bold floral mosaics made of marble or red sandstone which appear on the south gateway of Akbar's tomb (1605–12) are nearly equivalent in effect to *pietra dura* work, but are not identical with it.[1] The Mughal kings evidently loved flowers, which are admirably treated in all forms of art patronized by them.

The earliest Indian example of true *pietra dura*, according to Major Cole, is said to be that in the *Gol Mandal*, a domed pavilion in the small Jagmandir palace, at Udaipur in Rājputāna, built in or about 1623 for Prince Khurram, afterwards the Emperor Shahjahān, while he was an exile from his father's court.

The process is very extensively employed on the approximately contemporary mausoleum of Itimād-ud-daula near Agra, erected by his daughter Nūrjahān after her father's death in A.D. 1621. The general effect of the *pietra dura* decoration is well shown (so far as it can be without colour) in Plate CVI, which represents one of the white marble turrets at the corners of the tomb. The older style of marble mosaic is seen in the lower panels.

Shahjahān (1627–58) wholly abandoned mosaic in favour of *pietra dura*, which probably he learned to admire while residing in the Jagmandir palace at Udaipur before his accession. The decoration is applied so lavishly in the Tāj and the palaces of Agra and Delhi that volumes might be filled with reproductions of the designs, which are familiar to most people from modern copies. One plate will be enough to show their character (Plate CVII). They are remarkable for their restraint and good taste, and are superior to the similar work in the Delhi palace.

The Florentine *pietra dura* inlay, a revival of the ancient Roman *opus sectile*, first appears, according to Major Cole, in the Fabbrica Ducale built by Ferdinand I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, in 1558. The earliest certain Indian examples being considerably later in date and identical in technique, a strong presumption arises that the art must have been introduced into India from Italy. There is no doubt that the Mughal sovereigns freely entertained artists from Europe as well as from most parts of Asia. The presumption is not rebutted by the obvious fact that the designs of the Mughal work are essentially Asiatic, and in the main Persian, because the ordinary Indian practice is to transpose foreign importations, so to speak, into an Indian key. Persian designs were readily assimilated, but in the seventeenth century nobody in India cared much for outlandish European forms, or wanted to have them. Now, of course, things are different, and European forms are fashionable because the government is English. If Mr. Marshall was correctly informed when he wrote some years ago that '*pietra dura* work in a rougher and earlier stage than was hitherto known' had been discovered in the ruins of the Khaljī mausoleum at Māndū in Central India, the presumption of Italian origin would no longer hold good, because Mahmūd Khaljī, in whose honour the mausoleum seems to have been erected, died in

[1] E. W. Smith, *Akbar's Tomb*, Pl. XLI, XLII.



PLATE CVI. Upper part of a corner turret, Itimād-ud-daula's tomb, Agra, showing *pietra dura* inlay and marble mosaic.
(E. W. Smith, *Moghul Colour Decoration of Agra*, Pl. LXXI.)

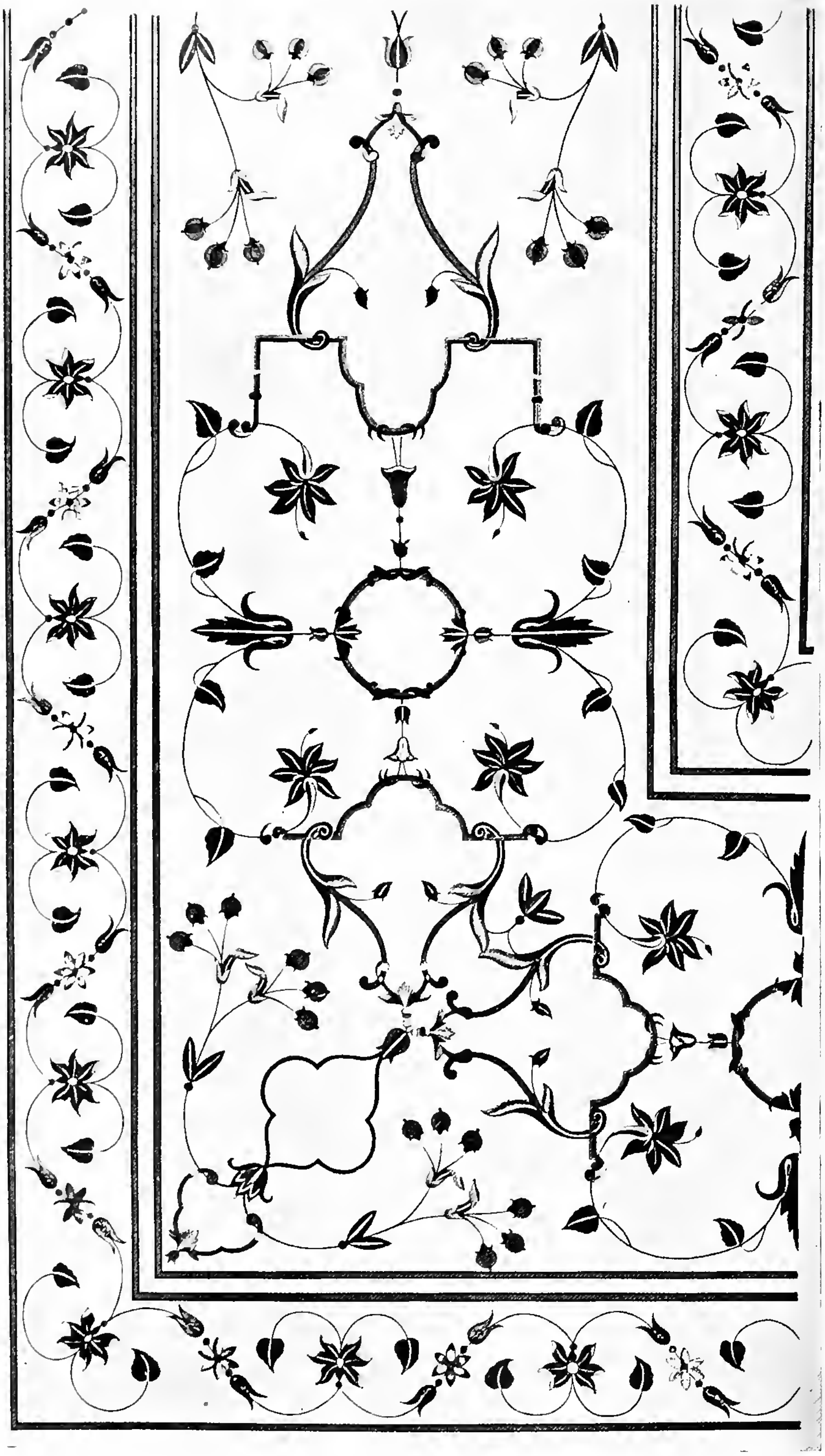


Plate CVII. *Pietra dura* inlay on the cenotaph of the Tāj.
(Plate, *J. Ind. Art*, vol. i, p. 76.)

1475.[1] But the details given in an earlier report suggest that the remains found were those of marble mosaic, not of *pietra dura* inlay. As the evidence at present stands, I continue to believe in the Italian origin of Indian *pietra dura* work, so far as the technique is concerned.[2]

The decline and fall of the Mughal empire during the eighteenth century necessarily involved the rapid decay of the arts which had ministered to the splendour of the imperial court. Among other arts that of producing *pietra dura* inlay had been almost forgotten until about 1830, when Dr. Murray, Inspector-General of Hospitals, induced the craftsmen to revive it for commercial purposes. Since that time it has been practised sufficiently to provide a constant supply of pretty trifles for European tourists and visitors, but nobody dreams of decorating a building in the fashion which appealed to Shahjahān the Magnificent. The plaques and other inlaid objects now made at Agra are too familiar to need illustration. A selection of first-class specimens is figured in *Indian Art at Delhi*, Plate 17–A.

Inlay with mother-of-pearl occurs at Salīm Chishti's tomb, Fathpur Sīkrī, and elsewhere. Glass mosaics are to be seen in several 'Shish Mahalls', or 'glass chambers', at Udaipur, Ambēr, Agra, Lahore, and other places. Those in the ceiling of the Shish Mahall, Lahore, are said to be particularly well done. But such meretricious bedizenment certainly is not fine art, and need not be further discussed.

Section VII. Enamelled Tiles.

The practice of decorating wall surface with coloured enamelled bricks or tiles was of very ancient date in Persia, and derived ultimately from Babylonia. The Lion and Archer friezes from Susa now in the Louvre, and well reproduced by Perrot and Chipiez, are the best examples of the art as practised in Achaemenian times.[3] But the style of those friezes is not imitated in any extant Indian work. The Indo-Muhammadan enamelled or glazed tiles were copied from a much later development of the art in Persia, where the ancient technique apparently was never wholly forgotten. This later Persian work shows traces of Chinese influence.

M. Migeon believes that the Muhammadan use of enamelled tiles in numerous Persian buildings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was derived from Khorasān. From that province it seems to have spread to Samarkand, where we find coloured tile facings on the tomb of Tīmūr at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Coloured tiles had become known in India at an earlier date, certainly in the first quarter of the fourteenth and possibly in the thirteenth century, but the Tīmūrid tradition of the Mughal emperors made them still more fashionable. The Indian work, although sometimes very good, is not admitted by experts to equal the best Persian in either the beauty of the colours or the brilliancy of the enamel.[4]

[1] *Ann. Rep. A. S., India*, 1904–5, p. 5.

[2] Ibid., 1903–4, p. 38. I cannot find any distinct record of the finding of fragments of *pietra dura* at Māndū.

[3] Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Persia*, London, 1892, p. 420 and plates. Persian and Indian tiles are not strong enough for use in pavements.

[4] Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, t. ii, pp. 295, 296.

The tomb of Bahā-ul-hakk at Multān, built between A.D. 1264 and 1286, still retains, or retained in 1882 when Cunningham wrote, 'some fairly preserved specimens of diaper ornament in glazed tiles,' which may or may not be contemporaneous with the building in its original form. The tomb was extensively rebuilt in the seventeenth century, and Mr. Marshall is of opinion that most of the tile-work belongs to that age.

The tomb of Bahā-ul-hakk's grandson, Rukn-ud-dīn (A.D. 1320), a well-designed octagonal domed building of brick, in the same city, has its whole exterior

'elaborately ornamented with glazed tile panels and string courses and battlements. The only colours used are dark blue, azure, and white; but these are contrasted with the deep red of the finely polished bricks, and the result is both effective and pleasing. These mosaics are not, like those of later days, mere plain surfaces, but the patterns are raised from half an inch to two inches above the background. This mode of construction must have been very troublesome, but its increased effect is undeniable, as it unites all the beauty of variety of colour with the light and shade of a raised pattern.'

The tile from Bahā-ul-hakk's tomb figured by Cunningham exhibits the 'key pattern' in white on a dark blue ground; that from Rukn-ud-dīn's tomb has a white ground with interlacing circles in dark blue, the interspaces being partly filled by six-petalled stars and polygonal blocks in pale azure.[1]

The Indo-Muhammadan use of glazed or enamelled tiles undoubtedly was imported from Persia and Turkistan in the forms of art practised in those countries from the thirteenth century onwards. But ages earlier more ancient foreign conquerors seem to have brought with them into India an old variety of the art. The excavations at Kanishka's *stūpa* at Peshāwar have revealed the surprising fact that

'at some point higher up the walls [than certain reliefs] there appears to have been a band of enamelled tiles, with an inscription in Kharoshthī letters boldly incised upon it. Many of the tiles belonging to this band have been found on the western side of the monument, and it is likely that more may turn up in the yet unexcavated débris. These tiles, which are covered with a pale blue vitreous enamel, are the first of their kind, I may notice, that have yet been discovered in India.'[2]

Kanishka's workmen (*cir.* A.D. 100) presumably imitated Turkistan tiles, but there is, of course, a bare possibility that the art may have been invented independently in India.

Two of the mosques at Gaur in Bengal (*ante*, 400), the Tāntipāra and Lotan (Lattan), erected between A.D. 1475 and 1480, are decorated with true encaustic tiles. Those of the Lotan mosque are the best preserved. A collection of earlier glazed tiles from Gaur in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, is described as having 'a marked Hindu character, quite distinct from the blue, and diapered, and

[1] Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. v, pp. 131–3, Pl. XXXIX. At Sitpur in the Muzaffargarh District, where similar tile decoration occurs, the colours include yellow. The Sitpur tombs date from the fifteenth century.

[2] Marshall, *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 1057.

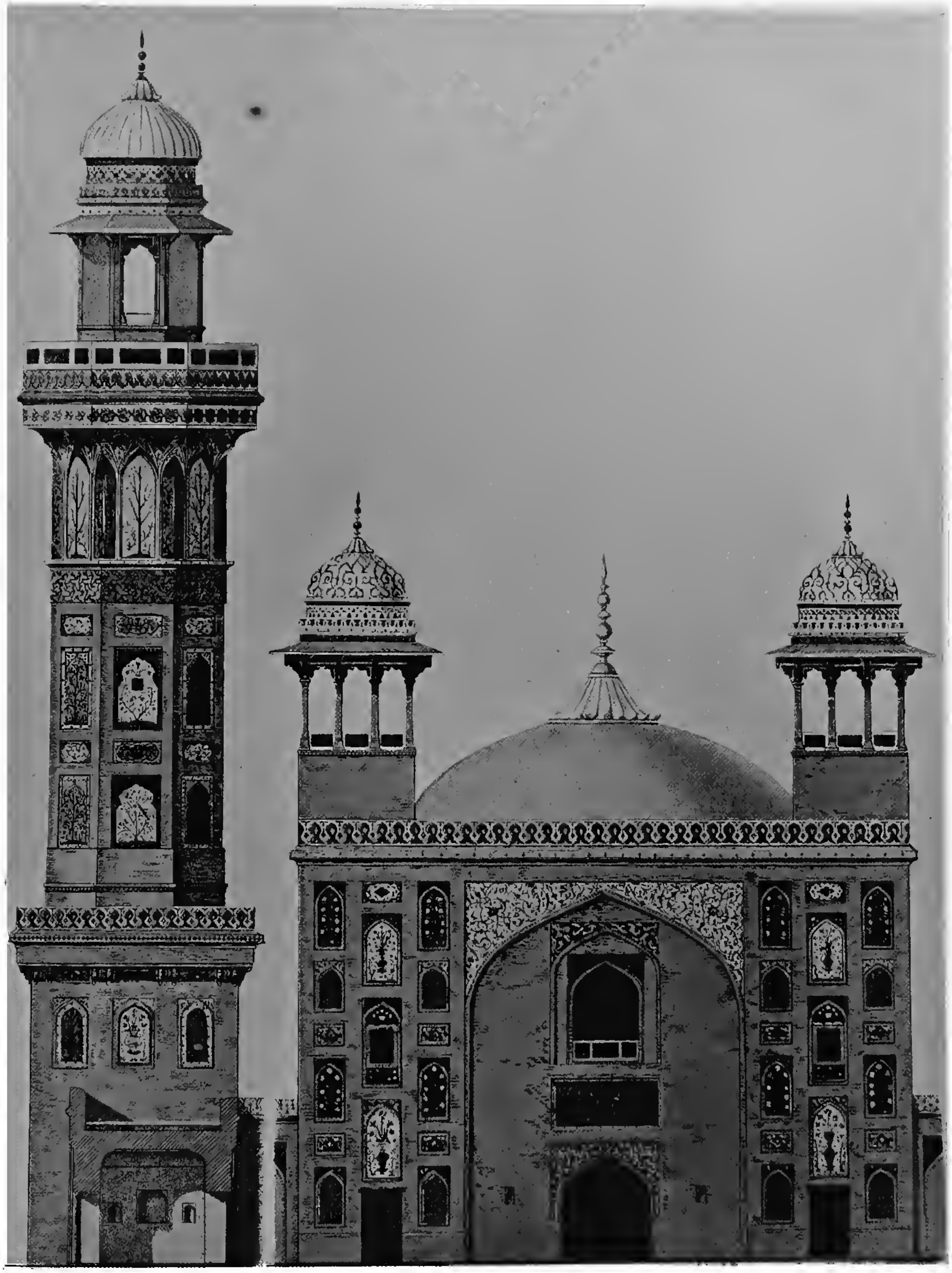


PLATE CVIII. Minaret of Wazīr Khān's Mosque.
(Plate XXVIII of *J. Ind. Art*, vol. x.)

banded tiles which are distinctive of Mahommadan manufacture elsewhere in India, before the florid designs of the Mogul period came into vogue.'[1] It is possible that the art, however introduced originally, may have been known to the Hindus of Bengal in an imperfect form before the Muhammadan conquest.

The palace of Rāja Mān Singh at Gwālior, built at the beginning of the sixteenth century, 'was once profusely decorated with glazed tiles of various colours,' as noticed by Bābar, who recorded in his *Memoirs*: 'The outside of the walls they have inlaid with green painted tiles. All around they have inlaid the walls with figures of plantain trees made of painted tiles.' Cunningham, writing in 1871, states that

'the plantain [i. e. banana] trees mentioned by Bābar still exist. They are of the natural size, but the leaves made of bright green glazed tiles are very regularly disposed on each side of the yellow stems, and the effect is consequently too stiff and formal. The diamond patterns in blue tile, and the long narrow lines of the same colour, are, however, both effective and pleasing.'[2]

I have not seen these curious and unique tiles or any illustrations of them. The design is purely Hindu, and it is difficult to say whether or not the manufacture of such tiles was learned from the Muhammadans or was previously known to the Hindus of Central India. But the probability is that the art was imported.

We now pass on to the more highly developed and artistic use of glazed tiles after the Persian manner on the walls and domes of Mughal buildings. Most of the Mughal tiling is of the kind called *Kāshī* or *Chinī*, composed of pieces cut out from a painted sheet and laid as mosaic. The larger part dates from the seventeenth century, with a range of colours considerably more extensive than that employed on the early Panjāb tiles already noticed.[3] Such *Kāshī* tile casing, sparingly employed on the tombs of Shēr Shah and Humāyūn, came largely into favour in the reigns of Jahāngīr and Shahjahān (1605–58), and continued to be used in Aurangzēb's time. The art is now extinct.

The most remarkable series of tile pictures in the world is the huge band on the walls of the Lahore Fort, extending from the Elephant Gate (*Hāthi Pōl*) to the north-eastern tower of Jahāngīr's quadrangle for a length of 497 yards, with a height of 17 yards. Nearly the whole of this enormous surface is faced with painted tiles representing elephant fights, a game of polo, and other scenes. Dr. Vogel has obtained tracings of 116 panels, of which many select examples have been repro-

[1] Birdwood, *Industrial Arts of India*, p. 322. These objects are rather enamelled bricks or terra-cotta than tiles. The body is similar to that of red bricks, moulded on the edges or sides into relief patterns, which are covered with a poor vitreous dip, forming a ground of opaque dark blue, upon which patterns in opaque white—either enamel or clay—have been laid. The patterns include Muhammadan (Saracenic) and Hindu forms, and may be referred to the eleventh or twelfth century (Furnival, *Leadless Decorative Tiles*, p. 118, Figs. 72–5).

[2] Cunningham, *A. S. Rep.*, vol. i, pp. 347–9.

[3] Opinions differ as to the mode of manufacture. Mr. J. L. Kipling thought that the designs were painted on large sheets, which were cut up into tiles *before* firing (*J. Ind. Art*, vol. ii, pp. 17, 18); but Mr. F. H. Andrews, after making experiments, believes that the shaped pieces were cut *after* glazing and firing (Ibid., vol. x, pp. 27–30).

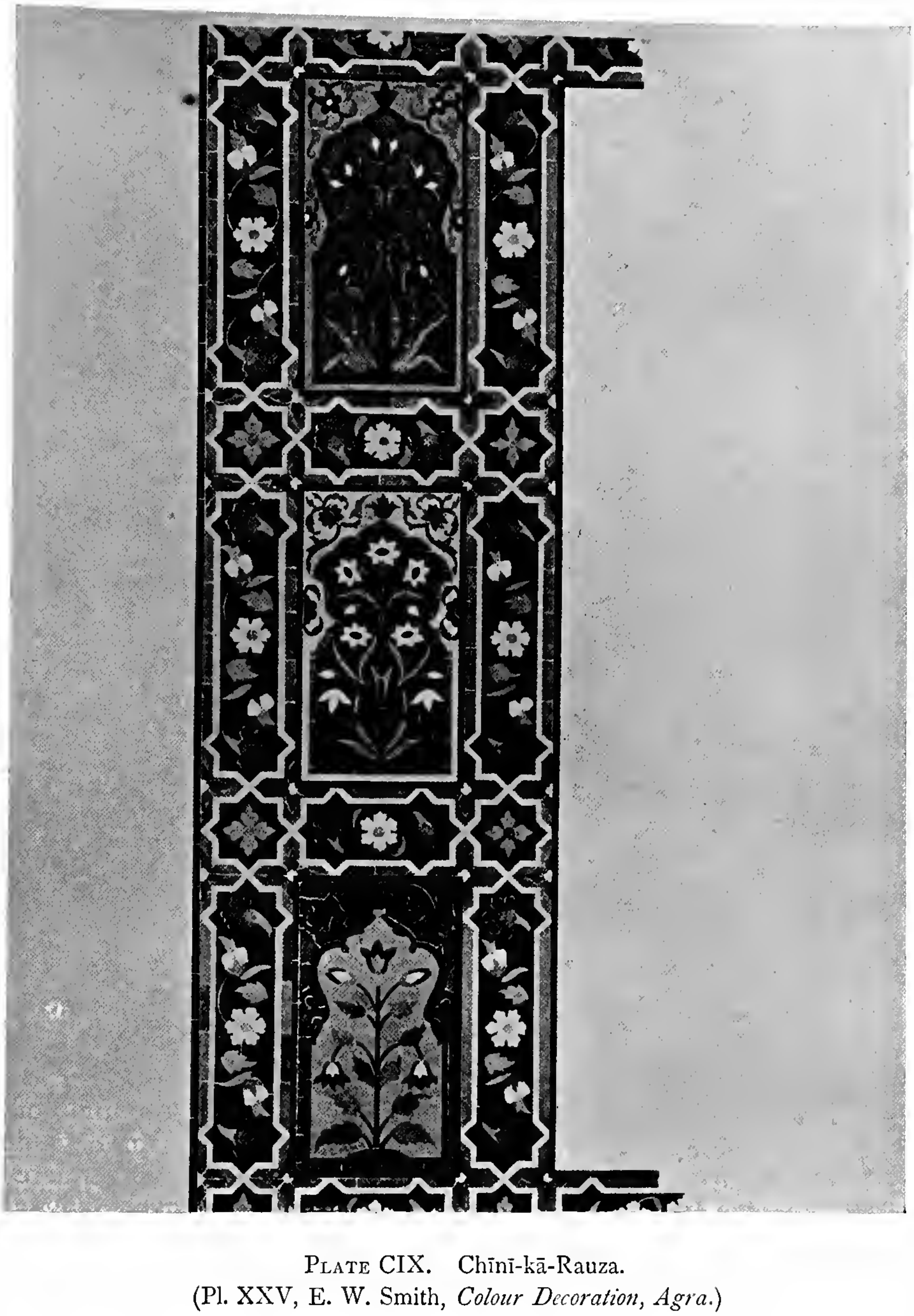


Plate CIX. Chīnī-kā-Rauza.
(Pl. XXV, E. W. Smith, *Colour Decoration, Agra.*)

duced on a reduced scale in colour.[1] One is here given (Pl. CX) by permission of the Government of India.

The most beautiful example of *Kāshī* tile-work on a large scale is universally recognized to be the mosque built in 1634 at Lahore by the governor, Wazīr Khān. The building is a well-designed domed structure with four handsome minarets, constructed of small thin bricks. The exterior is panelled, the panels and minarets being veneered with *Kāshī* tile-work of great brilliancy, still in fairly good preservation. The minaret figured in Plate CVIII gives a good idea of the effect.

Passing by several interesting buildings exhibiting more or less decoration in coloured tiles, we come next to the tomb near Agra known as the Chīnī-kā-Rauza, which has had the advantage of being exhaustively described and illustrated by the late Mr. E. W. Smith in a volume mainly devoted to it. The building, a large octagonal domed tomb of uncertain date, supposed to have been built early in the reign of Aurangzēb, in memory of Afzal Khān, a poet who died in 1639, was originally covered on the outside from top to bottom with mosaic in *Kāshī* tiling of various colours, worked up into numerous patterns so as to form one unbroken flat surface. It is now much dilapidated. The tiles, $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch thick, are bedded in a layer of fine plaster an inch thick, which was laid on a stratum of coarser plaster two inches in thickness. The principal colours include blues, greens, orange, vermilion, lake, &c., in a variety of delicate shades with a metallic lustre, the unavoidable slight irregularities of the surface producing wonderful play of light. One illustration may be given to show the style (Plate CIX).[2]

The tomb also exhibits some painted internal decoration in excellent taste.

Mr. Marshall describes as follows a third type of Indian tile decoration :—

'A third kind of tiles is found on buildings of the eighteenth century, such as the mosque of Muhammad Amīn at Lahore (beginning eighteenth century) and the mosque of Zakariya Khan near Lahore. The founder of the latter was a viceroy of the Punjab from A. D. 1717 to 1738. It is strange to find the same type combined with *Kāshī* work on the tomb of Asaf Khan at Shahdara as early as A. D. 1634. The tiles of this class are square. They form, consequently, not a tile-mosaic as the two earlier types, in which each separate piece has its own shape and colour, but are similar to the tiles known in Europe, from where presumably they were introduced into India. The colours are faint as compared to [*sic*] those of the *Kāshī* tiles, pale green, blue and yellow being the most prominent. In one case, the tomb of Sharf-un-nissa, known as the cypress tomb (*Sarvvālī maqbara*), not far from Bēgampura near Lahore, we find, besides *Kāshī* work on the lower part of the walls, square blue and white tiles of a type well known in the west of Europe. This building also would seem to belong to the eighteenth century.

'It would be interesting to know whether there exists any connexion between the use of such tiles in the Punjab and the visit of an ambassade of the Dutch East India Company to Lahore in A. D. 1712. It should be noted that at present square white and blue tiles are fabricated in great number at Multān, which are now com-

[1] *Progress Rep. A. S., Panjāb Circle*, 1901–2, par. 13; *J. I. A. I.*, 1911.

[2] For a long list of Indian buildings decorated with tiles, prepared by Mr. C. Stanley Clarke, see Furnival, *Leadless Decorative Tiles*, pp. 121–6. The subject is continued to p. 132.



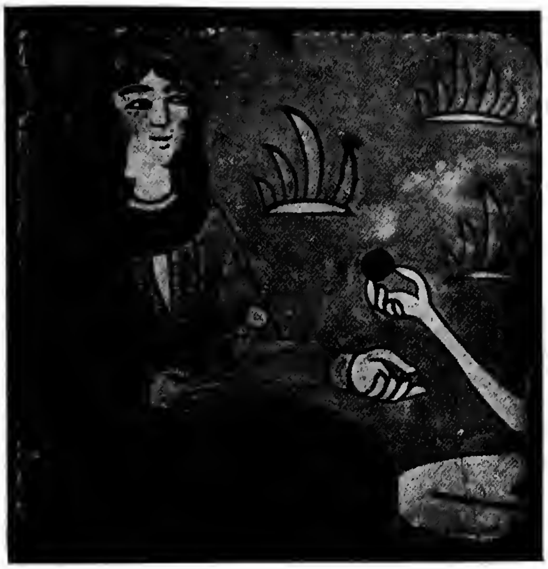


Fig. A. Glazed earthenware tile from Panjāb, seventeenth cent.; $9\frac{1}{4}''$ sq.; green ground: No. 941–1873, &c., Ind. Sec., V. and A. Museum.

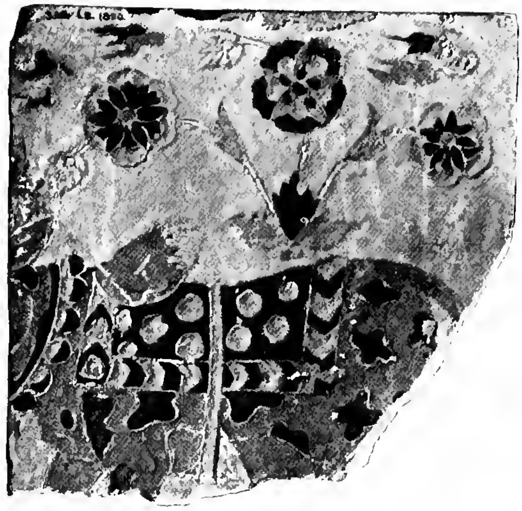


Fig. B. Enamelled earthenware tile from Delhi; ? sixteenth cent.; $11'' \times 10\frac{3}{4}''$ sq.; dark blue, red, black, and green on yellow ground; humped bull and flowers: No. 303–90, Ind. Sec., V. and A. Museum.



Fig. C. Enamelled earthenware tile from Lahore; seventeenth cent.; antelopes and flowers on yellow ground; $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 8\frac{1}{4}''$ sq.: No. 1–98, Ind. Sec., V. and A. Museum.

Plate CXI.

monly used to decorate graves with, but are entirely different from the tiles found in the ancient buildings mentioned above, that is to say, the early type of the Rukn-i-Alam.'[1]

Inasmuch as Mr. Marshall himself notes that square tiles of the type he describes occur on Āsaf Khān's tomb at Shahdara dating from 1634, I do not see what the Dutch embassy of 1712 can have to do with them.

In Plates CXI, CXII reproductions are given from photographs specially taken of six artistic square tiles in the Entrance Hall of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Indian Section, all believed to date from either the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and not previously published.

Fig. A, Plate CXI, showing the complete figure of a young woman seated on her heels, with part of another woman offering her a fruit, appears to be unique, and is supposed to date from the seventeenth century. The drawing is good, and the general aspect suggests European influence, of which there was plenty in those times.

The broken tile from Delhi (Fig. B) presents a humped bull and flowers in brilliant colours. The fragments of a hunting scene on two perfect tiles (Plate CXI, Fig. C, Plate CXII, Fig. A) from Lahore are vividly designed and, I think, rightly referred to the seventeenth century, when such pictures of Persian origin were much in fashion. The floral devices on the Lahore tiles (Plate CXII, Figs. B, C) are pretty and well coloured.

The modern tile-work of Sind and Multān is described in various books dealing with the industrial arts. The oldest Sind tiles on the Dabgir mosque and Mirza Jāni Bēg's mosque at Tatta, dating from about A. D. 1509, exhibit only two colours, a deep rich blue and a pale turquoise blue, on a white ground, and so resemble the early Multān tiles. Multān used to be reckoned as in Sind, not in the Panjāb, as it is now. The most artistic tile panel from Sind is one from the Jāmi Masjid, Khudabad, near Dadu, built A. D. 1710, which represents a tall lily or tuberose in a stiff, symmetrical style.[2]

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[1] Furnivall, *op. cit.*, App. C.

[2] Cousens, H., *Portfolio of Sind Tiles*, Griggs, 1906.



Fig. A. Wall-tile of grey silicious earthenware, enamelled on white slip; wounded antelope yellow, horse white; from Lahore, seventeenth cent.; 10″ × 9½″ sq.: No. 4–1900, Ind. Sec., V. and A. Museum.

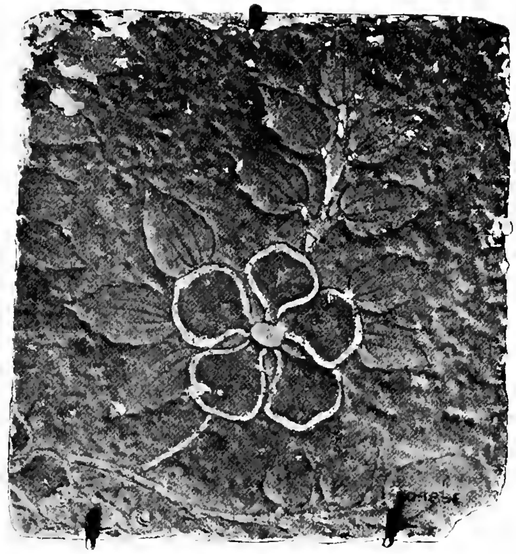


Fig. B. Enamelled earthenware tile from Lahore, seventeenth cent.; red, yellow, and green flowers on green ground; 9½″ × 9¼″: No. 60–1898, Ind. Sec., V. and A. Museum.



Fig. C. Similar tile from Lahore, seventeenth cent.; flowers of various colours on red ground; 9¼″ sq.: No. 65–1898, Ind. Sec., V. and A. Museum.

Plate CXII.

CHAPTER XIV

INDO-PERSIAN OR MUGHAL PAINTING

Section I. Origin, History, and Technique.

The style of drawing and painting introduced into India by command of Akbar late in the sixteenth century, although essentially and avowedly foreign, was quickly made their own by Indian native artists, both Hindu and Muhammadan, who may be fairly credited with having improved on the foreign models in certain respects. Modern Persian connoisseurs, however, do not admit the alleged improvement, and are said to regard with contempt the productions of the Indian imitators.

The art thus suddenly brought into India by the action of an enlightened despot came directly from Persia. But in origin it was not mainly Persian, that is to say, Iranian; nor can its descent be traced from the art of Sassanian times. The style, as we know it, entered Persia from Transoxiana, now Russian Turkistan, which received the technique from China. The indigenous Iranian elements, which must exist in the earliest examples of the Persian 'miniaturist's' art, are matters of faith rather than of knowledge, having been obscured and overwhelmed by the dominant Chinese and Mongol character. When first introduced into India, the art was largely Mongol in both subject and treatment, with obvious marks of strong Chinese influence.

The earliest Persian paintings, or so-called 'miniatures', in the Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris, date from A. D. 1279–80, but pictures earlier than the fifteenth century are rare.[1] One of the most ancient illuminated manuscripts in Perso-Mongol style is the history in Persian of Chinghiz Khān and his family (*Jāmi'-ut-tawārīkh*), produced in the fourteenth century, and now in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. Its numerous illustrations may be regarded as the best examples of the style in its early form. Chinese influence is apparent throughout, the figures being nearly pure Chinese; but the landscape is crudely conventional, and without any traces of that Chinese delight in the beauties of nature which prompted a critic of the Middle Kingdom to observe that 'only in landscape are depth and distance to be found, coupled with delights which never cease to please. Human figures, birds, insects, flowers, and plants belong more to "artisan art", and, although painted with exceeding skill, their beauties are exhausted at a glance.'[2] In the Royal Asiatic Society's manuscript landscape is not treated in this reverent spirit, being used

[1] E. Blochet, 'Inventaire et description des manuscrits orientaux conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris' (*Revue des Bibliothèques*, Paris, 1898–1900. The MS. indicated is 'Pers. 376', dated A.H. 678=A.D. 1279–1280; see vol. for 1898, p. 135).

[2] Giles, *An Introd. to the Hist. of Chinese Pictorial Art*, p. 108.

merely as an accessory and background for figures. The colouring is not brilliant. Mr. Binyon remarks that

'it is noticeable that the farther back one goes, certain characteristics tend to assert themselves. Colour, which is the paramount quality in the later paintings, is often restricted to a few discreet touches of red and blue; the work is mainly in outline, and this outline in the finest specimens has a calligraphic sweep, a rhythmical beauty, which betrays an affinity to the art of China.'[1]

The proper subject of this chapter, the Indo-Persian school, invites discussion at such length that we cannot linger over its remoter sources, and must pass on to bestow a few words upon the two masters more directly connected with Akbar's innovation in India, namely, Bihzād of Herāt and his pupil Agā (Aqā) Mīrak of Tabrīz. Good examples of the work of both are to be seen in London. The professional ancestry of Bihzād, who was alive in 1524, and was praised by his contemporary, the gallant and artistic Bābar, is traced back, through Pīr Saīyid Ahmad of Tabrīz, and Ustād Jahāngīr of Bukhārā, to a dumb artist known as Ustād Gung, or 'the dumb Master'.

The art of Mīrak is adequately represented by a signed picture (Fol. 166) in the magnificent manuscript of the *Khamsa-i-Nizāmī* written between A. D. 1539 and 1542 for Shah Tahmāsp, king of Persia, by Shah Muhammad Nīshāpuri, the first calligraphist of his age (B. M. Or. 2625). The subject comprises hills and forest, with leopards, and other animals. The landscape is purely formal and conventional, after the Mongol manner, but many of the beasts are well drawn and true to nature.

Bihzād (Kamāl-ud-dīn, A. D. 1487–1524), who enjoyed the favour of both Sultan Husain Baiqara and his successor, Shah Ismaīl, the founder of the Safavide dynasty of Persia (acc. A. D. 1500), marks the transition from the Mongoloid style of the Tīmūrid age to the more refined art patronized by the Safavide kings. He had numerous pupils, and so formed a school, the works of which, in Abūl Fazl's opinion, were surpassed by those of Indian disciples. Seven of his drawings are preserved in the Imperial Library, Vienna; and six miniatures, 'merveilleuses compositions de ce grand peintre' (including one with his signature), which adorn a manuscript of the *Bostān* at Cairo, are from his brush.[2]

The British Museum possesses a specially interesting example of the work of Bihzād, one of the illustrations in the copy of the *Dārābnāmah*, a book of stories from the *Shāhnāmah*, formerly in the Royal Library at Lucknow, and supposed to have been prepared to Akbar's order (B. M., Or. 4615; *Suppl. Cat.*, p. 385).[3] This

[1] Binyon, *Painting in the Far East* (1908), p. 152.

[2] Huart, *Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de l'Orient Musulman*, Paris, 1908, p. 331. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, t. ii, p. 40, Fig. 18, 19. In 1910 Mr. Kevorkian exhibited in London a MS. of poems by Saadi containing five miniatures by Bihzād.

[3] This notable MS. contains a multitude of signed illustrations in various styles. Most of them are Mongoloid or Tīmūrid in character; the work of Mahēsh, a Hindu artist, being especially Mongol. The subjects include games of polo and sundry adventures. Six of the painters named in Abūl Fazl's list are among the signatories. The picture on fol. 34 is by Basāwan, and that on fol. 113 by Kesū (Kesava) Qahhār, the Muhammadan spelling of Kahār, the palanquin-bearer caste, to which Daswanth also belonged.

picture (Fol. 103, rev.) represents two men and a woman among conventional rock scenery, the foliage being treated with remarkable delicacy (Plate CXIII).

The signature—*'Amal Bihzād wa iṣlāḥ Khwāja Abdul Samad*—means that the composition painted by Bihzād was corrected or touched up by Khwāja Abdul Samad, a favourite artist of Akbar's, and the teacher of Daswanth.

The Khwāja, a native of Shīrāz, surnamed *Shīrīn-qalam*, or 'Sweet-pen', presumably on account of his skill as a calligraphist, had been an intimate friend of Humāyūn, and was known as a poet and accomplished artist before he attracted the attention of Akbar, who enrolled him in the official nobility, appointing him first to be Master of the Mint at Fathpur-Sīkrī, and subsequently to be Dīwān, or Revenue Commissioner of Multān. His name appears in the list of the adherents of the Divine Faith, the short-lived eclectic religion invented by Akbar.[1]

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In Persia and India, as in China, calligraphy was regarded as a fine art worthy of the most serious study, and masters of it enjoyed fame throughout Asia like that of great painters in Europe. They were careful to sign and date their works, which were eagerly collected by connoisseurs. Abūl Fazl gives a list of calligraphic experts, among whom in Akbar's time the most eminent was Muhammad Husain of Kashmīr, who survived the emperor for six years. Many of the albums in the London collections containing 'miniatures' include hundreds of specimens of beautiful writing in various styles and of different periods, which often seem to have been more valued than the drawings and paintings associated with them. Abūl Fazl enumerates eight calligraphical systems as current during the sixteenth century in Irān (Persia), Turān (Turkistan), India, and Turkey, distinguished one from the other by differences in the relative proportion of straight and curved lines, ranging from the Kūfic with five-sixths of straight lines to the Nastalīk, Akbar's favourite script, with nothing but curved strokes. The forms of the Arabic alphabet used for writing Persian, although not distinctly reminiscent of pictorial hieroglyphs, as the Chinese characters are, lend themselves readily to artistic treatment, and even Europeans may understand to some extent the high technical skill of the masters of the calligraphic art, and admire the beauty of their productions. But full enjoyment and appreciation are possible only to persons familiar with the character from infancy and sensitive to all the associated ideas. The subject is not of sufficient general interest to warrant detailed treatment in this work.[2]

'Among the general characteristics of Chinese painting the most striking, and the

[1] *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, transl. Blochmann, pp. 107, 209; *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, transl. Rogers and Beveridge (1909), p. 15. His son, Sharīf Khān, was appointed by Jahāngīr to the high dignity of Amīr-ul-umarā.

[2] The technicalities of the art are explained by Huart in *Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de l'Orient Musulman*, Paris, 1908. He gives (p. 256) a list of Indian calligraphists in the eighteenth century, and also mentions Jawāhir Raqam, Aurangzēb's librarian, who died in 1683. The Department of Design, &c., at S. Kensington, possesses specimens of the work of Roshan Raqam, one of the artists named. Col. Hanna's two volumes of *Asiatic Drawings* at Petersfield contain specimens of calligraphy signed by the artists, and ranging from Mīr Ali, A.D. 1535 (=A.H. 942) to Muhammad Murād, A.D. 1638 (=A.H. 1048). A long catalogue of calligraphists might be compiled from the collections in England, if anybody cared to take the trouble.



PLATE CXIII. Illustration of the *Dārābnāmah*; by Bihzād and Abdul Samad. (B. M. Or. 4615, fol. 103 rev.)

one which has prevailed most strongly throughout its long historical evolution, is the graphic quality of the painting; Chinese painters are, first of all, draughtsmen and calligraphists . . . The different legends all carry out the leading idea of the common origin and essential unity of writing and painting, and this unity is constantly insisted upon by Chinese critics of the two arts.'[1]

The same idea dominated the Persian artists and their Indian imitators at Akbar's court. Abūl Fazl, accordingly, devotes Āīn 34 of his *Institutes of Akbar* to the discussion of the 'Arts of Writing and Painting', passing naturally from the account of calligraphic systems summarized above to the invaluable notice of the early history of Indo-Persian painting, which forms our only source of knowledge of the subject other than the information to be gleaned laboriously by minute study in detail of individual works. M. Huart sums up the close relations between calligraphy and Asiatic painting in the phrase :—'En Orient la miniature n'est que la servante de la calligraphie.' The phrase, however, is not applicable to the ancient Hindu schools of painting, which, except in so far as they may have been influenced by Chinese and Persian ideas, were independent of the scribe's art. None of the many varieties of the square Brahmī or Sanskrit script ever tempted the calligraphist to regard his manuscript as a picture, nor did anybody dream of collecting specimens of writing in that script merely for the sake of their beauty.

A remarkable set of twenty-four large paintings on cotton, in Mongol style, preserved in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, seems to have been produced in Kashmīr about the middle of the sixteenth century before Akbar took measures to encourage painting after the Persian manner. These cotton paintings, bought in Kashmīr for low prices by Sir Purdon Clarke, are said to have been illustrations of a manuscript book of stories which has not been preserved or identified. The subjects, comprising many battles and scenes of bloodshed, are often repulsive. No. 5 shows a man being thrown from a window and caught by a horseman below. The most pleasing and best preserved composition is No. 15, which represents a central garden plot with conventional banyan-trees and a highly decorated palace in the Persian style; cranes are seen flying above. The rocky scenery found in all, or almost all, the pictures is connected with Kashmīr in one case by the introduction of black bears, and with India in two cases by the insertion of banyan-trees. These works may be conjectured to have been executed in Kashmīr between A.D. 1540 and 1551, when that country was ably ruled by Bābar's cousin, Haidar Mirzā Dughlat, the accomplished author of the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*. They may be compared with the two big pictures on paper—the largest Indo-Persian compositions known—measuring 2 feet 8 inches by 2 feet 2 inches, which formed part of the illustrations of the *Romance of Amīr Hamzah Sāhib Kirān*, probably from the brush of Mīr Saiyid Ali of Tabrīz, the illustrator of that work, as recorded by Abūl Fazl. Possibly the South Kensington pictures may be concerned with the same story. Quaint representations of fights with black bears are also found in the B. M. MS. Or.

[1] Bushell, *Chinese Art*, ii. 207.

4615 of the *Dārābnāmah*, executed near the close of the sixteenth century by Akbar's artists.[1]

The history of Indian painting between the close of the Ajantā series in A.D. 642 and the importation of Persian art by Akbar about A.D. 1570, a period of more than nine centuries, is almost a blank, as has been shown in Chapter IX of this work.[2] But the art cannot have been extinct on Indian soil at any time, although practically no specimens of it have survived from the ages referred to. The rapidity with which the teaching of Abdul Samad and his Musalman colleagues was assimilated and then modified by scores of Hindu artists of various castes is in itself sufficient proof that the foreign teachers must have found trained indigenous scholars with whom to work. Men accustomed to draw and paint could easily learn new methods and a foreign style, but not even the despotic power of Akbar would have been able to create a numerous school of Hindu artists out of nothing.

This inference, inevitable from a general survey of the facts, is established with certainty by the positive testimony of Abūl Fazl that Daswanth, who disputed with Basāwan the first place among the Hindu painters of Akbar's court, had 'devoted his whole life to the art, and used, from love to his profession, to draw and paint figures even on walls'. He was the son of a poor man, a member of the Kahār or palanquin-bearer caste; and when such a man, in spite of all social disadvantages, could become a professional artist, many others more favourably situated must have done the same. Daswanth's genius was rescued from obscurity by the royal favour. 'One day,' writes the courtly historian, 'the eye of His Majesty fell on him; his talent was discovered, and he himself handed over to the Khājah [*scil.* Abdul Samad]. In a short time he surpassed all painters and became the first master of the age. Unfortunately the light of his talents was dimmed by the shadow of madness; he committed suicide. He has left many masterpieces.' Abūl Fazl goes on to say that the work of Basāwan is so excellent that many connoisseurs preferred him to Daswanth.

The Koran, following the Semitic principle formulated in the Mosaic Second Commandment, absolutely forbids Muslims to make the likeness of anything in heaven or on earth; and the prohibition has been and is strictly obeyed, with rare exceptions, in all countries and at all times, so far as the decoration of mosques and other buildings devoted to religious purposes is concerned.[3] But, as explained in Chapter XII (p. 422), Muslims often have taken the liberty of disregarding the prohibition in secular matters. In book illustrations such liberty is commonly assumed. The Persians, adherents of the Shīa sect of Islam, always have been especially lax in their

[1] Four of the cotton pictures are hung in the Entrance Hall of the Indian Section, Victoria and Albert Museum; the remaining twenty are in Room VI. My numbering of those in Room VI runs from the wall of Room VII. Most of them have been mutilated by cutting out heads.

[2] The buildings at Fathpur-Sīkrī, two of which contain the remains of frescoes in Indo-Persian style, were begun in A.D 1569.

[3] Two exceptional cases are cited by Migeon. The Khalīf Abd-ul-Malik (A.D. 685–705) erected a mosque at Jerusalem decorated with images of the Prophet and paintings of heaven and hell. The Jumaī Mosque at Isfahan exhibits on the walls two paintings, one of Alī, son-in-law of the Prophet, and another, perhaps representing Fatima veiled (*Manuel d'art musulman*, t. ii, pp. 1, 56).

open disregard of the Koranic prohibition. The Mughal emperors of India looked to Irān for the graces of civilization, and it was natural that Akbar should desire to add the charms of Persian pictorial art to the amenities of his court. Regarding himself as Head of the Church and pontiff of a new religion, he cared little about the Prophet, and at a private party was heard by his Boswell to observe :—

'There are many that hate painting, but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognizing God ; for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the Giver of life, and will thus increase in knowledge.'

Whatever may be the value of this theological argument, it was good enough for Akbar, who, like all the members of his race, excepting, perhaps, Aurangzēb the Puritan, keenly enjoyed art, and prided himself on his skill as a connoisseur.

He found no difficulty in gratifying his taste. Liberal pay and abundant honour drew crowds of artists, both foreigners and Indians, Muslims, and Hindus, to his magnificent court, where the more distinguished were enrolled as *mansabdārs*, or members of the official nobility, and assigned ample salaries. His system of government making no distinction between civil and military employ, or rather giving military titles to all official rank, the successful artists ranked as army officers of good standing, while their assistants and allies, gilders, binders, and the like, were enrolled either as members of the imperial bodyguard (*ahadī*), or as private soldiers, with pay ranging from fifteen to thirty rupees a month, sufficient for comfortable subsistence. The industry of all grades was stimulated by weekly inspections, at which His Majesty generously rewarded merit.

Imperial libraries of large extent were formed at Agra, Delhi, and other places, stored with all that was best in Asiatic literature, both originals and Persian translations, the volumes being enshrined in the richest bindings, and adorned with miniatures regardless of expense.

For example, the *Razmnāmah*, or Persian abridged translation of the *Mahābhārata*, with preface dated A. D. 1588, now at Jaipur, is said to have cost £40,000 sterling; and Colonel Hanna estimates that his copy of the *Rāmāyana*, now at Washington, must have cost quite half that sum.[1] The *Akbarnāmah*, from which 117 large paintings are preserved at South Kensington, was a similar work, and Abūl Fazl mentions many others.[2] According to the Spanish priest, Father Sebastian Manrique, who was at Agra in 1641, the imperial library at that city contained 24,000 volumes, valued by him at the astounding figure of 6,463,731 rupees, or £720,000 sterling, an average per volume of almost 270 rupees, equivalent then to about £30.[3]

[1] Vol. iv of Hendley, *Memorials of the Jeypore Exhibition*, 1883, 4to, is solely devoted to reproductions from the *Razmnāmah*, of which two are in colour.

[2] The *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, usually regarded as a separate work, was really part of the *Akbarnāmah*, or 'History of Akbar'.

[3] Manrique, *Itinerario de las missiones que hizo el padre F. Sebastian Manrique*, Roma, 1649, p. 417. See *ante*, chap. xii, p. 417. Some of Manrique's observations are summarized in English in Murray, *Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia*, 1820, vol. ii, pp. 96–119, and again, more briefly, in Oaten, *European Travellers in India*, 1909,

The libraries thus formed were maintained and increased by Jahāngīr, Shahjahān, and Aurangzēb (1605–1707); and even the weak successors of the last Great Mogul were not indifferent to the delights of choice books and dainty pictures.[1] But the political convulsions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries destroyed the imperial libraries, with most of the similar collections formed by subordinate potentates like the Rohilla chief and the Nawāb-Vazīr of Oudh.[2] Fragments of these wonderful accumulations are now scattered over the world in private and public collections, and although constituting but a small fraction of the great mass once in existence, supply ample material for the history of Indo-Persian calligraphy and the sister art of the miniaturist. In a book like the present, covering a wide range of topics and a space of more than two thousand years, it is impossible to go into minute details about individual manuscripts, but I cannot refrain from noticing briefly the most pathetic bit of wreckage from a princely library which has come under my observation.

When Shahjahān began to grow old, his four sons, each eager to secure for himself the succession to the throne, engaged in bitter, internecine strife. Aurangzēb, the third son, a master of craft and guile, won the prize, imprisoned his father, and assumed power in 1658. Dārā Shukoh, his eldest brother, doubly hateful as a rival and a heretic, was pursued to the death with unrelenting rigour. Driven into the deserts of Sind, he was foully betrayed, and, to augment his affliction, before reaching the house of his betrayer,

'received by a foot messenger the sad intelligence of the death of that one of his wives whom he loved most, and who had accompanied him always during his misfortunes. He learnt that she had died of heat and thirst, not being able to find a drop of water in the country to assuage her thirst. The Prince was so affected by the news that he fell as though he were dead.'[3]

The memory of this sad tale is recalled by a beautiful little album recently purchased by the India Office Library, which bears the unhappy prince's autograph inscription written across a splash of gold smeared over the delicately decorated fly-

pp. 97–102; but his work has never been translated from the Spanish, although it contains much matter not in the pages of other travellers. The note on the Agra library is now cited for the first time. Manrique estimated the imperial treasure of various kinds, including the library, at Agra alone, to be worth 348,226,386 rupees, more than 42 millions sterling. His precise figures may have been obtained from official records. The exchange is taken at 2*s*. 3*d* per rupee, the rate current in Shahjahān's reign.

[1] For instance, the splendid B.M. MS. Add. 20734 (*Pers. Catal.*, p. 259) was given to an English officer by Akbar II in 1815 as an official present. Mīr Muhammad, the artist from whom Manucci obtained the portraits of the imperial family which he brought to Venice before 1712, was in the service of Shah Ālam (Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, vol. i, pp. liii–lvi).

[2] B.M. MS. Add. 22470 belonged to Hāfiz Rahmat of Rohilkhand, and came into the possession of an English officer after Hastings's Rohilla war, in the course of which the Bareilly library was plundered. Āsaf-ud-daulah, Nawāb-Vazīr of Oudh, secured most of the books for Lucknow, where they were again plundered and scattered in 1858. B.M. MS. Add. 18579 was illustrated for the last king of Bījāpur in the Deccan, whose capital was sacked by Aurangzēb in 1686. Most princes probably owned libraries of considerable value.

[3] Tavernier, *Travels*, transl. V. Ball, i. 350. The title *Dārā Shukoh* (or *Shikoh*) means 'equal in splendour to Darius'. The common practice of calling the prince simply Dārā, *i. e.* Darius, is erroneous. His personal name, given in the signature on the album, was Muhammad, as is usual with Muslims.

leaf:—'This album was presented to his nearest and dearest friend, the Lady Nādirah Bēgam, by Prince Muhammad Dārā Shukoh, son of the Emperor Shahjahān, in the year 1051 (= A.D. 1641-2).'

The illustration of manuscripts was only one form of Indo-Persian art, and that, as M. Blochet truly observes, was not always the most successful. The book illustrations, like those in the Clarke MS. of the *Akbarnāmah* at South Kensington, even when executed by Basāwan, Daswanth, and other famous artists, are generally inferior to Persian work. The highest achievements of the Indian draughtsmen and colourists were often attained in separate pictures of varying sizes, which were frequently bound in albums, like that given by Dārā Shukoh to his beloved wife. The British Museum collection includes many such albums, some of which, such as Hāfiz Rahmat's volume above noticed, constitute historical portrait galleries of the deepest interest. The fashion set by the court of Delhi and followed by all the feudatory courts and many individual nobles, was passed on to the wealthy English 'Nabobs' in the latter part of the eighteenth century, who gladly seized opportunities of procuring specimens and bringing them home. Certain pictures in B.M. MS. Add. 18801 were much admired by Sir Joshua Reynolds in July, 1777.

Occasional memoranda of prices give some notion of the pecuniary value of such pictures. One of those specially noticed by Sir Joshua—a large sketch of Shahjahān holding court—is marked Rupees 200, equivalent in those days to at least £25 sterling. In the Johnson Collection at the India Office formed by Warren Hastings's banker, Richard Johnson, a drawing of Nawāb Shāyista Khān, a great noble of Aurangzēb's time (vol. xxii, fol. 5), is priced Rupees 170, and in another volume a number of more ordinary small portraits are priced at 25 rupees each. During the nineteenth century the taste for the work of the school was lost by both Europeans and Indians, and very few persons seemed to care what happened to the pictures, which were then procurable for nominal sums. Interest in them has now been revived, chiefly by reason of Mr. Havell's efforts and the publications of French scholars. According to Badāoni, Akbar's hostile critic, the courtiers' taste for illuminated books had been stimulated in his time by a certain amount of compulsion, and it was natural that, during the 'great anarchy' of the Marāthā period, when the influence of the Delhi court sank to nothing, the amount of liberal patronage by the minor native courts should diminish. Nevertheless, even during those stormy times much meritorious portrait work was produced, and some good portraiture was executed as late as the nineteenth century.

When Bernier was writing to Colbert in 1669, early in the reign of Aurangzēb, who had the Puritan dislike for art, the position of artists had become much less favourable than that enjoyed by them in the days of Akbar, Jahāngīr, and Shahjahān. The observant French physician, a thoroughly trustworthy witness, described as follows the relations between artists and their patrons, or rather taskmasters, as seen by him:—

'Can it excite wonder that under these circumstances [*scil.* of general misery] the arts do not flourish here as they would do under better government, or as

they flourish in our happier France? No artist can be expected to give his mind to his calling in the midst of a people who are either wretchedly poor, or who, if rich, assume an appearance of poverty, and who regard not the beauty and excellence, but the cheapness of an article; a people whose grandees pay for a work of art considerably under its value, and according to their own caprice, and who do not hesitate to punish an importunate artist or tradesman with the *korrah*, that long and terrible whip hanging at every Omrah's [nobleman's] gate. Is it not enough to damp the ardour of any artist when he feels that he can never hope to attain to any distinction? . . . The arts in the Indies would long ago have lost their beauty and delicacy if the monarch and principal Omrahs did not keep in their pay a number of artists who work in their houses, teach the children, and are stimulated to exertion by the hope of reward and the fear of the *korrah*. The protection afforded by powerful patrons to rich merchants and tradesmen who pay the workmen rather higher wages tends also to preserve the arts. I say "rather higher wages", for it should not be inferred from the goodness of the manufactures that the workman is held in esteem, or arrives at a state of independence. Nothing but sheer necessity of blows from a cudgel keeps him employed.'

In a subsequent passage the author describes the workshops attached to great houses :—

'In one hall embroiderers are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another you see the goldsmiths, in a third, painters, &c.' [1]

Bernier's description of the servile position of artists, while applicable specially to the experts in the industrial arts, must have been generally true also for that of the professors of the fine art of painting. A tyrannical 'Omrah' and his henchmen would not have drawn nice distinctions between the artist who painted the miniatures and the embroiderers or carvers who executed the binding of a sumptuous manuscript. Indeed the binding is sometimes as much a work of art as the pictures are.[2]

Wall-paintings, doubtless executed for the most part as 'Indian fresco' in the manner described in Chapter VIII (*ante*, p. 277), constituted the third branch of Indo-Persian pictorial art, and are known to have been numerous on the imperial residences. As might be expected, few specimens have survived the destruction and neglect from which the Mughal palaces have suffered so severely. The best preserved examples are those which decorated two buildings at Fathpur-Sīkrī near Agra, namely, Akbar's bedroom and the residence of his Hindu queen, who bore the title of 'Mariam-uz-zamān', the 'Mary of the Age'. Even these pictures, many of which were in tolerably good condition forty or fifty years ago, are now mere fragments, measures of conservation having been deferred too long. The remains are fully described and illustrated in the first volume of the late Mr. E. W. Smith's elaborate work on Akbar's palace-city.

[1] Bernier, *Travels*, transl. Constable, pp. 228, 258.

[2] B.M. MS. Add. 18579, a copy of the *Anwār-i-Suhaili* in a beautiful minute script, has a handsome stamped gilt binding, and there are other examples of rich early bindings in the Museum collection. See *Indian Art at Delhi*, p. 203, several papers in *J. I. A. I.*, and Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, t. ii, p. 59.

The subjects, like those of the book illustrations and album pictures, are extremely various, comprising winged angels, a Chinese figure supposed to be Buddha, a boating scene, hunting parties, a tournament, a battle, and elegant floral designs in Japanese taste. The most interesting fragment is the boating scene, reproduced in Plate CXIV.

The pictures, executed about 1570 or a little later, in the early Indo-Persian style, without any shading, are the earliest known examples of the Indo-Persian school. The winged angels are a clear proof that European pictures were studied. One scene is called the 'Annunciation' by the local guides, who may be right in their identification. The purely Chinese form of the personage supposed to be Buddha is equally clear proof that Chinese models were imitated, and the foliage decorations have a Japanese look. Akbar's taste in art, as in religion, was eclectic, and he delighted in foreign notions of all sorts.

The small paintings on ivory, generally oval in shape, produced freely at Delhi for the benefit of tourists, are obviously imitations in form of the English miniatures made fashionable at native courts towards the close of the eighteenth century by John Smart, Ozias Humphreys, and other able artists who then came out to India to 'shake the pagoda-tree'. The subjects of the modern Delhi miniatures, as a rule, are copied by a mechanical stencil process from older pictures or stock drawings, and thus have no claim to rank as works of original art. The execution of the better specimens is admirable, displaying to advantage the Indian qualities of patience, steadiness of hand, and firm drawing of line, but the lack of inspiration deprives these pretty trifles of artistic interest and reduces them to the level of mere curiosities and mementoes of travel. The style of the painting follows the tradition of the Indo-Persian school of the seventeenth century.

Excepting the modern Delhi miniatures on ivory, the frescoes, the early paintings on cotton, and a few pictures on vellum, the Indo-Persian paintings are all executed on paper.[1] I do not know any Indian examples of painting on silk in the Chinese manner. The Indo-Persian, like other Asiatic artists, conceived every object as being bounded by firm lines, and consequently, his first step was the drawing of an outline. For the illustration of ordinary Persian books, according to M. Blochet, the outline drawn directly on the page in red or black chalk was filled in with colours at once. For more costly and elaborate volumes the process was more complicated, the illustrations being executed upon a separate sheet subsequently applied to the blank space left in the manuscript. That sheet was first covered with a layer of very fine plaster, mixed in a solution of gum arabic. The outline was then drawn upon the perfectly smooth surface thus obtained, and opaque body-colours, mixed with water, were laid on in successive layers, just as in oil-painting, but with the difference that mistakes could not be rectified. Jewels and ornaments were indicated by needle prickings in sheets of gold-leaf, or even by the insertion of pearls or diamond chips.[2] The work

[1] Col. Hanna's Collection, now at Washington, U. S. A., included three examples on vellum, namely, No. 28, Jahāngīr standing on globe; No. 52, a Sultan of Turkey; and No. 86, Bābar.

[2] Blochet, 'Musalman MSS. and Miniatures as illustrated in the Recent Exhibition at Paris,' *Burlington Magazine*, vol. ii, June to Aug. 1903.



Plate CXIV. Wall-painting: eight men in a boat; in Akbar's bedroom, Fathpur-Sīkrī.
(E. W. Smith, *The Moghul Architecture of Fathpur-Sīkrī*, Pl. XIII.)

was all done by the Indian artists with fine squirrel-hair brushes, the most delicate strokes being executed with a brush of a single hair, an instrument requiring the utmost correctness of eye and steadiness of hand. The collections in London contain many examples of unfinished drawings and paintings, which, if examined critically by experts, would reveal fully the Indian methods of work, and show how far they agreed with or differed from the Persian methods described by M. Blochet.[1]

The blue was ordinarily obtained from powdered lapis lazuli, imported from Badakshān, but indigo blues appear in early book illustrations of Hindu subjects. The reds used were cinnabar, vermilion, or cochineal.[2] The yellow was chrome, and other colours were made up by mixing these. Gold was freely used in the form of gold-leaf, and also as a wash of which the Indians had the secret.[3] The Persians applied an admirably transparent varnish made of sandarac and linseed-oil, mixed as a paste and dissolved in either petroleum or highly rectified spirits of wine.[4] Probably the Indians used all the Persian appliances with some additions and modifications, but the ascertainment of full details would require special expert study and hardly repay the trouble.

The practice of beginning a picture by laying down a firmly-drawn outline led to a curious division of labour, the outline often being drawn by one man and the painting done by another. For example, in the Clarke MS. of the *Akbarnāmah* at South Kensington the picture (No. $\frac{89}{117}$) of the execution of Adham Khān was drawn by Miskīn and painted by Shankar. Sometimes three artists collaborated in one work, and I have noticed one instance in which the collaborators numbered four, namely, the audience scene ($\frac{1}{117}$) in the Clarke MS. The outlines in that picture were drawn by Miskīn, the painting was done by Sarwan, the faces (*chihra-nāmī*) by an artist whose name is indistinct, and the figures (*ṣūrat*) by Mādho. It is not clear how such a complicated arrangement was worked. The method, whether only two artists or four collaborated, necessarily tended to reduce their art to the level of a skilled mechanical craft; and, as a matter of fact, the mechanical nature of much of the fine Indo-Persian work is its greatest defect.[5]

The early Indo-Persian book illustrations, such as those in the Clarke MS. of the *Akbarnāmah*, are wrought in excessively brilliant colours, chiefly red, yellow, and blue.

[1] Further technical details are given in the appendix to Havell's *Indian Sculpture and Painting*.

[2] Before the discovery of cochineal in 1518, *kermes*, a pigment obtained from *Coccus Indicus*, an insect found in Persia, must have been used (*Burlington Magazine*, vol. iv, p. 144). Other authorities call the species *Coccus ilicis*.

[3] Recipe in Ozias Humphrey MSS. in B.M., No. 15962, first leaf. See also Moor, *Hindu Pantheon* (ed. 1810), p. 63 *n*.

[4] Blochet, *Burlington Magazine*, vol. ii, *ut supra*.

[5] The word طرح, *ṭarḥ*, or *ṭarrah*, primarily means 'foundation'; e.g. *ṭarḥ afgandan*, 'to lay a foundation,' *ṭarḥ-kash*, a 'plan-drawer' (Steingass, *Pers. Dict.*). The transition to the meaning 'outline' was easy, and the word always has that meaning in the signatures to the Indo-Persian drawings, as M. Blochet rightly perceived. Blochmann's erroneous rendering 'back-grounding' in his translation of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* made the signatures unintelligible. 'Painting' or 'colouring', as distinguished from 'outline', is expressed by either the Arabic word عمل, *a'mal*, 'execution,' or the Persian term *rang-āmezī*, 'colouring.' When *a'mal* stands alone, it implies execution of the picture by a single artist. The term *rang-āmezī*, to signify 'colouring', is preferred in the Jaipur *Razmnāmah*.

They are avowed imitations of Persian work of the Tīmūrid school, and are not as good as the prototypes. The composition is usually overcrowded. The subjects, in accordance with Mongol taste, are frequently horrible and disgusting. Nothing could be more repulsive than the picture ($\frac{48}{117}$) in the Clarke MS. representing the execution ground, on which nine wretches are being torn to pieces by elephants, while two more, standing in the corner near the gallows, await their turn. Such a picture proves that, even under Akbar's comparatively mild government, the administration of justice was associated with much sanguinary cruelty, common, unhappily, in most countries during that age.

In Persia, at the close of the fifteenth century, the character of Tīmūrid art began to change, passing into the more delicate and sentimental style of the Safavide period in the sixteenth century. During the seventeenth century the refined Safavide style, with its lowered scale of colour, became familiar in India, where further local modifications were effected under the influence of Hindu tradition. The Indian artists 'had a truer feeling for colour and more sober tonality' than their Persian teachers, according to M. Blochet, who is disposed to think that the Indians sometimes carried the policy of softening colour to an undue extreme. They were wonderfully successful in their *grisaille* drawings of a single colour, frequently a pale sepia, with delicate gradations of tint, very pleasing to my eye. At the same time they developed a mastery over individual characteristic portraiture never equalled, I think, by the Persians. The best Indian work dates from the first half of the seventeenth century, but good portraits are to be found executed as late as the early years of the nineteenth century.

During Akbar's reign (1556–1605) and a portion of Jahāngīr's (1605–27) the standing portrait figures are usually represented in profile in a formal, conventional manner, with the right hand holding up a flower or jewel, and the feet placed one in front of the other. Gradually this stiff formalism was dropped, and men and women were drawn in natural attitudes. The more ancient Indo-Persian works, like their Persian models, follow unreservedly the style known to modern critics as 'primitive', that is to say, a style marked by the total lack of roundness, depth of tone, and aerial perspective, every object being represented as absolutely flat. During the later years of Jahāngīr's reign and subsequently, this flat style was modified by the Indian artists, who frequently introduced slight line shading with admirable effect, so contriving to give their figures a sufficient degree of roundness with wonderfully few strokes. The change adds much to the attractiveness of seventeenth-century Indian work in European eyes.

This improvement, if it may be so called, may have been the result of European influence, which certainly became a potent factor in Persian and Indian art at that time. Most of the albums show it plainly. For instance, Dārā Shukoh's album includes two wood engravings (fol. 42 *b*, 43), one of S. Caterina di Siena, dated 1585, and the other of S. Margarita of about the same period, while the picture on folio 74 exhibits a lady and gentleman in European costume. Biblical subjects were frequently treated by the artists, and were specially favoured by the royal family, who used them

for palace decorations at both Fathpur-Sīkrī and Lahore. The treatment at times seems very quaint, as when we see the Good Shepherd depicted in the form of a stout middle-aged man with a black beard, wearing a Muslim's robe and a twisted turban of gold brocade (Plate CXV). A second Good Shepherd in vol. xvi, fol. 1 of the Johnson Collection is signed by Ustād Miskīn, probably to be identified with Muhammad Miskīn, the author of a lady's portrait in vol. xxi, fol. 1 of the same collection, and with Miskīn, Akbar's artist, who signed some of the pictures in the Clarke MS. of the *Akbarnāmah*. Many other biblical subjects will be found in the collections, and it must be confessed that the pictures are not usually equal to those devoted to topics more congenial to the artists.

One subject, frequently treated with variations, has been mistakenly identified as Christian, and dubbed 'Angels ministering to Christ', although all the compositions dealing with it are purely Muslim. The main motive is the miraculous supply of food to a hermit saint dwelling in the wilderness by angels, who vary in number in different replicas, and are generally, if not always, provided with wings in the conventional fashion borrowed by Christian art from the Greek figure of Victory. Most of the pictures show a second figure, a discontented darvīsh sitting sulking in a corner or at the mouth of a cave. As is proved in several instances by the labels, the principal figure undoubtedly is that of Ibrāhīm, son of Adham, who resigned the kingdom of Balkh, and withdrew as a hermit into the wilderness already haunted by a darvīsh, whose food had been provided regularly by the angels. When the ex-king appeared on the scene, the angels, while continuing to supply their old client the darvīsh with a single daily dish as a bare subsistence, liberally brought ten dishes to the retired monarch, in recognition of the sacrifice made by him. The darvīsh naturally was annoyed, and whenever he is introduced into the picture his feelings are indicated by the artist.[1]

The later pictures constantly display the effects of European example and teaching in ways more subtle than the selection of Christian subjects or the representation of people in European dress. The discreet use of shading to suggest an appearance of roundness, already noticed, may or may not be the result of study of European models. The development of landscape backgrounds, with a partial introduction of aerial and linear perspective, unquestionably is an imitation of Western exemplars.

Many of the attempts to combine the methods of the West with those of the East are decided failures, as similar attempts in China have failed, but some few attain a high level of executive excellence. One such picture of good quality—a large landscape with a fortified town in the distance; a girl wading in the river, &c.—has been selected for reproduction as Plate XCV in the *Portfolio de l'Exposition des Arts Musulmans*, Paris. Another pleasing composition, fol. 221 of B.M. Or. 2265, depicts a lady in European dress with her husband or lover drinking under the shade of trees[2] (Plate CXVI). Numberless pictures indicate in a less conspicuous manner

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 751; 1910, p. 167.

[2] This MS. has been cited above (p. 451) for a specimen of the work of the early artist Mīrak. It contains fourteen pictures, all of high quality, eleven being sixteenth-century works, and three being later additions, showing the extent to which Persian taste

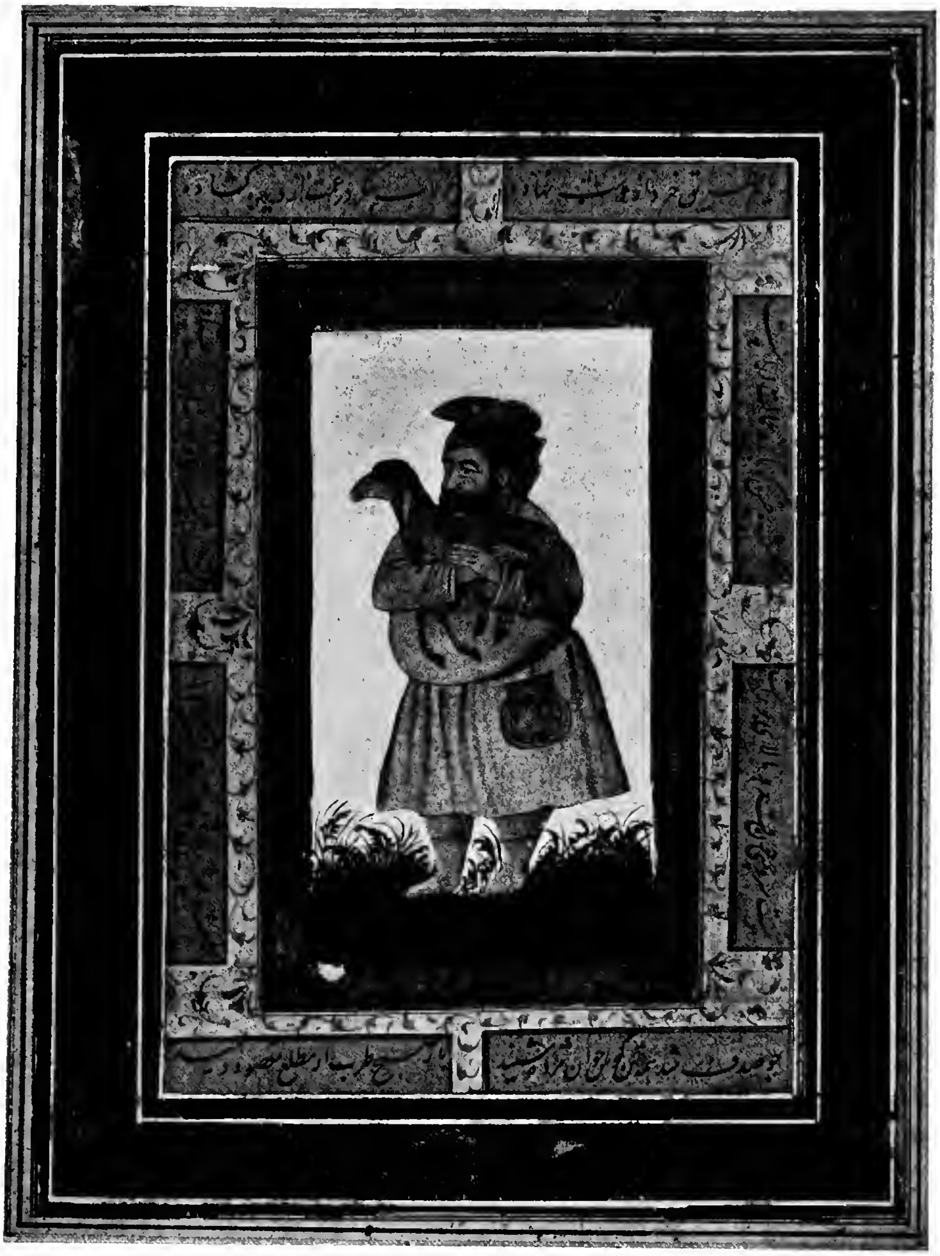


Plate CXV. *Grisaille* Good Shepherd; anonymous.
(Johnson Coll., vol. vi, fol. 7.)

the influence produced by the example of Europe on the treatment of landscape backgrounds and perspective, both linear and aerial. A skilled expert might possibly succeed by careful study in tracing the influence of particular individual Western masters, but I cannot attempt to do so, and, if I could, the task would hardly repay the pains.

The Persian kings admired European art, and deliberately sought to introduce its methods into their country. During the residence of Sir Robert Sherley at the Persian court, sometime about A.D. 1606, Shah Abbās I (1587–1629) sent to Rome a party of students, one of whom became a Christian and published a book under the name of Don John of Persia. Shah Abbās II (1642–67) repeated the experiment and dispatched a second party. One of these, by name Muhammad Zamān, also was converted, and returned to Persia as a Christian under the name of Paolo Zamān. Having been obliged to quit his native land, he obtained in India the protection of Shahjahān, who granted him, with other exiled Persians, allowances as a *mansabdār* in Kashmīr. Early in Aurangzēb's reign all the Persian refugee *mansabdārs* were summoned to court for the verification of their grants, and on that occasion, about A.D. 1660, Manucci made the acquaintance of Muhammad or Paolo Zamān, who avowed his Christian profession, while continuing to live in the ordinary Musalman manner. The three Europeanized pictures in B.M. Or. 2265 evidently are from his brush.

To this day the painters and illuminators of Isfahan, the earlier, and Teheran, the later, capital of Persia, cherish as their ideal the ambition to 'paint like Raphael', and pride themselves on their descent from certain of the students sent long ago to Rome who survived to return to the home of their fathers.[1]

The attempt to weld Asiatic ideals and methods with those of Europe, although responsible for some pretty pictures, was not a permanent success in either Persia or India. It is now being renewed by the clever Bengālī artists of Abanindro Nāth Tagore's school in a different form, and with considerable ability, but, I fear, without much prospect of producing any really important results.

Asiatic art, whether Chinese, Japanese, Persian, or Indian, depending essentially on skill in the drawing of lines, cannot accommodate itself to the traditions and requirements of European realistic painting, based on different principles. The Chinese, Dr. Bushell observes,

'attribute an extreme importance to the line in pictorial art; bodies appear to them, not as they are in reality, that is to say, round and with light playing about

was affected by European models. Of those three, fol. 221 is the best. All the three are signed 'Muhammad Zamān', and dated A.H. 1086 = A.D. 1675–6.

[1] The strange story of the Persian missions to Rome is pieced together from Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, ii. 17; and Sir C. Purdon Clarke's article 'A Tradition of Raphael in Persia', *J. Ind. Art*, vol. vii (1897), pp. 25, 26, Pl. XLII–XLVI. The author of that article heard the tradition of the artists when he was visiting Persia in 1874–6. It is said that Muhammad Zamān, who was converted, had been sent abroad to learn how to confute the Christian missionaries. The adventurous lives of the Sherley (Shirley) brothers may be read in the *Dict. of Nat. Biography*.



them, but as if circumscribed by a precise line, defined visibly from the ambient air. So the painters of the Middle Kingdom have never appreciated the real substance of things in modelling or relieving the surface; even at the finest epochs of their art they have remained incapable of representing solid and living forms, and after some twenty centuries of production are still where Italian painting was in the time of Giotto [1266–1366].'[1]

Genuine Persian and Indo-Persian art rests upon the same basis.

Europeans are now so accustomed to expect in painting solid effects, with the play of light and shade, and aerial perspective, that they are tempted to welcome as obvious improvements the partial adoption of Renaissance methods by Indian artists, which render the modified product more easily intelligible and consonant with European taste. But stricter criticism hesitates to applaud attempts to reconcile incompatible ideals, even when most skilfully executed, and decides that it is better for the Asiatic to go his own way. An exception may be admitted in favour of the strictly limited line-shading introduced into some of the later Indian works. The Indian paintings, in so far as they conform to Asiatic principles, always remain coloured drawings, no matter how gorgeous may be the pigments, or how elaborate the detail. When the artist starts, as he invariably does, by drawing a firm clear-cut outline, nothing can change a composition so begun into a picture in the modern European sense. No European artist now living is capable, I imagine, of rivalling in certain respects the mastery over line displayed by the best Asiatics, nor is any Asiatic artist qualified to compete with the great Renaissance painters or their successors. Each at his best is unsurpassed and perfect in his way, and it is better for each 'cobbler to stick to his last'.

It is customary, especially with French writers, to describe as 'miniatures' all the Indo-Persian drawings and paintings on paper or vellum, irrespective of size, whether book illustrations or independent works. The term suits sufficiently well for the smaller illustrations of manuscripts, and, when so used, retains to a certain extent its etymological sense, as a derivative from *minium*, and is applied in accordance with general usage.

But modern practice, influenced apparently by a false popular etymology, tends to restrict the application of the term 'miniature', as applied to independent works, to portraits on a small or *minute* scale, whether executed on ivory or other material. The extension of the term to comparatively large independent pictures, often including crowds of figures and complicated landscapes, is embarrassing.

The largest known Indo-Persian pictures on paper are the two illustrations of the *Story of Amīr Hamzah* in the British Museum (Or. 3600; *ante*, p. 454), which each measure 2 feet 8 inches by 2 feet 2 inches. It seems absurd to describe such works as 'miniatures', the term not being applicable to them in any sense. It is almost equally inappropriate when applied to Colonel Hanna's elaborate picture representing a cavalry review by Shahjahān, which measures 23 by $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches, or the picture,

[1] *Chinese Art*, ii. 107. Chinese painting now attracts criticism in a more sympathetic spirit.

nearly as large, which depicts the audience scene when Jahāngīr received the Persian embassy, while he caressed a tiger on each side of the throne.[1]

On the whole, it seems to be advisable to drop the use of the term 'miniature' as a general designation of the works of the Indo-Persian school. The earlier English collectors commonly labelled them as 'drawings', a term strictly applicable to many, which are simply outline drawings, and not inapplicable to any, because even the most elaborate paintings are essentially coloured drawings.

Section II. The Artists and their Works.

The Indo-Persian or Mughal school of drawing and painting having lived in considerable vigour from about A.D. 1570 to 1820 or 1830—a period, roughly speaking, of two centuries and a half—and not being quite dead even now, naturally produced an enormous output. The extant works, notwithstanding all the mishaps to which Indian art has been exposed, still can be numbered by thousands. Almost at the very beginning of the operations of the school, about the year 1590, when Abūl Fazl, the minister of Akbar, wrote his memorable description of his sovereign's administration, a hundred artists were reckoned to be masters of their craft, while tolerable practitioners were past counting. During the reigns of Akbar's son and grandson, in the first half of the seventeenth century, when the new form of art grafted upon the stock of ancient Indian tradition attained its highest development, the number of proficients must have increased. Although the long-continued political and social agony which accompanied the decline and fall of the Mughal empire necessarily limited the opportunities for the practice of art and diminished its rewards, art did not die, and as we have seen in Chapter IX, a synthesis between Hindu tradition and Persian technique produced a new variety of Indian pictorial art possessing high merits. It is plain, therefore, that even when the eighteenth-century mythological painting is placed on one side for separate treatment, the mass of material to be dealt with by the historian is enormous, and that it is not possible within reasonable limits to do more than select a small number of typical examples.

Many, perhaps most, of the extant Indo-Persian compositions are anonymous, but hundreds are signed, and it would not be difficult to compile a list of the names of from one hundred to two hundred artists. Abūl Fazl's list of those considered by him to be the most eminent numbers seventeen persons, all of whom, with possibly one exception, are represented by extant works. In one manuscript, the *Wāqiāt-i-Bābarī*, or history of Bābar, written and illustrated about A.D. 1600, towards the close of Akbar's reign (B.M. Or. 3714), I noted the names of twenty-two artists, and probably overlooked several. Similar long lists might be put together from other collections. Unfortunately nearly all the names thus freely recorded are mere names, nothing being known concerning the men who bore them, so that the perusal of nominal lists offers little of interest.

Perhaps the most fruitful general observation arising from such perusal is that of

[1] Nos. 2 and 1 in the album 'Persian Drawings' at Petersfield.

the predominance of Hindu names. For instance, in the *Wāqiāt-i-Bābarī* above mentioned, out of twenty-two names, nineteen are Hindu, and only three Muslim. Similarly, in Abūl Fazl's catalogue of seventeen artists, only four are Muhammadan, while thirteen are Hindu.

Muhammadan artists in Abūl Fazl's list.

The four Muhammadans named are :—(1) Mīr Sayyid Ali, the illustrator of the story of Amīr Hamzah, whose work probably is represented by the two large pictures in B.M. Or. 3600 (*ante*, p. 468); (2) Khwājah Abdul Samad (*ante*, p. 452); (3) Farrukh the Qalmāk (Calmuck); and (4) Miskīn (*ante*, p. 464). Farrukh certainly deserves high praise. He contributed good work to the Clarke MS. of the *Akbarnāmah*, and was the author of a remarkable painting in three scenes occupying a full page on the reverse of folio 13 of B.M. Or. 3714. Miskīn, who drew the outlines of two pictures $(\frac{1}{117}, \frac{89}{117})$ in the Clarke MS., seems to be identical with the Ustād (*scil.* 'Master') Miskīn who painted the Good Shepherd in the Johnson Collection and the Muhammad Miskīn, author of a lady's portrait in the same collection (LVIII, 15). Both those works are early in style.

Hindu artists in same.

The thirteen Hindu names in Abūl Fazl's list are :—(5) Daswanth; (6) Basāwan; (7) Kesū (Kesava); (8) Lāl; (9) Mukund; (10) Mādho; (11) Jagan[nāth]; (12) Mahēsh; (13) Khemkaran; (14) Tārā; (15) Sānwlah; (16) Haribans; and (17) Rām. The signatures of all the seventeen artists named by Abūl Fazl appear in the Clarke MS., except Haribans, No. 16; and reappear in the Jaipur *Razmnāmah*, excepting Nos. 1, 2, and 16. I do not remember seeing any picture signed by Haribans. There were two Mādhos, the Elder (*Kalān*) and the Younger (*Khurd*). Kesū (Kesava) and some other artists are similarly duplicated in the signatures. Abūl Fazl probably referred to the elder persons bearing the names. In the *Razmnāmah* I have noted twenty-eight names, of whom twenty or twenty-one are Hindu.

Daswanth.

The sad story of Daswanth has been told already (*ante*, p. 455). Good specimens of his work as draughtsman are to be seen in Plates XII and XV of Col. Hendley's reproduction of the Jaipur *Razmnāmah*, both of which were drawn in outline by him, and coloured respectively by Mādho the Elder and Kānhā. The subjects are Hindu legends, treated in the Persian manner, but with differences. The principal figures are distinctively Indian in feature and form, and even in the minor figures where the chubby cheeks characteristic of the Persian style are preserved, the bodies are much less elongated than in Persian pictures. The scheme of colour too is lowered in brilliancy, and indigo blue is introduced for the bodies of deities.

Basāwan.

Basāwan, whom some critics preferred to Daswanth, is represented by Plate XXI of the *Razmnāmah* illustrating the story of the Rāja who married the daughter of the King of the Frogs. The lady, divesting herself of her fine clothes, returned to the water and resumed her froggy form, whereupon the angry husband proceeded to kill all the frogs he could find, until the lady was restored to him. These incidents are illustrated in the picture, reproduced (Plate CXVII) from a good copy lent by Col. Hendley. The prevailing colour is green in various shades. The birds, frogs, trees, and flowers are drawn and painted with the utmost delicacy, but the general effect is marred by the intrusion of blocks of manuscript. The perspective convention is the same as that



PLATE CXVII. The Rāja and the Frog Princess; by Basāwan and Bhawānī.
(From a copy lent by Col. Hendley, C.I.E.)

of the ancient bas-reliefs. If the spectator imagines that all the persons, trees, &c. are on hinges and can be raised to their feet, they will then all fall into their proper relative positions. The artist saw with his mind's eye all the figures standing up, but in order to paint them, conceived them all to be laid down on one side. The subject seems to be regarded and viewed from above, all the parts being equally bathed in light, which is not represented as coming from any particular direction. Consequently, there are no shadows, and there is hardly any shading. Strong sunlight is indicated by a wash of gold behind the big tree. The drawing is by Basāwan, the colouring by Bhawānī. I am inclined to prefer Basāwan to Daswanth.

The two Kesūs, or Kesavas, like Daswanth, were members of the lowly Kahār or palanquin-bearer caste. The elder (Kesava-dāsa) dedicated a collection of pictures, including copies and imitations of Christian works, to Akbar in A.D. 1588 (Sam. 1646).[1]

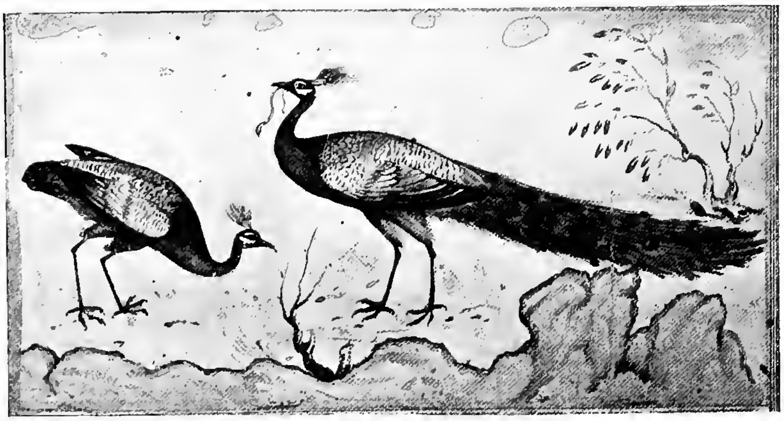


FIG. 246. Peacocks; by Jagannāth.
(B.M. Or. 3714, fol. 383 rev.)

I was much struck by the beauty and exquisite delicacy of the tiny peacocks painted by Jagannāth, whom Abūl Fazl designates shortly as Jagan, and hope that the accompanying illustration (Fig. 246) may be successful in conveying a true idea of the perfect execution of these little figures.

A full-page picture of a banquet by Tiriyyā, rightly marked by a former owner as 'incomparable' (*be-nāzīr*), is a fine example of Indo-Tīmūrid style, bright, but not too garish in colour, and free from the common fault of overcrowding (Pl. CXVIII).

The Indo-Persian artists excelled in the delineation of animals, both quadrupeds and birds, and a delightful album might be composed of their pictures of animal life. Jagannāth's peacocks have been illustrated above, and other birds will follow. I give here a capital wild buffalo by Sirōn or Sarwan (سرون) (Fig. 247).

A charming pale green acacia by the same artist, a line-drawing, may keep it company, and be compared with Basāwan's palm-trees (Fig. 248).

[1] 'Assess. 9278, 9360' in Royal Library, Berlin; cited by Weber, *Ind. Ant.*, vi. 353.



Plate CXVIII. The Banquet; by Tiriyyā, *cir.* a.d. 1600. (B. M. Or. 3714, fol. 260 rev.)

The same manuscript contains other excellent trees by various artists, and beautiful birds by Shankar of Gūjarāt.

Mansūr. The celebrated artist Mansūr, who enjoyed the special favour of Jahāngīr, and was honoured by him with a title of nobility, began his career in Akbar's reign. Two



FIG. 247. Wild Buffalo; by Sarwan, *cir.* A. D. 1600.
(B. M. Or. 3714, fol. 380.)

hunting scenes ($\frac{11}{117}$ and $\frac{62}{117}$) in the Clarke MS. of the *Akbarnāmah* are his work. The *Wāqiāt-i-Bābarī*, B. M. Or. 3714, contains a series of eight exquisite little miniatures from his brush (Persian, Nos. 110–117, on folios 387–9), from which I select the cock, No. 113, on folio 388, and the quail on the reverse of the same folio (Figs. 249, 250).

Mr. Havell has reproduced successfully a beautiful white crane by Mansūr in the Calcutta Art Gallery (*Indian Sculpture and Painting*, Plate LXI).

Date of Dārā Shukoh's album.

In Dārā Shukoh's album (*ante*, p. 457) only three pictures (folios 25, 27, and 21 *b*) are dated—the dates being A.H. 1014 = A.D. 1605–6; A.H. 1018 = A.D. 1609–10; and A.H. 1043 = A.D. 1633–4. The first of those years was that in which the sceptre

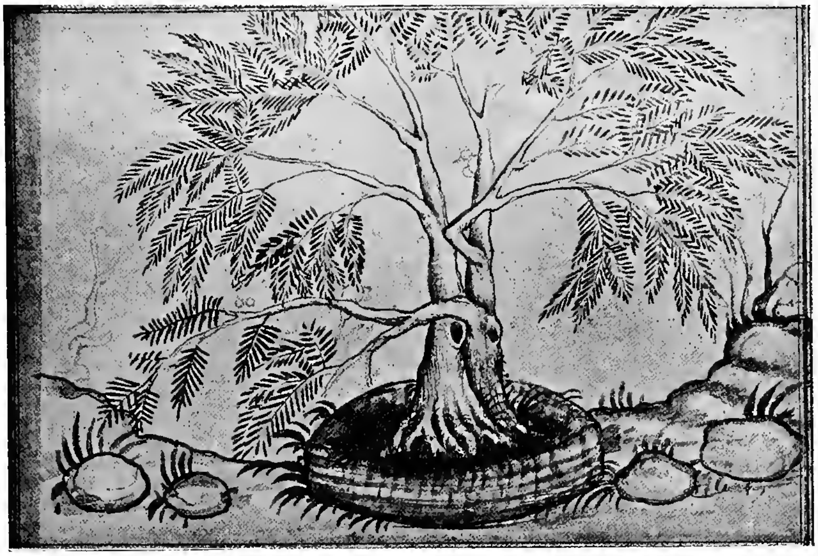


FIG. 248. Acacia; by Sarwan, *cir.* A.D. 1600.
(B. M. Or. 3714, fol. 400 rev.)



FIG. 249. Cock; by Mansūr.

passed from the hands of Akbar to those of Jahāngīr; the third falls in the reign of Shahjahān. Six of the paintings (folios 17 *b*, 18, 19 *b*, 33 *b*, 35 *b*, and 45 *b*) seem to include portraits of Jahāngīr (Prince Salīm) in his youth and early manhood. The collection, as a whole, therefore, may be ascribed to the time of Jahāngīr and the earlier part of Shahjahān's reign, or in other words, to the first forty years of the seventeenth century.

d The only signed composition is that on folio 21 *b*, dated 1633–4, which bears the name of Muhammad Khān. The picture is characteristic of Jahāngīr's bibulous court. It represents a young man clad in a bright yellow robe and large green turban, kneeling before a vase of flowers and a golden dish containing four earthenware jars, and engaged in pouring red wine from a jewelled goglet into a cup held in his left hand. No shading is used.

The picture on folio 18, of special excellence, is selected for reproduction (Pl. CXIX).

The birds in this album, exquisitely drawn and coloured, are worthy of Mansūr and may possibly be from his brush. I admire particularly the picture on folio 8 of a long-legged, brown bird standing by the side of a pool fringed with grass, flowers, and bamboos in tolerably good perspective. The blue sky, unfortunately, is rather crude (Plate CXX).



Fig. 250. Quail, by Mansūr.

Another remarkable bird study is that on folio 10 representing admirably a wild duck standing by the side of a pool at the foot of a hillock (Pl. CXXI). The sunlight on the face of the hillock is boldly indicated, as in Basāwan's picture (*ante*, Pl. CXVII), by a wash of gold, with surprisingly fine effect. I fear that it is impossible to reproduce this effect by modern processes, but the appended photographs may give the reader some notion of the exquisite beauty of these two pictures. Such charming delineations of bird-life evidently were suggested by Chinese example, and may be compared with the picture of the white falcon in the British Museum, attributed to the Emperor Hui Tsung in the twelfth century (Bushell, *Chinese Art*, vol. ii, Plate opp. p. 138). Hsieh Chi, in the seventh century, was a specialist in painting cranes. No Chinese work could surpass the picture of the turkey-cock, ordered specially by Jahāngīr, and now in the Calcutta Art Gallery, reproduced by Mr. Havell in Pl. LXII of *Indian Sculpture and Painting*. The name of the artist is not known.[1]

The handsome album, B. M. Add. 22363, mostly devoted to Hindu mythological subjects, by eighteenth-century artists, dealt with in Chapter IX, includes two

[1] See *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, transl. Rogers and Beveridge (1909), p. 215.





PLATE CXX. Brown bird ; anonymous.
(Fol. 8, Dārā Shukoh's album.)

works on fol. 28 which seem to date from the seventeenth century, namely, an excellent brown hawk on the obverse (Fig. 251), and a pair of camels, one of which is giving suck, on the reverse (Fig. 252). This latter drawing is in *grisaille* of a sepia tint, with sufficient shading to give the appearance of relief, and the herbage is treated with great delicacy.



FIG. 251. Brown hawk.
(B. M. Add. 22363, fol. 28 obv.)

Historical portraits.

The works of the Indo-Persian draughtsmen and painters furnish a gallery of historical portraits, lifelike and perfectly authentic, which enable the historian to realize the personal appearance of all the Mughal emperors and of almost every public man of note in India for more than two centuries.[1] It may be doubted if any other

[1] They are, as stated, perfectly authentic for the men, but I share Manucci's doubts about the authenticity of the numerous supposed likenesses of Nūrjahān and other ladies. The rigid seclusion of females prescribed by Muslim usage seems to preclude the possibility of real portraits of ladies of rank.



country in the world possesses a better series of portraits of the men who made history. Pictures of this class are so numerous, and so many of such excellence, that it is difficult to make a representative selection. One of the most interesting early portraits is that of Akbar as an elderly man, standing leaning on his sword; the costume is tinted in pale colours with a little gold. The artist's name is not known (Plate CXXII).

Portraits of Akbar and his friends.

Portraits of Akbar are too many for specification in detail. One (B. M. Add. 18801, fol. 10) shows him standing with Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr) as a child beside him;



FIG. 252. Camels, *grisaille*.
(B. M. Add. 22363, fol. 28 rev.)

and another (B. M. Add. 22470, fol. 4) exhibits him as the enthroned monarch hearing a woman's petition. The principal courtiers in this latter scene are all represented by careful likenesses with the names attached in minute script. Volume lvii of the Johnson Collection in the India Office Library, presented in 1816 by Dr. Buchanan (Hamilton), contains fifty-three rather rough sketches of princes and nobles, including Akbar's friends, Abūl Fazl, Bīrbal, and Rāja Mān Singh. Volume lviii of the same collection is mostly filled with similar sketches of better quality and some unfinished portraits. No. 18, a finished work by Miskīn, may be the earliest in the set.

Plate CXXIII, from a photograph by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, is a good example of the numerous court scenes, and includes a faithful likeness of Jahāngīr.



Plate CXXIII. Reception of Persian embassy; Jahāngīr in centre of lower panel; anonymous. (Photo. by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.)

Art in reign of Shahjahān.

All critics, presumably, would admit that Indo-Persian art attained its highest achievements during the reign of the magnificent Shahjahān (A.D. 1627–58), when the land enjoyed comparative peace, and a luxurious court offered liberal encouragement to all artists capable of ministering to its pleasure. The fierce scenes of bloodshed in which the earlier artists delighted were replaced by pageants of peaceful courtly splendour, the old aggressive colouring was toned down or dispensed with, and a general refinement of style and execution was cultivated. In the portraits of men and favourite animals a little shading executed by a few delicate strokes was dexterously introduced, sufficient to suggest solidity and roundness, and yet managed with such reserve that the Asiatic reliance on the power of line was not interfered with.

Some of the artists.

The compositions of this period comprise a variety of subjects and are the work of many artists. The names of a few whose productions have attracted my special attention may be mentioned :—Chitarman, *alias* Kalyān Dās ; Anūpchhatar ; Rāi Anūp (possibly the same person), court painter to Prince Dārā Shukoh ; Manohar ; Muhammad Nādir of Samarkand ; Mīr Hāshim ; and Muhammad Fakīrullah Khān.



FIG. 253. Sketch portrait of Hakīm-Masīh-uz-zamān ; by Mīr Hāshim. (B. M. Add. 18801, No. 30.)

Pictures selected by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

One of the richest albums in the British Museum is the manuscript Add. 18801, inscribed with a note stating that the volume was dedicated as a pious donation in A. H. 1072 = A. D. 1661–2. In selecting from it certain pictures for reproduction, I am able to avail myself of the authority of Sir Joshua Reynolds, who examined the collection in July, 1777, and expressed his particular admiration for the following six works :—

No. 20. Pencil sketch of an officer of Shahjahān, by Chitarman, who was also called Kalyān Dās ;

No. 21. Similar sketch of Azam Khān Koka, by Muhammad Nādir of Samarkand ;

No. 27. Similar sketch of Āsaf Khān, anonymous ;

No. 28. Large anonymous sketch of Shahjahān holding court, surrounded by nobles whose portraits are named. The price is marked as 200 rupees, equivalent at that time to £25 or more ;

No. 30. Sketch of head of Hakīm Masīh-uz-zamān, a noble who had lived in Akbar's time, by Mīr Hāshim, very small and very good ; and

No. 40. Three portraits. The principal one is a sketch of Shēr Muhammad Nawāl, by Muhammad Nādir of Samarkand. The minor ones are small coloured miniatures of Jahāngīr and Shahjahān by the same artist.

Mīr Hāshim and Muhammad Nādir of Samarkand.

No. 41, a delicate little head of Mirzā Nauzar, a noble of Shahjahān's court, by Mīr Hāshim, is worthy to rank with Sir Joshua's selections.

The small sketch No. 30 is reproduced in Fig. 253, and the three portraits in No. 40 are shown together in Plate CXXIV.



Turning to animals, we find in the Johnson Collection (vol. iii, fol. 1) a lifelike portrait of Dilpasand, or 'Heart's Delight', a favourite charger of Dārā Shukoh, by an artist named Manohar (Plate CXXV). An equestrian portrait of the same prince mounted on another charger is also notable (ibid., vol. iv, fol. 9) and of unusually large size, about 11 inches by 9.

The tiny cat sitting up, in vol. liii, Fig. 5, of the same collection, is excellent, and is shown in Plate CXXVI. This is not the only example of pictures of cats. One appears at the feet of the Emperor Farrukhsiyar in volume No. 5 of Exhibition Case B in the King's Library, British Museum, and a few others occur in other compositions. A Chinese artist was famous as a specialist in cats, and it is probable that his example was followed in India.

Perfectly drawn elephants are numerous. Indian artists, whether sculptors or painters, rarely failed to produce good representations of the huge quadruped, the nature of which they understood thoroughly. Volume lxvii in the Johnson Collection is specially devoted to elephants, several of which are admirable. One of the best is that on folio 7, by Nādir-uz-zamān (Abūl Hasan).[1] Another fine picture is that on folio 15. The main subject is a magnificent elephant standing in a palace court-yard, with other elephants, a bullock, &c., as accessories. The drawing is *grisaille* in a brownish sepia tint, no other colour being used, except that the golden ornaments of the elephant are yellow.

The many charming pictures treating of miscellaneous subjects, including illustrations of popular stories, offer a wide field for description and selection, far too large to be treated exhaustively.

A favourite subject was the story of Bāz Bahādur, king of Mālwā, and his lady-love, Princess Rūpmatī, who are represented in several pictures as riding together by torchlight. A good example in the Calcutta Art Gallery has been reproduced in Plate LXIV of Mr. Havell's *Indian Sculpture and Painting*; another, in Mr. C. Hercules Read's rich collection, is of special value because of the label indicating the subject; and a third is on folio 22 of B.M. Add. 21928. Other romances frequently illustrated are the tales of Laila and Majnūn, Khusrū and Shīrīn, and Kāmrūp and Kāmtā.

Mr. Havell has rightly drawn attention to the skill with which the Indian artists treated the contrast between the pitchy darkness of night and the flare of artificial light. Several pictures are extant which exhibit this contrast in scenes of hunting by night, flaming torches being used to dazzle and hypnotize the deer. Colonel Hanna's collection, now in Washington, includes two such scenes, Nos. 42 and 102, of which the latter excited the warm admiration of the late Sir Frederick Burton. A more modern specimen in the Calcutta Art Gallery is reproduced in Mr. Havell's Plate LXV.

The same motive, which also attracted Rembrandt, inspires the pictures representing a lady standing on a balcony watching the effect of fireworks over the dark

[1] Nādir-uz-zamān was the official title of Abūl Hasan, a favourite artist of Jahāngīr. He seems to have continued to work in the following reign.

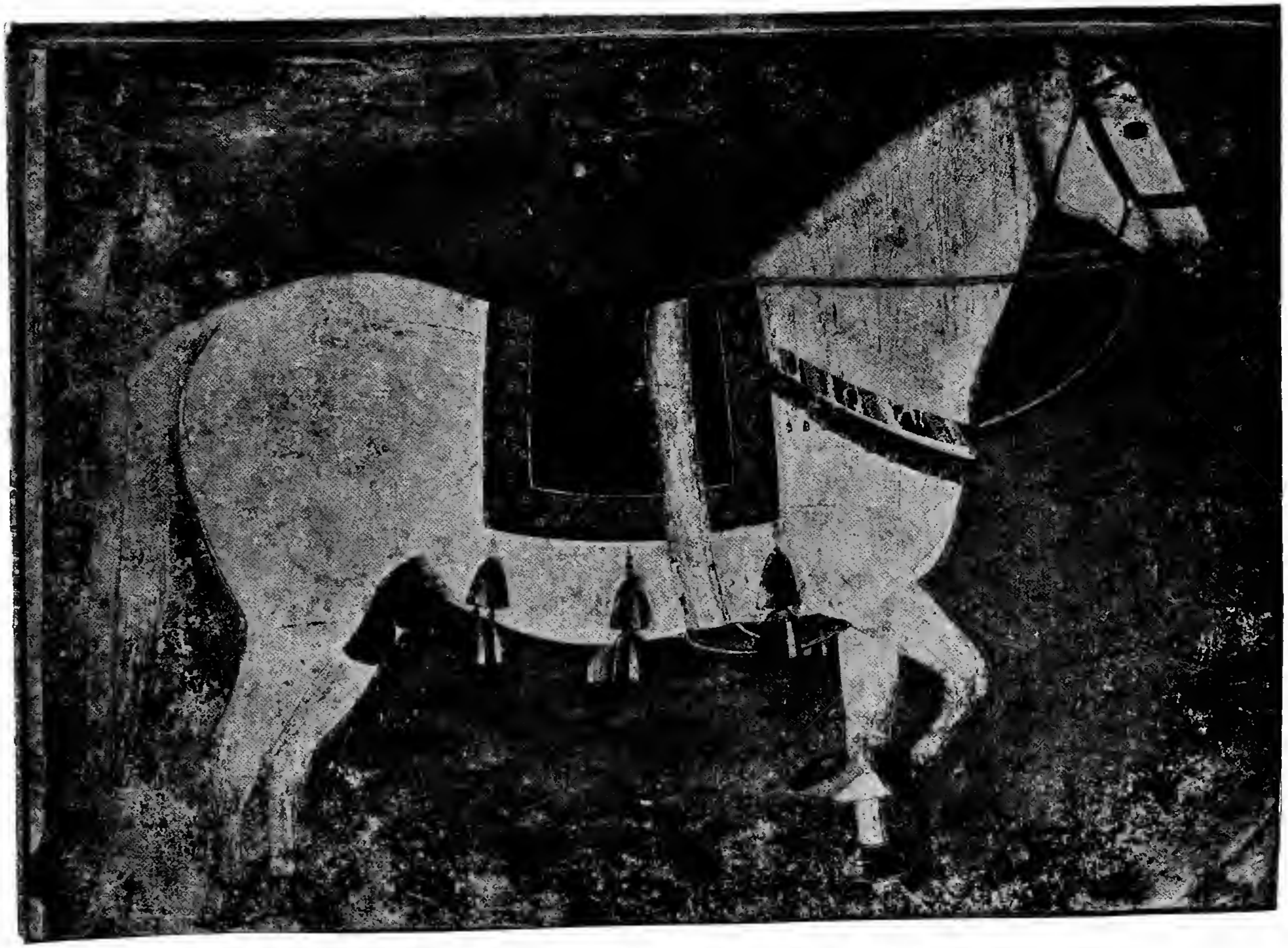


PLATE CXXV. Dilpasand, charger of Dārā Shukoh; by Manohar. (Johnson Collection, vol. iii, fol. 1.)



PLATE CXXVI. Cat; anonymous. (Johnson Collection, vol. liii, fol. 5.)







PLATE CXXIX. Reading the Koran; anonymous. (Dārā Shukoh's Album, fol. 60.)

waters of the Jumna. Sometimes she is shown in the act of discharging a squib herself.[1] In folio 4 of vol. xv of the Johnson Collection, the lady, clad in bright scarlet and standing against a background of inky darkness, produces a very impressive effect. A picture by Muhammad Fakīrullah Khān (folio 7 of the same volume), depicting the nocturnal pursuit of a warrior, is equally successful in bringing out the opposition of light and darkness. Other compositions exhibiting people grouped round a camp-fire aim at like effects.

A slightly different motive, the contrast between bright sunshine and shade, is treated with masterly skill in a picture, 5 inches by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, painted by Rāo Gobind Singh, apparently in the seventeenth century. The subject is a lady seated on a balcony watching golden sunlight illuminating the water below (Plate CXXVII). Such chiaroscuro effects probably are the result of the study of European art.

One of the best pictures extant, in my judgement, is that by Muhammad Fakīrullah Khān (Johnson Coll., vol. xvii, fol. 3), representing a domed building of white marble with a youth seated in the window, and a woman standing outside. The flesh tints and the texture of the marble are rendered with rare perfection. A mango-tree in fruit fills up the background (Plate CXXVIII).

A picture by Nanhā Rāi (vol. xxi, fol. 3, of same collection) is somewhat similar, but not so good, and the young man is omitted. Mr. Havell has reproduced, in his Plate LX, a portrait of Sūrajmal by an artist named Nanhā, who worked in Jahāngīr's reign, in a style likened by the critic to that of Holbein. I suspect that Nanhā Rāi was a different person of later date.

Many artists took great delight in depicting holy men and ascetics of all sorts, Musulman and Hindu, singly or in groups. Two of the most exquisite works dealing with this class of subject, and no doubt executed in the reign of Shahjahān, are the companion pictures, folios 11 *b* and 12, in Dārā Shukoh's album, representing an old fakīr in two positions, holding a book in the one case, and a rosary in the other. The outline of the figure is drawn with less than the usual sharpness, and shading with fine lines is employed sufficiently to give an impression of roundness. In the old man's beard the delicacy and accuracy with which individual hairs are drawn display a wonderful mastery over that most difficult instrument, the single-hair brush. The colouring is subdued, and the perspective fairly correct.

Another drawing in the same volume, in similar style, and probably by the same artist, is that on folio 60. The subject is the reading by a young *mullah* (Muhammadan teacher) from a Koran resting on a stand. Two of his companions are listening attentively, while the third, in the foreground, is engaged in pouring water over the toes of his left foot held up in his hand. The drawing of the difficult position of this figure is extremely clever (Plate CXXIX).

Most of the albums contain examples of gorgeous court scenes elaborated with infinite patience and minuteness of detail, harmoniously coloured, and often enriched

[1] Dr. Coomaraswamy possesses a good picture of girls discharging fireworks, signed by Muhammad Afzal, with a Persian verse on the back, dated A.H. 1069=A.D. 1658–9, commendatory of the painter. Another of his works is in volume xi of the Johnson Collection.

with gold. It would be next to impossible to reproduce the most splendid of these pictures in colours with success, and I think it better not to make the attempt. The composition being the weak point in these works, photographs do them an injustice. Colonel Hanna possesses two of the richest specimens in existence, Nos. 1 and 2 in his volume marked *Persian Drawings.* No. 2 is the largest Indo-Persian picture known to me, excepting the early illustrations of the *Story of Amīr Hamzah* (*ante*, p. 468), the measurements being 23 inches by $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The subject is a review of cavalry on the bank of the Jumna by Shahjahān mounted on an elephant. The portraits of the principal chiefs and officers in the crowd have their names attached.

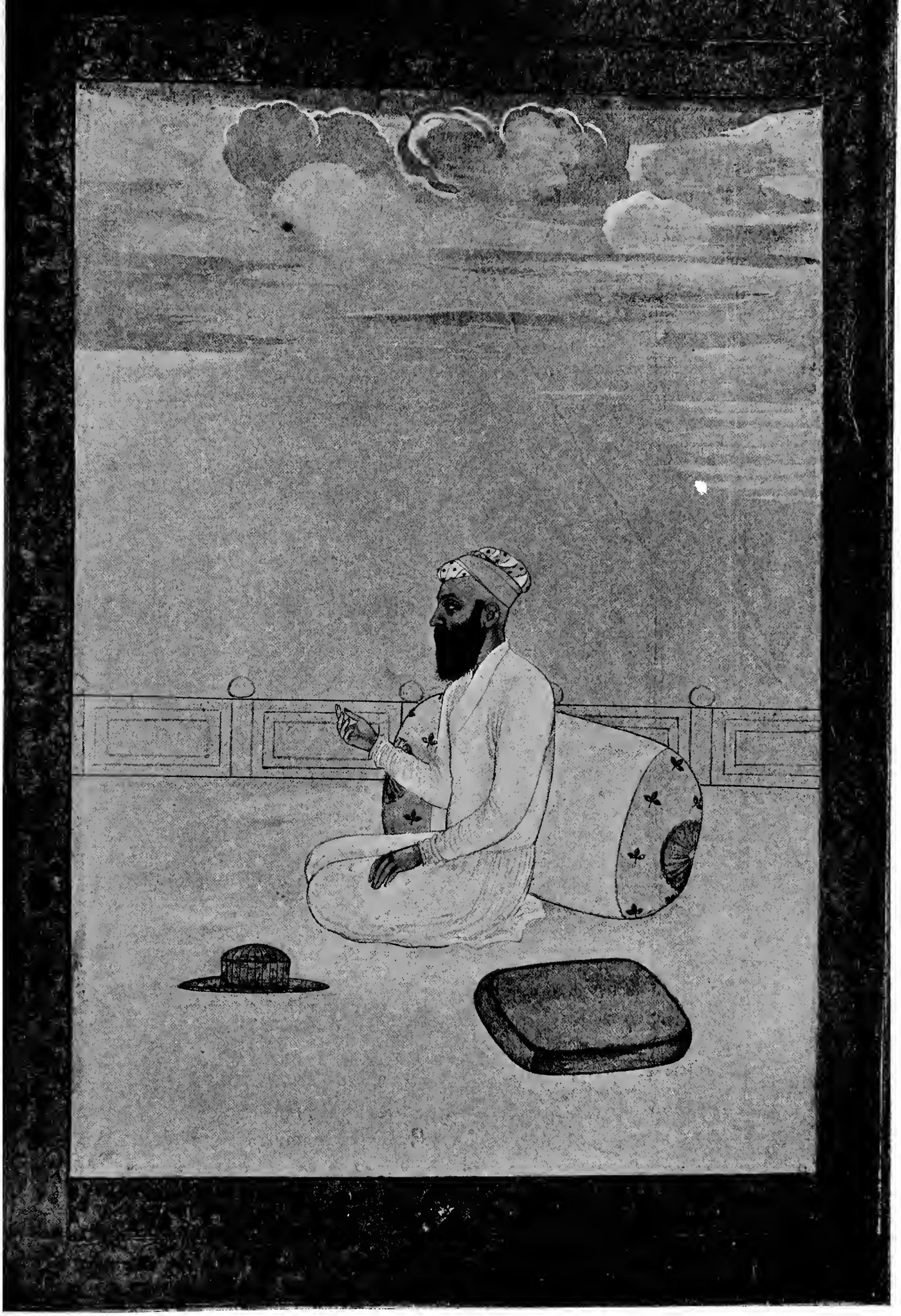
The manuscript B.M. Add. 20734, an official present given by the titular Emperor of Delhi in 1815, contains nine pictures in the most highly-finished style, of which two may be specified. One representing the infant Shahjahān (Prince Khurram) lying in his mother's lap, surrounded by admiring attendants, is wrought with colouring so rich and decorative details so elaborate that an attempt to copy it would certainly fail. Another picture, extending across two pages (fol. 689, 690), and depicting Shahjahān seated on the peacock throne in all his glory, while Āsaf Khān offers a present of costly pearls, gives a vivid notion of the extravagant magnificence of the Mughal court in its prime.

Volumes ix, x, xi of the Johnson Collection may be noticed as being specially devoted to the ladies, some of whom are represented half nude in the bath or at their toilet. The pictures in volume xi are particularly good, the most noticeable being a charming portrait of a lady wearing a high conical head-dress, and admirably shaded. From an inferior replica (B.M. Add. 11747, fol. 52) we learn that the lady's name or title was Malkah Zamāniya.

Passing on to the reigns of Aurangzēb (1658–1707) and his decadent successors during the eighteenth century, we find the artists still numerous and specimens of their work abundant. Although Aurangzēb was too zealous a puritan to care for art himself, the fashion set by his predecessors had not died out, and princes and nobles still kept court painters. During this period Hindu painters frequently quitted the traditional grooves of Indo-Persian art, and applied a modification of it to the illustration of their own mythology. Such Hinduized art is discussed more conveniently here than in Chapter IX, dealing with the later schools of Hindu painting.

Portraiture continued to be practised with great success, although the delicacy of execution rarely attains the perfection of the first half of the seventeenth century. The example first cited is one which well deserves the honour of precedence, a dainty little vignette likeness of Aurangzēb himself in his old age reading a book (Pl. CXXX).

An early portrait (with a seal dated A.H. 1072 = A.D. 1661–2) of the celebrated Nawāb Shāyista Khān, afterwards the opponent of Job Charnock in Bengal, is the work of Ustād Gyān Chand, apparently a Sikh artist, and is, perhaps, as good as any of Shahjahān's time. The Nawāb is represented seated. The artist has relied on his mastery over line rather than on colour. The tints are subdued, the cushion being pink. The price of this admirable drawing is noted as 170 rupees, or about £20. (Plate CXXXI).



Another good, although rather conventional, portrait of later date is that of Muhsin Khān by Mīr Muhammad, who is of special interest as being apparently the artist of the same name who supplied Manucci, before 1712, with copies of the series of imperial portraits, several of which have been reproduced successfully by Mr. Irvine from the Paris album brought home by the traveller (Plate CXXXII).

A few other portraits of exceptional merit by various artists of uncertain date may be noted :—

Ikhlās Khān, a negro officer, by Chānd Muhammad (Johnson Coll., vol. xxiii, fol. 2); Nawāb Sāhib Qibla Azīz Khān Bahādur, aet. 31, by Chhaj Mal (ibid., vol. xxiii, 4); and Gujrātin, a lady, by Muhammad Fazl (ibid., vol. xx, fol. 2). The list might be largely extended.

The large green album in the Department of Design, &c., in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington (D. 1163–1210 of 1903), contains creditable examples of eighteenth-century work. The more noticeable pictures are :—D. 1170, a female musician, with another figure, in clear, bright atmosphere; D. 1185, a fine elephant with its *mahout*, or driver, in Chinese ink; D. 1204, a large picture 12 inches by 8, of a huge elephant, with a keeper, holding a spear, standing in front; no colour except the gold rings on the tusks; and D. 1205, an aged emperor (? Shah Ālam) seated on a balcony overlooking a lake, signed Bahādur Singh.

The great French collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale includes an illustrated copy of the 'Romance of Kāmrūp' (Suppl. Pers. No. 929) adorned with sixty Indian miniatures described as being finely executed and well preserved. Yet the date is A.H. 1250 = A.D. 1834–5. Possibly the pictures may be copies of older originals. A manuscript in one of the exhibition cases at the British Museum has a good portrait of Ranjit Singh, who died in 1839.

Section III. Criticism.

The roots of Indo-Persian, as of every form of art, go down deep into the remote past and ramify in various directions. Through Persia we can trace them into Russian Turkistan, or Transoxiana, Mesopotamia, and China; in India they draw nourishment from the soil of Hindu tradition, and to a lesser extent from that of European artistic teaching. Essentially the Indo-Persian drawings are a branch of Asiatic art, to be judged by the canons of that art, and not according to the standard fixed by the Renaissance masters; or as a French critic expresses himself, the student 'must throw over his artistic education, every critical tradition, and all the aesthetic baggage that has accumulated from the Renaissance to our own days'. To complain of the inattention to modern rules of perspective, of the lack of light and shade effects, of atmosphere, &c., is to start criticism from a wrong basis.[1] Such things concern the conventions of art, that is to say, the understood agreement between the draughtsman and the beholder as to the way in which solid forms should be represented on a sheet of paper. When we look at a Chinese picture we must be content

[1] See *Indian Art at Delhi*, p. 455, for such criticism.



PLATE CXXXII. Muhsin Khān, by Mīr Muhammad.
(Johnson Collection, vol. lviii, fol. 21.)

to find distant objects at the top, and not at the points where they would be placed by European perspective science; but as artistic a picture may be made with one system for expressing distance as with another, provided both parties concerned, the artist and the spectator, are in agreement. We are not entitled to say that a Chinese picture is no good merely because the distant objects are at the top.[1]

Similarly, we find Basāwan (*ante*, p. 470, Plate CXVII) arranging his substitute for perspective in a different fashion, after the manner of the old Hindu bas-reliefs; and, in order to understand his meaning, we have to imagine that objects, such as people and trees, laid down at length in the picture are set up on their feet. When we mentally view them as so set up, they come into proper relation one to the other. The Indo-Persian pictures, if closely studied for the purpose, would be found to use several methods for the expression of distance—Indian, Chinese, and European.

Certain examples of Indo-Persian art, not by any means the best, such as Plate CXVI, *ante*, have been so much affected by the study of European models that they may be judged fairly as being more or less successful imitations of Italian or French pictures; but the really first-class work, which was little if at all influenced by Renaissance teaching, must be criticized as Asiatic not as European art; and, if it is to be compared with the work of other schools, the comparison should be made with those of Asia, not of Europe.

The leading technical merit of the best Mughal drawings, whether mere outline sketches, or elaborately coloured and gilt pictures, is the unsurpassed mastery over line displayed by the artists. All Asiatic pictorial art relies on the treatment of lines for its effects, and not on the more complex combinations of the modern European painter. Mr. Havell justly observes that 'the Mogul artist, with his brush, could draw lines with the delicacy and firmness of the etcher's needle-point'; and that 'the wonderful distinction, delicacy, and charm—and withal masterful strength—of the drawings . . . gives them all the strength of finished cameos'.[2] Almost any example of the good period will justify those observations. All fair criticism of the Mughal, or Indo-Persian, work must start from the fact that every picture, however gorgeous it may be, is essentially a line drawing, based on a firmly sketched outline. Sometimes the outline was never filled in, and certain compositions in that kind, although exceedingly slight in substance, are among the most charming. When the pernicious practice of dividing the work on one small picture between several collaborators was adopted, it is only the outline draughtsman who can claim credit as an original artist. Mere filling in with colours and gold, however well done, is the business of a skilled artisan rather than of a true artist.

The practice referred to tended, as already observed (*ante*, p. 462), to degrade fine art into a craft, and it is impossible to study large numbers of the Indo-Persian pictures without feeling that many of them are the productions of highly-trained and dexterous craftsmen rather than the creations of artists striving to express ideas in the language of line and colour. The constant exhibition of the 'very Indian qualities of infinite patience and perfect self-control' manifested in the absolutely

[1] Bushell, *Chinese Art*, ii. 110.
[2] *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 208.

faultless execution of the most minute details, often so minute as to need examination under a magnifying-glass, cannot fail to impress the most casual observer. It is well that an artist should be gifted with the manual dexterity and fine eyesight which enable him to draw the individual hairs of a fakīr's beard accurately with a single-hair brush, but such gifts are apt to prove a snare. The excessive regard of the Mughal artists for meticulous fineness of execution sometimes tempted them to neglect the weightier matters of true art. No skill of hand or keenness of vision can make up for lack of ideas. A mere transcript of the external facts of court ceremonial, when unrelieved by any effort to express thought, becomes as wearisome as the ceremonial itself to an intelligent observer.

High artistic qualities of other pictures.

But, although some of the Indo-Persian court paintings may be reproached as being highly-finished mechanical decorative designs rather than speaking works of art, the school produced many pictures entitled to high rank as truly artistic expressions of ideas. The perfect representations of animals and plants may be traced back to two principal sources, Indian and Chinese. The birds, palms, frogs, &c. in Basāwan's picture (*ante*, Pl. CXVII) may be truly described as inspired by the spirit of the Ajantā artists, while the elaborate 'portraits' of individual animals, like Mansūr's wonderful turkey-cock, are more Chinese than Indian. The horses, I think, mostly recall the Persian style. The elephants (*ante*, p. 484), of course, are Indian, and we need not doubt that throughout the ages there were always Indians who could draw elephants well.

An art not concerned with the soul of things.

Nevertheless, while agreeing that the Indo-Persian animals and plants deserve high praise, I am not quite prepared to accept Mr. Havell's doctrine that—

'the Mogul school, though naturalistically inclined, has this in common with the idealistic art of the Buddhist and Brahmanical epochs, that it always kept in view the highest aim of the artist—to penetrate into the soul of things and to bring us into closer relation with Nature's eternal verities.'[1]

On the contrary, it seems to me that the Indo-Persian artists troubled themselves little about either 'the soul of things' or 'Nature's eternal verities'. Theirs was a courtier's art, initiated and cultivated for the delectation of luxurious kings and nobles, and well adapted to adorn the walls of palaces, or to be handed round for the entertainment of connoisseur parties. The subjects chosen, excepting deliberate imitations of foreign pictures, ordinarily were portraits of princes and courtiers, scenes of palace life and aristocratic amusement, or lively delineations of favourite chargers and elephants or strange and interesting creatures. In the earlier days of the school, Indian-born artists followed Mongol fashions and painted sanguinary battle-scenes, executions, and so forth; but during the best period the life portrayed is, as a rule, that of courtly luxury. When groups of fakīrs or other poor folk are introduced they are treated either as mere accessories, or in a dilettante spirit as objects of curiosity.

Purely secular.

The art may be fairly described as purely secular, chiefly concerned with the pomps and vanities of the life of the rich, and occasionally venturing into the land

[1] *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, p. 237.

of romance. There is hardly a trace of religious sentiment, unless it is to be detected in the occasional sympathetic delineation of a grave and revered 'mullah'. But even the holy men are caricatured occasionally. In some of the Ibrāhīm-bin-Adham pictures, miscalled 'Angels ministering unto Christ' (*ante*, p. 464), the leading idea seems to be mockery of the 'Disgusted Darvīsh'. The Fathpur-Sīkrī frescoes, although in some cases dealing with religious subjects, were treated as means of decoration rather than as works of piety.

The special glory of the Indo-Persian school, distinguishing it above all other schools of Asiatic art, is its high attainment in portraiture. The artists, whether Hindu or Muslim by birth, freed themselves completely from the Hindu disinclination to or aversion from realistic likenesses, and produced scores of portraits, some mere sketches, others highly-finished pictures, which may fairly claim to rank as the equals in merit to the finest European miniatures, although utterly different in technique. M. Blochet justly describes the best Indo-Persian portraits as 'genuine marvels' and 'inimitable models'. Compared with European oil paintings they are always small in scale, often tiny, and seldom more than a few inches square. The illustrations in this chapter and in Mr. Havell's book dispense with the necessity for elaborate descriptive criticism. Anybody can perceive the high quality of the choicest examples, and agree in appreciating their accurate drawing, harmonious colouring, and truthfulness of expression.

Indian artists never acquired the Chinese passionate love of landscape for its own sake (*ante*, p. 450). To them the scenery was of interest only in its relation to human beings as a background on which to exhibit the actions of men and women. At first they were content with the purely conventional scenery of the Persian school, but the later painters, obviously under the influence of European example, attempted, and sometimes with considerable success, to treat the background as a subject of more or less independent interest, and to paint elaborate scenes filled with hills, streams, and buildings treated in a realistic way. But the result of such a combination of European and Asiatic practice has never been quite satisfactory.

The changes in style from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century are well marked. The early book illustrations of Akbar's reign dealing with subjects similar to those usually treated in Persia are simply imitations of Persian work, and by no means equal to the models. Mr. Havell, a critic inclined to be indulgent to all Indian productions, while admiring the delicate execution of the pictures in the Clarke MS. of the *Akbarnāmah*, is constrained to admit that 'in most of them, not excluding those with Basāwan's signature, the colouring is heavy, sometimes even crude, the action of the figures is generally stiff and unnatural, and the composition without any distinction of style'. I am not disposed to dispute the correctness of that judgement. But the same artists when they proceeded to deal with Hindu legends or romantic subjects, under less constraint from the obligation to follow Persian precedent, used their powers with greater freedom and more originality. During Jahāngīr's reign much of the stiffness disappeared, and the crudity of colouring began to be softened, but critics are generally agreed that the best work falls within

the limits of the reign of Shahjahān (1627–58). In later times the old rigidity of drawing and crudity of colour reappeared.

Summary.

On the whole, study of a multitude of examples of the outturn of the Indo-Persian or Mughal school leaves the impression on my mind that its place in the art history of the world is that of a minor, not a major art. The best examples are charming, pretty, graceful, and so forth, but lack greatness. They are all too small to possess the dignity and breadth of large pictures, while they rarely display much imaginative power, and never, or hardly ever, any serious religious emotion. The portraits undoubtedly are perfect in their way, and probably superior to anything of the kind elsewhere in Asia, but the rest of the work of the school falls far below the level of the best Chinese and Japanese painting in poetical expression of emotion and subtle suggestion of things unexpressed.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

This chapter is the first attempt to give a systematic account of the Mughal or Indo-Persian school.

The following works supply useful information.

Blochet, E.—'Inventaire et Description des Miniatures des Manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris' (*Revue des Bibliothèques*, Paris, 1898–1900); 'Musalman MSS. and Miniatures as illustrated in the recent Exhibition at Paris' (*Burlington Magazine*, 1903); 'Les Origines de la Peinture en Perse' (*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Aug. 1905). All valuable publications. Havell, E. B.—*Indian Sculpture and Painting* (London, 1908). Excellent reproductions, and valuable criticism, but excessively laudatory. Huart.—*Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de l'Orient Musulman*, Paris, 1908. Migeon, Gaston.—*Manuel d'art musulman*, tome ii (Paris, 1907). Valuable for art of Persia, &c., slight and not altogether accurate in treatment of Indian art.[1] Migeon, Barcham, Huart.—*Portfolio de l'Exposition des Arts Musulmans* (Paris, 1903), with good reproductions. *B. M. Catalogue of Persian MSS.*: *Catalogue of Hindustani, &c., MSS.*, with brief notices of the paintings. *Guide to the Lahore Museum*, 1908; *Catalogue of the Delhi Museum*, 1908; *Catalogue of the Victoria Memorial Collection*, Calcutta.

Other references in footnotes.

[1] Serious errors and misprints disfigure Chapter vii, 'Les Civilisations musulmanes dans l'Inde,' the worst being the statement on p. lxxxiii:—'Mais es Marathas Hindus, dont la force s'était accrue au milieu de toutes ces divisions, écrasent Mogols et Persans à la bataille de Panipat en 1761. C'était à tout jamais la fin de la domination islamique dans l'Inde.' Of course, the fact is that the Marāthā army was ruinously defeated by Ahmad Shah Durrānī.

APPENDIX

COLLECTIONS OF INDO-PERSIAN DRAWINGS AND PAINTINGS

In London the public collections are in (1) British Museum, (2) India Office, (3) Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.

1. *British Museum.*

The most notable volumes are :—Sixteenth century—Or. 3714 (*Wāqiāt-i-Bābarī*); Or. 4615 (*Dārābnāmah*) ; Or. 3600 (*Story of Amīr Hamzah*). Seventeenth century—Add. 18801 ; Add. 20734 ; Add. 18579. Seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—Add. 22470 ; Add. 21928. The volumes specially devoted to Hindu mythology are noted in Chapter IX. There are a few illustrated MSS. shown in table cases in the King's Library.

2. *India Office.*

A. Album of Dārā Shukoh (*ante*, p. 457) ; 78 numbered folios, besides decorated fly-leaves ; 30 signed specimens of calligraphy, the earliest being (fol. 62 rev.) of A. H. 904 = A.D. 1498–9, at Herāt.

B. Johnson Collection.

Formed by Richard Johnson (*ante*, p. 332 ; Lawson, *Private Life of Warren Hastings*, p. 140 ; *As. Res.*, iii, 74), and purchased after his death. Sixty-seven volumes, or portfolios, badly bound, and ill-arranged, with contents varying much in age and quality. Vols. xxx–xxxiv (incl.) and lxi are *Rāgmālās* (*ante*, p. 330). Vol. lxiii is a collection of poor sketches of life from S. India. Vol. lxvi contains specimens of calligraphy only.[1]

C. In the Secretary of State's room there are portraits of Jahāngīr and Shahjahān, supposed to be contemporary ; a set of miniatures of the twelve Pādshāhs of Delhi, &c. ; and two sets of nineteenth-century miniatures of Panjāb celebrities, Ranjit Singh, &c. (Foster, *Catalogue of Paintings, &c., in I.O.*, Nos. 65, 66, 69–71).

3. *Victoria and Albert Museum, S. Kensington.*

A. Indian Section :—

(1) Clarke MS. of *Akbarnāmah* :—117 signed paintings, separately framed, and hung badly about the walls of the Entrance Hall and staircase, with no proper labels (*ante*, p. 456). Mr. Beveridge has prepared a rough type-written list, which is in the office.

(2) Twenty early Perso-Mongol paintings on cotton ; four hung in Entrance Hall, and sixteen in Room VI ; not properly labelled (*ante*, p. 454).

B. Department of Engraving, Illustration, and Design.

Large green album, D. 1163–1210 ; bought from Dutch dealer in 1903 ; contains some good eighteenth-century work (*ante*, p. 492).

[1] The Librarian intends to have the collection properly arranged.

Private Collections in England.

Many exist, but I have examined only a few, because the material available is too extensive to be dealt with exhaustively.

1. Collection of C. Hercules Read, Esq., at his private residence. Important and full of good things, both Persian and Indian; but I did not take many notes, as the public collections sufficed for my purpose.

2. Collection of Col. Hanna, at his private residence, Petersfield; comprising 'Asiatic Drawings', two vols. atlas quarto, and 'Persian Drawings', one vol. large atlas size (see *ante*, p. 490).

Col. Hanna's principal collection, now at Washington, U.S.A., is described in his printed *Catalogue*, dated 1890, of which he gave me a copy, and briefly in my article in *Ind. Ant.*, 1910, pp. 182–4.

3. Collection of Mrs. Jopling Rowe, at her private residence. It is small, and though interesting, contains no novelties or visibly signed pictures.

4. Collection of Col. Hendley, C.I.E., at his private residence. Excellent copies.

On the Continent.

The huge collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, is known to me only from the careful catalogue by M. Blochet, 'Inventaire et Description des Miniatures des Manuscrits Orientaux conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale' (*Revue des Bibliothèques*, Paris, 1898–1900), and from a few reproductions, as in Mr. Irvine's translation of Manucci.

Numerous valuable private collections exist in France.

Indo-Persian pictures are also in the public libraries of St. Petersburg and Berlin, which I have not attempted to study, the material at hand being superabundant.

In India.

Probably the best collection of separate pictures is that started by Mr. Havell at School of Art, Calcutta. There are also considerable collections of pictures or illuminated MSS. at the Central Museum, Lahore; the Museum, Delhi; the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta; the Khudā Baksh Library, Patna; and other places, for some of which catalogues have been printed. The collections in private hands are numerous and rich. It is impossible to go into details.

ADDENDA

Page 25. ‘According to the old Brāhmaṇas of Ayodhyā, there was no place in the whole of Orissa so rich in ancient monuments, temples, and images, except it be Bhuvaneçvara. In fact, ruins of more than 100 temples are still found strewn all over the place’ (*Arch. Survey of Mayūrabhanja*, vol. i, text, p. 87).

Page 84. A very early Jain statue of Pārśvanātha from Kośāli (*Arch. Survey of Mayūrabhanja*, vol. i, Introd., p. xliii, Fig. 20).

Pages 184, 190–8. The Archaeological Survey of Mayūrabhanja, the largest and most northerly of the Orissan tributary states, throws much light on the history of the Orissan school of sculpture. The illustrations represent many works of considerable artistic merit.

Buddhist remains are numerous, and proof is given that Buddhism in a corrupt form survives to the present day (Nagendranāth Vasu, M.R.A.S., *Arch. Survey of Mayūrabhanja*, vol. i, thick 8vo, published by the Mayūrabhanja State; preface dated 1 January, 1911; received in October).

Page 264. ‘The beautiful and artistic images of this place [Manināgeśvara] bear a remarkable similarity with the ancient images of Hindu gods and goddesses discovered in Java. It is not improbable that the artists of Kaliṅga went from here to Java to make these images’ (*Arch. Survey of Mayūrabhanja*, vol. i, text, p. 107, Figs. 7, &c.).

Pages 302, 306. Examples of mediaeval Hindu painting exist in Bengal and Orissa; e. g. portraits of two religious reformers at Gopivallabhapur in Midnapur District (*Arch. Survey of Mayūrabhanja*, vol. i, Introd., p. ciii, Fig. 55); wall-paintings at Haripur (ibid., text, p. 25); water-colour portrait of Chaitanya, ‘a rare specimen of art,’ preserved at Kunjaghāṭā Rājabātī near Murshīdābād (ibid., text, p. 35. This picture, painted between A. D. 1512 and 1533, is reproduced in colours as frontispiece to Dinesh Chandra Sen, *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, thick 8vo, 1911, published by the University of Calcutta. This learned work was received in October).

Page 316. The Lahore Museum has lately acquired at a cost of Rs. 3090 a set of twelve Tibetan banners, including one which represents the Wheel of Life, and others illustrating various scenes from Buddhist legend, which may be compared with the Gandhāra sculptures. The best, ‘a real masterpiece,’ is a figure of Padmasambhava, who converted Tibet to Buddhism (*Ann. Progr. Rep. Supert. of Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, N. Circle*, 1910–11).

PAGE 326. The Archaeological Department has lately acquired in Kāngrā 220 pictures of historical and mythical subjects showing great artistic skill, of which most are deposited in the Lahore Museum. A few specimens are kept in the Delhi Museum (ibid.).

PAGE 366. A remarkable and life-like portrait image of the Bengāli religious reformer, Chaitanya, made of *nīm* wood, is preserved with two other images at a hut in Pratāpapur (*Arch. Survey of Mayūrabhanja*, vol. i, Introd., p. c, Fig. 54, text, pp. 32, 35).

Mr. Havell's new book, *The Ideals of Indian Art*, was published in October, 1911.

ERRATUM.

Page 170, line 29. For 'excellently' read 'excellent'.

INDEX

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